

ON THE INSIDE

MIDDLE EAST IN CRISIS

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WORKSHOP TALKS

Don't allow boss choice of weapons

by Htun Lin

This year, the HMO where I work is launching a new computer system. All our transactions will be conducted via the world wide web. Management has bragged that all patients' medical records will be online in one big database. We clerical workers know that their main concern is putting all patients' financial records online.

Our prime directive for the last few years has been to raise "revenue recovery" (co-payment collection) rates. One of my nurse friends, who retired this year, warned us of this before she left: "If you think all this computerization is to make your life easier and improve care, you're in for a rude surprise. Their real purpose is to track every penny."

OFFSHORE OUTSOURCING

The other day, I got an unusual call. A young man with a thick accent said, very politely, that he wanted me to discharge a patient. He told me he was calling from India, from an "I.T. department" working under contract with my employer. In the past, all discharge calls came directly from local hospitals to our office.

This shocking call was a rude awakening that many of our jobs are now threatened. Up to now we thought we were immune from the kind of off-shoring that devastated workers in manufacturing.

We don't know if or when the union signed an agreement to allow the company to subcontract some of our work out to India. I blame the union. This is the final result of the "Labor-Management Partnership" instituted about ten years ago.

I blame the kind of mindset which has deeply infected organized labor as well as the corporate world. It's

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BLACK/RED VIEW

Limitations of politics

by John Alan

In light of renewal of the Voting Rights Act pending in Congress and the upcoming mid-term elections in the U.S., we reprint John Alan's Nov. 1981 column, "Attack on Voting Rights Bill."—Editor.

The House of Representatives has voted to extend the 1965 Voting Rights Act, but the Act is still under challenge from the reactionary U.S. Senate, especially from Strom Thurmond, the racist head of the Senate Judiciary Committee...

The [Congressional] Black Caucus may have been active [for the act], but protest and demonstrations across the Black South certainly had their impact as well, and may need to be intensified to achieve passage in the Senate.

The attack on the Voting Rights Act is not an isolated event. It is Blacks who face the cutting edge of a real depression and the invading racism of Reagan's administration...

It is a policy to weaken the enforcement of every civil rights act that directly pertains to Blacks, women, Hispanics, and other minorities. There is nothing new about this political method of bourgeois rule which curtails civil rights in actuality, while at the same time endowing these rights with constitutional and legislative "legitimacy."

The Voting Rights Act had been effectively "amended in practice" long before it came up for extension by Congress. In Mobile, Ala. a system of voting-at-large has successfully prevented Blacks from being elected to the powerful three-person Commission that runs the city in the interest of white-owned businesses. The U.S. Supreme Court has given objective sanction to voting-at-large by ruling last year, in the Wiley L. Bolden vs.

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DRAFT FOR MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES, 2006 - 2007

Theoretic preparation for uprooting capitalism

I. The crisis in Iraq and the two worlds in each country

Nothing more fully reveals the dehumanized nature of the Iraq War and of the Bush administration as a whole than the cold-blooded massacre by U.S. Marines of 24 unarmed Iraqi civilians in Haditha last November, which only recently became widely known in the U.S. despite having been reported to the government months ago. The atrocities in Haditha and elsewhere and the effort to cover them up have come to symbolize the true cost of the U.S. drive for single world domination.

The massacre was first reported by an Iraqi journalism student on the day it occurred and was documented shortly afterward by the Hammurabi Human Rights group. Yet the Marine Corps and Bush administration ignored their reports. It was not until *Time* picked up the story months later that the U.S. began to look into the incident.

Just as the Abu Ghraib scandal forced the U.S. media to begin to confront the real cost of Bush's "war against terrorism," the reports of the Haditha massacre have lifted a veil on opposition to these horrors by many U.S. servicemen and women, some of whom have deserted and gone into exile rather than to follow the murderous orders of their officers. Garrett Reppenhausen, who served as a U.S. sniper in Falluja, where the killing of hundreds of Iraqi civilians set the tone for much of the war, stated: "The order to annihilate Fallujah came from the very top, and none of them are doing the duck walk." Iraq combat veteran Tina Garnanez stated: "I not only had to fear attacks from the Iraqis during the war, but sexual assault by my own fellow soldiers at night."⁽¹⁾

These voices of opposition show that the Haditha massacre looms as far more than the My Lai of the Iraq war. It underlines the urgency of creating a new world on human foundations.

The U.S. occupation of Iraq has brought neither democracy nor stability to the Middle East, nor has it quelled the forces of fundamentalist terrorism. Iraq is riven by sectarian conflict between Sunni and Shi'a militias, which the formation of a new Iraqi government seems powerless to resolve. Deadly attacks continue to be launched by reactionary fundamentalists, who have killed more Iraqis—including independent union trade unionists, feminists, and students who aspire for a multiethnic, secular Iraq—than U.S. troops. Violence against women is escalating. Iraqi journalist Shatta Kareem states, "Men have been given a voice. But women will not get their part in building this country."⁽²⁾

Nevertheless, neither the U.S. occupation nor the terrorist attacks have put a stop to independent workers' and students' struggles, nor to the ongoing development of a feminist movement opposed to imperialism and fundamentalism.

The Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq stated: "We have witnessed the occupation implanting seeds for sectarian war in Iraq and empowering political Islam inside and outside the government in disregard of their discrimination against freedoms...The Haditha massacre is daily occurring in all Iraqi cities



GROWING RESISTANCE WITHIN THE U.S.: Veterans protest Bush's war and occupation of Iraq, in New York City, April 29.

by the occupation or as a result of it. We call out to all women and libertarians to join our campaign 'Women against Occupation' which will be part of a mass anti-occupation movement working towards the freedom of Iraq."

The Bush administration clearly faces a quagmire, in that it feels it cannot withdraw from Iraq for fear of seeing the country tear itself apart, yet it cannot remain in Iraq over the long-term given the drain that the occupation is having on troop morale and on the U.S. economy.

All this is complicated by the U.S.'s standoff with Iran. Bush's effort to get the UN to impose sanctions against it has only strengthened the hand of its reactionary President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who knows that U.S. options are limited at a moment when oil is \$70 a barrel. Faced with resistance to taking military action from Russia, China and the European allies, Bush has been forced to offer direct talks to Iran so long as it gives up its uranium enrichment program—something that it appears unwilling to do.

It isn't that Bush wouldn't like to attack Iran to detract attention from his troubles. Yet because the U.S. military is stretched so thin and it is getting less support from its allies, it doesn't have a lot of unilateral options anymore.

This situation was exacerbated by Vice President Cheney's attack on Russian President Putin this spring for disregarding "democracy and human rights"—after which he traveled to Kazakhstan and embraced its autocratic leader, Nursultan Nazarbayev, whose rule is even less democratic than Putin's. The Russian government responded by saying that we may be in for a new Cold War.

It is hard to imagine why the administration chose that moment to go after Russia when it needed its vote in the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on Iran—unless its priority at the moment is not so much stopping Iran's nuclear program as securing control over Central Asian oil. Kazakhstan has huge untapped oil reserves. Russia wants Kazakhstan to build a pipeline through Russia, while the Bush administration wants it to ship its oil west through Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey. China meanwhile is trying to get it to build a pipeline east towards its borders in order to help meet its soaring energy needs.

Although those who argue that the U.S. invaded Iraq simply to obtain its oil vastly oversimplify matters, the U.S. is engaged in a fierce competition to secure control of oil in various parts of the world—just as are China and Russia. It is an expression of the U.S. drive for single world domination—something that is bound to continue in some form regardless of the outcome of the Iraq war, since the drive for single world domination is rooted in the very structure of today's globalized capitalist system.

As we noted at the start of the Iraq war, the fact that the U.S. is driven by a quest for world domination does not mean it has achieved it. Global power is one thing; global dominance is another. The difference lies in the existence of state powers that have competing interests with the U.S. and which try to stand in its way at various moments.

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Marx's 1844 Essays: ground for feminist theory

by Anne Jaclard

This year is the 35th anniversary of Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committee (WL-N&LC), founded when the "second wave" of feminism swept the U.S. We began in a period of mass liberatory movements: the Black "Freedom Now" movement inspired student rebellions, and both gave birth to the women's liberation movement. Revolution and a new society seemed within grasp. Marx's humanist dimension was also being discussed at that time, after years of so-called Marxism's domination by Stalinist anti-humanism. His early "humanist" essays, the 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* (first published in English by Raya Dunayevskaya), condemned the degradation of women under capitalism and under what he called "vulgar communism," a form of society that sounded a lot like the Soviet Union. This discussion attracted us young women in WL-N&LC and many other feminists to these essays. Inasmuch as neither we nor other socialist feminists fully worked out their implications, however, I propose we return to them now.

OVERCOMING ALIENATED LABOR

Fundamental concepts that Marx developed throughout his life appear in 1844, which Dunayevskaya later termed the "philosophic moment" out of which his whole philosophy of revolution was born. We see his concept of alienated labor, his view of the man-woman relationship as the measure of whether a society permits real freedom for anyone, and his theory of the possibility of a double negation of both capital and "vulgar communism" that would result in entirely new human development.

From the first paragraph of the essay, "Private Property and Communism," Marx lets us know that the nature of modern society does **not** turn on whether there exists private property for the few and none for the many. Rather, the inner, active opposition in society is between capital and labor. Marx calls this opposition "the developed movement" of private property, "developed to the point of contradiction and, therefore, is the active form driving toward resolution." The contradiction threatens capitalism, as workers struggle to overcome alienated labor and to become whole human beings. Thus although Marx's concepts here are general, he is clear that the overthrow of the capital relation is key to social revolution.

KEY MAN-WOMAN RELATION

Then in the third paragraph, Marx begins a discussion of women. He equates the exclusive ownership of women as private property, via marriage, with the communal ownership of women under "vulgar communism," a society that purports to have replaced capitalism but has not established socialism. He calls prostitution the "particular expression of the universal prostitution of the worker."

And two paragraphs later, Marx identifies the relationship between men and women as the measure of whether a society has achieved any free and human relations: "The direct, natural, necessary relationship of person to person is the relationship of man to woman." The man-woman relationship shows "to what degree people, as a species, have become human and have recognized themselves as such." It exposes the lie of "vulgar communism," which is not the opposite of

Haitian women speak

NEW YORK—Two Haitian community activists spoke here July 17 about that nation's ongoing political struggles and resistance "through women's eyes." Ginette Apollon began by identifying herself as a militant feminist, unionist and nurse. President of the Commission of Women Workers of a major union, one of the largest labor federations in Haiti, and also of a community organization that organizes working-class women around issues of women's rights, education, HIV-AIDS prevention and treatment, and economic empowerment, she also works with young homeless prostitutes.

The other speaker, Rea Dol, coordinates a federation of women's organizations that focus on similar issues. A member of the community organization SOPUDEP, which opened 37 centers for older women and teaches literacy to street vendors and others, she co-founded and directs their school that serves poor children.

Both women discussed the current repression against activists and backers of deposed President Bertrand Aristide. Apollon and her husband were arrested following the U.S.-backed coup two years ago; she was so mistreated by the police that she required hospitalization. Many women died struggling against the coup, and the repression continues. Countless girls and women are victimized because they or their families are involved with pro-democracy organizations, peasant unions or local women's groups.

Now UN troops are there "keeping order," but the soldiers are involved in many crimes and in stirring up conflict in poor neighborhoods. In Cite Soleil, the largest slum in the capital, soldiers sit in the market at night, grab women and rape them.

Apollon and Dol demanded Aristide's return, as did a demonstration of 400,000 people on July 10. They seek international support for Haiti's demand that France pay back the money it extorted for a century after Haiti won its independence. Apollon said, "We need a total revolution for justice and liberation."

capitalism, but is likewise focused on property forms.

The essay then identifies the real opposite to capitalism: our appropriation (recreation) of ourselves, our own self-development.

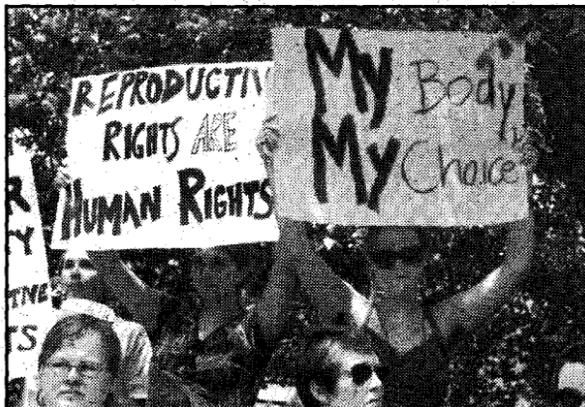
"Communism, as the positive abolition of private property, which is human self-alienation, and therefore, as the actual appropriation of human essence by people and for people, is the return of people to themselves as social, i.e., human people, complete, conscious and matured within by the entire wealth of development to date....It is the true solution of the strife between people and nature, and between person and person. It is the true resolution of the conflict between existence and essence, between reification and self-affirmation, between freedom and necessity, between individual and species. It is the solution of the riddle of history and it knows itself as this solution.

"The whole movement of history is, therefore,...the realized and recognized process of [human] development."

Thus Marx exposes the outer, surface manifestations of capital-labor and of man-woman relations, both of which appear as property relations. He contrasts those appearances to essential, inner, active relations between human beings. His concept of communism is not mere opposition to capitalism, but rather a second negation, "positive Humanism beginning from itself." The forms of private property and "vulgar communism" are historical, transitory, subject to the transformative activity of live human beings.

In 1971, we in WL-N&LC loved these essays, but we did not develop the connections between a society's mode of production and women's liberation. By now, feminist theory has gone in other directions, far from Marxism. What needs much more theorization is how, in 1844, Marx was able to single out woman-man relations as key, while at the same time holding alienated labor to be central. He did not simply view the two as existing side by side, or as contradictory, as so many feminist theorists have done. We need to dig further into not only the 1844 essays, but, as Dunayevskaya urged us, the totality of Marx's work.

Save last Mississippi abortion clinic!



JACKSON, MISS.—On July 15, feminists from the Women's Action Coalition of Memphis traveled here to rally in defense of Mississippi's last abortion clinic. Operation Save America (OSA, formerly Operation Rescue), a fanatical anti-choice organization, is trying to make Mississippi the "first abortion-free state."

Over 350 women and men attended from a dozen states from as far as Portland, New York City, and Washington, D.C. National and state organizations, including NOW, the Feminist Majority Foundation, and the ACLU, organized the event with local, grassroots groups and individuals. It was moving to see Southerners band together to protect their rights against such fanatical and institutional opposition.

The rally at a public park in downtown Jackson, began smoothly with speakers and entertainment. But it was soon interrupted by about ten OSA protesters with posters of enlarged aborted fetuses and signs covered in hate speech. We covered the signs with our own so attention would not be diverted from the speakers. Though local police had agreed to protect the permitted rally, they refused to keep OSA from advancing toward the stage as OSA attempted to end our rally.

We saw that the Jackson police were not willing to fairly handle the situation when they began pushing all of us out of the park because of a supposed bomb threat. All 350 of us were forced onto a narrow sidewalk, not more than 20 feet from the alleged bomb. But the police did not move all of the OSA protesters, leaving the pro-choice activists no alternative but to protest them. The police turned the park over to the OSA while they investigated a bomb threat that OSA obviously called in. Enraged at this blatant injustice, we continued our rally, marching around Governor Haley Barbour's mansion across from the park, chanting pro-choice slogans.

Though we were thrown into disorder, the day still left us energized and passionate about protecting our human rights. Our message was heard loudly and clearly, and our unwillingness to step down in the face of such uncompromising hate and injustice stands as a message to the government of Mississippi and the U.S.: We will not go back!

—Anna
Women's Action Coalition, Memphis

NWSA conference

by Ursula Wislanka

The National Women's Studies Association held their annual conference June 15-18 in Oakland, Cal., titled "Locating Women's Studies: formations of power and resistance." While there is no way to give a full account of three plenaries, over 300 workshops, panels, poster sessions and other events with several thousand participants, the title points to some key features.

Academic feminism wants to be rooted in today's reality and problems. I attended several workshops where the presenters focused on uniting what academia generally separates: theoretical work from activism. In "Shading the ground on which we walk," for example, four young Black women graduate students explained how they unite academic pursuits with their activism. One of them summed up their experiences saying, "We have to keep remembering what makes us human." The Conference showed a wide recognition that feminism cannot be perceived as women against men. In order to have any future, feminism has to be humanism, addressing liberation for both men and women.

'WAVES CRITIQUED'

Re-thinking feminism was definitely on the agenda. A panel organized by the NWSA President, "New directions in feminist theory," included Astrid Henry, author of *Not My Mother's Sister: Generational Conflict and Third-Wave Feminism*. She was especially critical, saying that Third Wave is over. She contended: **We have established that there is no Woman that speaks for all women. It is now clear that it is not enough to criticize the "second wave," and now we have to return to our roots in sociopolitical movements that shape both theory and activism. We may not need another "wave" of feminism, but we do need to continue the movement.** Third-wave feminism wanted to bring race and class to the front and center of feminist discourse, mistakenly believing Second-wave had not.

In a workshop, "What happened to socialist feminist women's studies programs?" Elizabeth Kennedy, a founder of women's studies at SUNY, Buffalo, objected to characterizing Second-wave as mere liberalism, pointing out that race and class have always been important to socialist feminists.

If acknowledging problems, such as racism in society and within the movement—as both waves have done—is not enough to come up with a solution, what is? Searching for unique identities often treats sex, gender, race and class as static concepts and is inadequate. Challenging Second-wave, Third-wave feminists rejected all universals, claiming they only subsume diverse voices under a unifying concept. Now static formulations of race and class, sex and gender, are being questioned. Young women, tired of de-constructing everything, are challenging the post-modernism of the Third-wave. Several spoke from the floor saying post-modernism is paralyzing, leaves no principle to guide your actions or your participation in the movement.

NEED FOR MARX

One proposed solution is to focus on intersections or "interdisciplinarity" to break women's studies out of a small field (constantly threatened and under attack). But to me, the question of the relation between feminism, race and class is not an "intersection." The dimensions of race and class are not absent from feminism and don't need to be brought in from outside. The way real people experience gender, race and class deepens our theory, our understanding of what is human.

Given the discussion at NWSA of the need to expand feminism to humanism, for feminism to engage with social movements, and the critique of post-modernism and binary thought, it was striking that Marxism was not discussed much at NWSA, and the problem of overcoming capitalism was only acknowledged in individual conversations in the hallways (though a plenary on "Empire, Global Political Conflicts and Resistance" did include a condemnation of imperialism). To move beyond binaries, which can lose sight of the humanistic whole, and fully engage with what actual women and men are doing in freedom movements worldwide, means, at the very least, not rejecting Marx outright, but rather exploring his philosophy of total liberation. For Marxist-Humanism, the essence of the idea of freedom is self-movement that doesn't stop at any particular binary opposition. As Marx put it in his *Doctoral Thesis*, "the practice of philosophy...measures the individual existence by the essence, the particular reality by the Idea."

WOMEN WORLDWIDE

by Mary Jo Grey

Police arrested 21-year-old Army Specialist-Suzanne Swift in June, after she went Absent Without Leave rather than serve a second tour of duty in Iraq. She refused to return and be a part of the war itself, as well as face daily belittling, sexual harassment, and threats of rape from male officers and fellow soldiers. She faces possible court-martial and five years in prison.

Voters in Liechtenstein have overwhelmingly rejected a Catholic Church-backed initiative that would have banned abortion, birth control, assisted suicide and living wills. Only 20% of the people supported it.

Common fight for immigrants, Blacks

by Georgiana Williams

LOS ANGELES—I have lived in South Central for 40 years. In my neighborhood there are a lot of Spanish-speaking people. In South Central I am known as Grandpa, not just to African Americans, but to everyone. And everyone was welcome in my home. I get very emotional when I think about what is happening to the Spanish-speaking people, because I grew up in the South on a plantation. The same way people live in Mexico, that is how we were treated in Mississippi.

I know what it is like to crawl on my knees all day long and pick 100 pounds of cotton and get 50 cents. I know what it's like to crawl on my knees all day and pick up potatoes and peanuts and pull tomatoes, and bell peppers, and cucumbers, and watermelons, and cantaloupes and get \$3 a day. I know what it is like when they lock the school and tell your parents that you can't go to school till all the work on the farm is done.

SLAVE SHIPS

I used to hear my grandmamma talk about the slave ships. I remember how she talked about the plantation owner making them eat with the pigs. He would feed the pigs in a trough and feed us the same way, putting our food in a trough. They had to fight the hogs to eat.

By the help of God, I did graduate from high school. I went to nursing school. I did well and I left Mississippi. I moved to California so I could work and help my family of 13. So if these people want to work in the fields, work in a laundry, keep your babies, clean your house, or work in a restaurant, if they don't have a green card or visa, leave them alone and let them make an honest dollar.

People shouldn't have to suffer in 2006 the way we did in the 1950s and 1960s. Treat them as human beings. Let them make a life for themselves and make a living.

As a nurse, for the past 10 years I have been in the

homes of Spanish-speaking families, taking care of Spanish-speaking kids. We are not divided. That is the media and the capitalist community that are trying to pit African Americans and Spanish-speaking people against one another. In South Central we are not divided.

I don't even like to use the word "immigrant." It reminds me of that word they used to call us in the South. They should be treated kind and with humanity. All this bickering about green cards and visas, they can just go to hell with it. It is 2006, it's time for a change.

They are not taking jobs from anyone. When I moved to Los Angeles in the 1960s, you could get a Black gardener. You could find a Black man to patch your roof. You don't see that now. Our men have gotten themselves educated and have moved up. All that stuff about taking away jobs is a bunch of crap.

I say to all the poor people: It is time to unite and show this capitalist society that we are one. Instead of going way south to spend your money, spend your money in your own neighborhood. Who said stand by your man? I say stand by your community. Stand by the poor.

CONDEMNED TO DEATH

I have one patient, a little girl, who has a gastrostomy tube. Medicare no longer pays for it. How am I supposed to feed that little girl? These are things that are going on in our community. Do you think this is going on in Beverly Hills? No, because the mom and dad there can buy the gastrostomy tube.

It's more than just going out there and taking jobs. There are a lot of things that need to be changed. On May Day I was out there with the immigrant marchers, me and my walking cane and my chair.

I say, keep on protesting. Keep on letting your voice be heard. I don't care what kind of flag you raise, just raise it.

Exploiting workers to rebuild New Orleans

NEW YORK—Activists from the Louisiana Workers Justice Center spoke here in mid-July at meetings on "Rebuilding New Orleans: Community Participation, Worker Justice, and Solidarity." Colette Tippy of the Center described New Orleans' continuing dual struggles for jobs with decent pay and safe conditions and for housing. She spoke at Fordham Law School, some of whose students have worked with the Center and helped it conduct a survey of 700 workers.

Ten months after Katrina, Tippy said, lack of housing remains a huge barrier to poor and working people returning. Only 50% of housing has been restored, public housing has been torn down, rents have doubled, and reconstruction plans exclude rental housing altogether. She guessed that 40% of the Black population has not returned.

Those who have come back suffer high unemployment, lack of schools as well as housing, and lack of health care and other services. Meanwhile, the large contractors who were awarded the rebuilding work have brought in over 25,000 Latino immigrants to work at illegal pay and under illegal conditions. They are housed four people to a hotel room, or with 150 bunks in a hotel ballroom, or even in shells of destroyed cars.

In spite of the institutional racism that divides the Black and Latino populations, she said, they sometimes find common cause. At a recent march by public housing residents through the housing needs, both Black and Latino workers came out in support. On May 1, 5,000 workers rallied in what she termed New Orleans' largest demonstration in a long time.

Tippy explained that, far from moving slowly as it did with aid, the federal government moved immediately after Katrina to suspend laws protecting workers and local contractors. Several people described the super-exploitation of immigrant workers, who cleaned up the city without protection from the toxins and mold, and without any monitoring by federal agencies.

"There was no OSHA, no EPA, no Labor Department," said one Center volunteer. "All you see at workplaces are the immigration authorities rounding people up for deportation, and the police harassing and robbing immigrant workers."

The majority of the immigrants are cheated out of some wages, the Center's study found, and they are not covered by workers compensation. Few New Orleans industries are unionized. In spite of or because of these conditions, "there is extraordinary organizing going on," including self-organization at shape-ups.

The Workers Center aims to aid these efforts, as well as to provide legal and other assistance. It is part of a coalition of groups organizing around the right to reunion, community-based economic development, neighborhood planning, green spacing, and levee construction. Its study, called "Injustice for All," can be found at www.advancementproject.org.

Big Box union busting



The viciously anti-union stance of Wal-Mart has prompted continued protests as in Oklahoma, above, as well as agitation for mandated "living wages" at "big box" retailers.

WORKSHOP TALKS

Continued from page 1

an ideology that says, "You can't fight progress."

This idea was used to suppress workers fighting automation at the assembly line. Now labor bureaucrats tail-end whatever management comes up with to cut costs in organizing work as they see fit—even if that means using technological "progress" to eliminate jobs here, only to reappear somewhere else at a fraction of the pay, with no union rights.

This kind of "progress" was the key ideological component of the new Change-to-Win coalition, which recently broke away from the AFL-CIO. Andy Stern, president of the SEIU International, leads that coalition. Stern says you mustn't fight the employer whenever they try to compete in the international arena, in a globalized economy.

As I was rudely reminded by that call from India, that strategy includes off-shoring operations to Third World countries, whether by computerization or other means. Stern goes even further. Not only must we fight it, he even suggests that we employees must help our employers contract out our work. If this isn't suicidal for the labor movement, I don't know what is.

Nearly ten years ago, Stern secretly initiated a partnership (with the blessing of AFL-CIO head Sweeney) between the union and the union betraying nurses and other health care workers. We were in the middle of a wave of strikes and working together with nurses for the right to deliver quality health care.

Management gained Stern's help to set up newly created "call centers" just when the nurses were winning that fight. New call center procedures put clericals in place of nurses to cut cost by cutting down on appointments and patient access to health care providers.

Savvy bureaucrats from both management and the union bureaucracy have recruited many of us minorities into the "Labor-Management Partnership." Hungry workers cannot be blamed for wanting to improve their lot in life. That is also why sweatshops in India and China are thriving. We don't need union leaders telling us we must cooperate with capital. Stern says he wants to "replicate the kind of Labor-Management Partnership" initiated at our workplace.

REBELLIOUS LABOR

This reminded me of a debate in the 1960s between Raya Dunayevskaya and Herbert Marcuse over the question of "progress" and "automation." Marcuse insisted that labor today "has a highly co-operative attitude and...vested interest in the establishment." That is certainly true of labor leaders.

But when officials and intellectuals least expect it, new forms of worker revolts surface. Dunayevskaya singled out rank-and-file wildcat strikes against automation, questioning the very nature of their work as they took on the concept of progress embraced by both the company and the union.

Workers don't have the same idea of progress that capitalists have. Workers yearn for change that comes from within that overcomes the dominance of capital over our labor. Only taking our own ideas seriously can overcome the anti-labor ideas coming from labor bureaucrats. The choice of reality is up to us.

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FROM THE WRITINGS OF
RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

Tragedy of China's Cultural Revolution

EDITOR'S NOTE

This summer marks the 40th anniversary of the launching of the "Cultural Revolution" in China—one of the most momentous events in Chinese history. In light of ongoing discussions on the significance of the Cultural Revolution, we reprint excerpts of Dunayevskaya's "World Significance of China's Self-Created Turmoil," which appeared in *N&L*, October 1966. It has been edited for publication. The original article is in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 6776-6778.

"Bombard the headquarters (of the Communist Party locals) and you bombard the handful of people in power who are taking the capitalistic road." So spoke Chairman Mao Zedong's heir apparent, Defense Minister Lin Biao, at a mass rally in Beijing on Sept. 15, 1966. The bombast against a self-created "enemy" fit in well with the audience, the so-called Red Guards who had suddenly sprung up, fully organized, from the plotting of the self-same Defense Minister, chosen by him to administer shock-troop treatment to hitherto orthodox interpreters of "Mao's Thought" by embarking on a three-week rampage of self-perpetuating disorders.

It would have been a tragic enough spectacle had these vigilante teenagers, "armed with Mao's Thought," imprinted on millions of leaflets, pamphlets, posters, been told that their work was finished now that every office, workshop, store, home, railroad coach, bus and taxi had the proper size photo of Chairman Mao; now that the proper "bourgeois individuals" had been sufficiently harassed and humiliated, thus easing the road for the Party to demote the allegedly dissident Communist Party officials; and now that the noisy mass demonstration around the Soviet Embassy which succeeded in renaming the street, "Struggle Against Revisionism," had extended itself into forcing individual Chinese "revisionists" to wear posters reading, "I oppose the Chinese revolution."

Clearly the life span of the Red Guards was not finished and the job of eradicating the influence of "the West" had to go beyond cutting trousers of passers-by, or gaining conformity in haircuts, or ransacking the homes of "bourgeois individuals," including the home of Madame Sun Yat-sen, where not only "bourgeois" furniture was carted off, but historic documents were destroyed, or in the banning of the sales of "foreign books" (except Albanian) as well as the playing of "Western music," since Bach, Beethoven and Shostakovich were now declared to be "feudal-bourgeois-revisionist," not to mention the desecration of statues from Pushkin to Confucius.

Indeed, the Red Guards are being canonized as the expression of "a great proletarian cultural revolution unprecedented in history." Unprecedented also was the timing of their appearance, shortly after the conclusion of the meeting of the most powerful ruling body—the plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Called together for the first time in four years, it is supposed to have created a body outside of its own existing youth organization, and obviously not subject to any governmental body, but only to the will of Mao through his "stand-in," Defense Minister Lin. Or is it vice-versa?

Why is this extra-legal organ needed in a land that is legally Communist? Why, with the largest land army in the world, does its commander-in-chief need yet another instrument of teenage supporters? Is an intervention in the Vietnam war planned?...

"In the name of what," asked *Pravda*, "was it found necessary in China to take over the functions of the legal organs of the people's power, to violate the Constitution, and the elementary principles of law?" After describing the "mass outrages" of the "Red Guards," the Russian Communist official newspaper further hit the nail on the head when it thus questioned the Chinese euphemism, the great proletarian cultural revolution: "Why is the 'proletarian' movement...going on without any participation by the working class?"

For Russian Communism to be able to answer that question, it would have had to admit that its own society, even as the Chinese, is an exploitative one, so that the destiny of the proletariat is not, and cannot be, in its own hands. Indeed, the nearest parallel to the 1966 "proletarian cultural revolution" in China is Stalin's 1943 revisions in the Marxian theory of value, which still dominate both Russia and China.

Then, as now, the students rebelled against the hypocrisy of teaching the Marxian theory of freedom, but practicing state-capitalist tyranny. Then, as now, the answer of the ruling powers was, first, to stop teaching Marxian economics, and then to revise Marxism itself. Where the Russian Communists revised Marxian economics, the Chinese revise Marxian philosophy, rejecting in toto the Humanism of Marxism.

The distinguishing feature of the wholesale revision of Marxism in the two countries does not, however, reside in whether one country centered its perversion of Marxism in the economic or in the philosophic field, for in the Marxian theory of liberation the two are inseparable, but in the fact that, in 1943, Stalin could rely on the Party intelligentsia to do the job, whereas Mao, in addition to preferring the Army as the perpetuating organ of Communist rule, must create an extra-

legal instrument to enforce intellectual conformity.

MAO'S OR LIN'S ARMY?

A veritable deification of Mao seemed to be the principal attribute of the CCP plenary statement. The claim is made that "Comrade Mao Zedong is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era...Mao Zedong's thought is the Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory." Mao's "brilliant policies" during the four-year period between this, the 11th, and the previous, the 10th, plenum are attested to, stress being put on his a) "call for the whole party to grasp military affairs and for everybody to be a soldier," and b) "call for the People's Liberation Army at all factories and villages, schools, commercial departments, service trades and party and government organizations to become great schools of revolution."

Yet a careful reading cannot help but note that, simultaneously with this adulation, what is singled out for emulation is this: "Comrade Lin Biao's call on the People's Liberation Army to launch a mass movement in the army to study Comrade Mao Zedong's Thought has set a brilliant example for the whole party and the whole nation..."

The discerning reader cannot help but wonder whether Mao is being deified—or mummified. Is Lin living in the reflected glory of Mao, as the press holds, or is Mao being allowed to live out his remaining years as a deity only because he transferred total authority to Lin, head of the Army?

Whether, in the turmoil in China, we are witness to a new form of Bonapartism, or allegedly participating in a "school of revolution," the point is that what is immediately involved is the life of the Vietnamese people...

Naturally the bourgeois press is delighted with this development, as it diverts attention from the pressure on them by the anti-Vietnam war fighters. These continuous struggles in the 1960s have been hampered by the developing Sino-Soviet conflict which has made united front action against U.S. imperialism impossible. The Communist world had been further shaken up by the calamitous defeat in October 1965 of the Indonesian Communist Party which had followed a Maoist line....

THE ARMY VS. YOUTH

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is the only one in the Communist world that lists the Army along with the Party as the two instruments of power. Naturally this is no accident. Long before Mao won state power, as he was escaping Chiang Kai-shek's murderous counter-revolution, Mao developed an original, for Marxists, view of the army—first of a guerrilla army, and then just of the army. This is Mao's one original contribution to "Marxism-Leninism," or more precisely put, to the perversion of Marxism, since his concept was for continuous guerrilla warfare to develop irrespective of any relationship to a mass movement which, to genuine Marxism, would be its only reason for being. If now the army should have slipped away also from Mao's control, it would only show that theory has a logic of its own, irrespective of a relationship to the theoretician.

Once this army has an objective basis for being—state power—nothing can keep it from being the expression of the exploitative ruling class and its global ambitions. It is not that Mao disagrees with these: he is anxious to contend with other great powers for world domination. It is, rather, that he does also have a concept of "the vanguard role of the Party to lead," which now, however, has been absorbed in the stress on "politics must take command."

Far from the activities of the "Red Guards" initiating "a second revolution," China's "proletarian cultural revolution" is so devoid of any proletarian participation, or peasant or student youth for that matter, that 1) all universities were ordered closed for six months, and 2) the Red Guards were ordered "not to go to factories, enterprises and government organizations below the county level, not to rural people's communes." In a word, they must not interfere with production, neither in the factories, nor on the farms.

No doubt, Mao is hoping to use them against the rebellious students in the cities, but success is by no means assured. Quite the contrary. For the truth is that the foremost voices of revolt against Mao's rule during the Hundred Flowers Campaign were those of the youth. And it is they, again, who had brought about a very modified version of it in 1961. The fact that Mao felt compelled to order the closing of the schools bespeaks the restlessness of the Chinese youth. Those confident of the rule of their thinking do not go about shutting down schools of higher learning.

State-capitalism calling itself Communism is as anxious to dull the sense of youth as any ruling class fearing the daring of youth compelled to live in a world they did not make. The Chinese youth will yet teach

Mao the lesson begun by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters: that you cannot brainwash a people by totalitarian rule.

GLOBAL AMBITION VS PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Even a cursory look at the actual, instead of the imagined, developments in Mao's China will show that power in the People's Republic does not lie in the hands of the people. It isn't even in the hands of the "vanguard," the Communist Party. It took Mao over a decade after the conquest of power before he bothered to convene a Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. Furthermore, all apologists for China as a "land of socialism" notwithstanding, that Congress designated China as **state-capitalist**.

Naturally, Communism held that "State-capitalism under control of a state led by the working class is different in nature from state-capitalism under bourgeois rule." But this does not change the fact that even the Chinese Communists, as late as September 1956, called the country by its right name, state-capitalism.

What happened then to change everything very nearly overnight? Where it took 11 years to convene a Congress, why did it take less than a year for the Politburo to proclaim that not only could China industrialize faster than "the West," but that it was outdistancing "socialist" Russia by going **directly** (sic!) to "communism"?

This was no "second revolution." It was an outright counter-revolution. Unlike the elemental outpouring of the masses

es against the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek regime, this time "the mass line" meant the mass sweat and blood that would be needed to take the fantastic "Great Leap Forward"—into what they knew not. What shocked Mao's China beyond any rational reaction one short month after the Communist Congress was the first great proletarian revolution for freedom from Communism. It happened in Hungary, and it shook the whole Communist world to its foundations.

Mao's counter-revolutionary role was not exhausted in his urging Khrushchev to rush Russian tanks to put down the revolution. No, so afraid was Mao that a genuine proletarian revolution might also occur in China, that, at first, he tried winning over the Chinese intellectuals through a "thaw" called "let a hundred flowers bloom" campaign. Then, when the voices of protest to his rule could be heard from all layers of the population, the youth in particular, he clamped down their protest, and ordered, instead, the so-called Great Leap Forward, which brought the country to near-famine conditions...

The fact remains that China's present concept of "a new era of world revolution" rests wholly on this being led solely and exclusively by Chinese Communism. **It is no accident that Mao's maps of China, just as Chiang Kai-shek's, show China not as it is, but as it was in the days of great empire when China was the center of the universe....**

The failure to see through Mao's global ambitions is not due to any difficulty in detecting them. On the contrary. **They protrude everywhere, even in Chinese Communism's embrace of the "Black Power" slogan in the U.S. in the vain hope that sufficient chaos would result from it as to pave the way for China's leadership of this movement too.**

The trouble with Mao's apologists is that they share his concept of the "backwardness" of the masses, hence the need for extra-legal organs to assure allegedly revolutionary succession. Having no confidence that the proletarians could gain freedom by their own mass strength, and holding U.S. imperialism to be very nearly invincible, they prefer to lean on **some state power**.

It is this which has made them subject to the alchemy with which Mao transforms China as a nation into a **proletarian class**, and further expands this magic into having China "represent" all exploited minorities. And it is this that has blinded them from seeing the sinister role China is playing in the Vietnam war, and, instead, to present China as "the vanguard of the resistance to the Pax Americana." As Cuba has learned, nothing could be further from the truth.

Of course, U.S. imperialism is the main escalator of the Vietnam war. Of course, this is part of its strategy against China itself. Of course, it is out for world domination. But the way to undermine this barbarism is not by siding with China (or Russia) who have their own global aims.

The Negro Revolution has done more to shake up American capitalism than all the thunderous statements of China and its all-too-cautious actions. To think otherwise is to play power politics and to block the road to freedom. The only way to achieve freedom is through the release of the elemental creativity of the oppressed masses, Chinese included.



SELF-INFLICTED CHAOS—China's Cultural Revolution

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 2006-2007

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One sign of this is that Iranian President Ahmadinejad went to China in June to attend a meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, formed in 2001 by Russia, China, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan as a possible counterweight to U.S. domination. Iran is now aspiring to become a full member. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld sharply criticized Russia and China for inviting Ahmadinejad, questioning why they would consider having "a terrorist state" join their organization.

While we cannot underestimate the strength of U.S. power, the past several years have exposed the hollow-ness of Bush's illusion that the U.S. could dominate the world at will.

In some cases the barrier to U.S. dominance comes from states that are trying to consolidate their power and prestige at U.S. expense, as is the case with Russia. In other cases the barrier to U.S. dominance comes from the **disintegration** of centralized states.

This disintegration is linked to the nature of today's globalized capitalism. As capital becomes more globalized, governments are forced to compete internationally for investment, which forces them to cut social expenditures and taxes. In many parts of the developed world this "race to the bottom" has led to growing social chaos and fragmentation.

In the most extreme cases it has led to the rise of warlordism. It's

seen in Afghanistan, with the resurgence of the Taliban. It's seen in Somalia, where a coalition of radical Islamist groups has gained control of the country from the warlords who have dominated it for 15 years. The U.S. supported the warlords because they supposedly opposed terrorism.

And it's seen in Congo, where four million have died from the ravages of war since 1998. Congo, like some other countries in the developing world, is less a functioning national entity than a patchwork of disjointed cantons. Far from creating a "new world order," our globalized capitalist world includes regions of genocidal disorder.⁽³⁾

In some places, Islamic fundamentalists are trying to fill the void created by such disintegration by imposing their reactionary agenda upon the populace. Whether in Afghanistan or Iraq, Sudan or Somalia, their effort begins with an attack on the rights of

women. As we have argued for years, revolutionaries must not take sides between reactionary fundamentalist forces and U.S. imperialism. The only way out is unfurling a total banner of human liberation that points the way to the transcendence of capitalism. Nowhere is that more needed than right here in the U.S.

II. Renewal of freedom movements?

A. The U.S. Scene

Today we see signs that a renewal of the freedom movements may be underway in the U.S.—though we can neither underestimate the power of the Bush administration to repress them nor overestimate the desire of the Democratic Party to aid them.

Support for the U.S. occupation of Iraq has hit an all-time low, as many realize that the war has further destabilized Iraq, moved the U.S. toward economic bankruptcy, and provided religious fundamentalists in the Middle East with a cause around which to rally. Dissatisfaction with the "growing economy" in the U.S. is mounting as it becomes clear that the trillions of dollars of new wealth generated in the past 10 years benefiting only a tiny percentage of the populace. Opposition is rising to Bush's attacks on women's rights and civil rights through his Supreme Court appointments.

Things look very different from just a year ago, when Bush claimed that his reelection provided him with a "mandate" to impose total political and ideological control over the U.S.

This provides an opening for the Left—the question is whether it will take advantage of it.

Nothing in the past year was a more defining moment than the outrage over the response to Hurricane Katrina. The government's inaction exposed the racism that has defined this country from its birth. New Orleans today looks little different than after the hurricane, largely because of class-based decisions on rebuilding that have left 200,000 Black and poor white former residents homeless.

The disastrous conduct of the Iraq war and of hurricane relief is also producing splits in the ruling class, as seen in the controversy over the NSA's domestic spying operations. Bush's illegal spying on tens of millions can hardly be explained by an effort to "protect" us from overseas terrorists. It is part of the government's response to growing opposition by youth and war veterans to the Iraq war, women protesting the destruction of abortion rights and continued attacks on birth control, gays and lesbians protesting the drive to roll back the hard-won gains in civil liberties, and Blacks and Latinos raising their voices against the racist character of American "civilization."

The danger posed by the attack on women and gay and lesbian rights has reached an especially critical juncture. Gov. Kathleen Blanco of Louisiana, a conservative Democrat, plans to sign into law a bill that would completely outlaw abortion in that state, were the U.S. Supreme Court to strike down *Roe vs. Wade*. Several other states are following South Dakota's earlier lead in enacting laws criminalizing abortion as well as promoting anti-gay referenda. In some states like Illinois, however, efforts to promote anti-gay and lesbian ordinances have run into firm opposition.

The most evident sign of the renewal of freedom movements in the U.S. is the outbreak of massive marches for immigrant rights. At a moment when U.S. workers are being subjected to an intense effort to further lower wages and gut benefits—as seen in the drive to deprive millions in auto, airlines, and other industries of their health benefits and pensions—the new struggles of immigrants have the potential to reawaken the U.S. labor movement as a whole.

A one-day work stoppage by immigrants on May Day led agricultural production in Florida and California to come to a halt. In the Midwest, all three of the largest meatpackers were forced to close, knowing that if they did not, their workforces would have walked out anyway. In Los Angeles, garment workers closed the huge garment center and the wholesale food workers struck as well. Independent truckers shut down the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach. Except for some of the meatpackers, none of these groups of workers were in unions. By comparison, in all of 2005, labor-union strikes involved only 100,000.

Though the vast bulk of those who marched on May Day in Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, Oakland, and other cities were Latino, the Black dimension also made its presence felt. In Oakland a speaker from the NAACP expressed solidarity with immigrants by singling out the need for "all individuals, regardless of race or nationality, to be treated with respect and dignity." Many of today's marchers are taking their cue from the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s in evok-

ing the memory of Martin Luther King's work with the Memphis Sanitation workers in 1968 and the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-56.

Six months ago no one predicted such an outpouring. Yet we must not underestimate the response to it on the part of the U.S. Right. Bush is calling for 6,000 National Guardsmen to patrol the U.S.-Mexico border and for a chain-link fence to be constructed along hundreds of miles of it. The Senate has voted to make English the national language of the U.S. And Congress is considering restrictive laws that would define millions of immigrant workers as felons. All of this is part of an ideological battle by the Right to distract attention from the Iraq war and Katrina.

Meanwhile, many of the white militias that disbanded after the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 are reemerging and making attacks on immigrants their primary concern. The Southern Poverty Law Center reports that the number of racist groups openly operating in the U.S. today has grown by 33% since 2000.

This year's events show that no one can predict which forces will move and in what way. The question is, **will we be ready** when masses of people move in a **revolutionary** direction by projecting a concept of a new society that can help give their actions a direction?

B. Challenges to global capital, from France to Latin America

To probe into this we need to confront the specific political-philosophic challenge facing Marxist-Humanists in light of the freedom struggles in parts of the world that are reaching for a revolutionary uprooting of society.

Some of the most important struggles this year occurred in France. Last year's ghetto revolts against police abuse by Arab and African minority youth were followed by massive student-worker protests—the largest mobilization of the Left in over two decades. In response to the government's effort to enable employers to fire young workers without cause, three mass protests of a million people, plus the occupation of 1,200 high schools and 69 universities, forced it to back down. In response to the government's failure to carry through with promises made after last fall's revolt to redress problems of poverty and police abuse, Arab and African youth engaged in new protests in two Paris suburbs on May 31.

At the other end of the world, China is also witnessing intense social unrest. Over 80,000 protests and demonstrations have occurred there in the past year. This unrest is also impacting the realm of ideas. As seen at an international conference on Rosa Luxemburg in China in March, there is a quest on the part of activists and thinkers there for an alternative to both the capitalist free market and authoritarian statism.⁽⁴⁾

No part of the world is seething with unrest more than Latin America. The situation in Mexico, which held its presidential election on July 2, is especially critical. Although Felipe Calderón narrowly defeated the left-of-center candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador in a stolen election, the campaign brought to the surface deep discontent among Mexico's workers, farmers, and the poor with the country's overall direction.

The most important development in Mexico concerns the revival of its labor movement. Mexican workers have been outraged over the death of 65 coal miners in Coahuila, which has led to a series of wildcat strikes by Mexican miners. The Feb. 19 mine disaster at the Pasta de Conchos mine occurred shortly after a government safety inspection report said that the mine was safe. The miners, who earn only \$1 an hour after deductions for benefits, have filed charges of industrial homicide against the company.

Many protests have also been held against efforts to make it virtually impossible for workers to form independent unions, bargain collectively, or strike. Tens of thousands of miners, steelworkers, and teachers have held strikes against the government's effort to stifle opposition to government-controlled union leaders. In May, a teachers' strike involving 70,000 broke out in Oaxaca. Teachers, students and supporters camped out in the streets of Oaxaca City in the largest ever mass mobilization there.

Many of today's movements in Mexico—and Latin America as a whole—have adopted nonhierarchical organizational forms that oppose the old left model of "first we seize state power, then we figure out how to reorganize social relations." The women's liberation movement helped bring about this focus on decentralized forms of organization.

The feminist movement became an important force in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s. From its inception women chose to organize themselves in decentralized, nonhierarchical collectives and formations in direct opposition to the vanguardism and elitism of most of the Left. Mexican feminists initiated a series of gatherings, called *encuentros*—open-ended spaces for women to develop perspectives for liberation. This as well as the forms of struggle of the indigenous peoples of Mexico helped inspire the nonhierarchical organizational forms of the Zapatistas and other



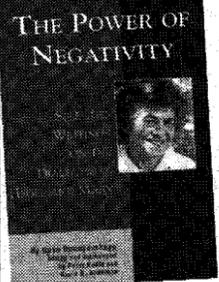
Immigrant rights protests in Chicago, above, and cities across the U.S., July 19.

Chicago Independent Media Center

The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx

"Her understanding of dialectics as a method whereby each generation has to discover its own revolutionary task, her insistence that Marxism means humanism in the most inclusive sense and that socialism means the social actualization of individual freedom—these are ideas that appear young and fresh against the weary and sophistic pessimism that dominates much theory in the academy today. And more: in contrast to the boring pap of commodified culture and political sound bites, Raya's interpretation makes the logic of Hegel's absolute idea a fascinating and compelling read."—Susan Buck-Morss, author of *The Origin of Negative Dialectics*

To order *The Power of Negativity*, see page 3.



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movements. The feminist movement's insistence on anticipating the forms of new human relations in the course of struggles against existing society has deeply impacted movements in Latin America as well as elsewhere.(5)

This remains especially important in Argentina, where 193 factories employing 10,000 workers have been taken over by workers and run as self-managed cooperatives.

A Marxist-Humanist who recently visited Argentina reports: "I visited one of the smaller plants which produces books, is run as a cooperative, with everyone getting the same wage, the only differential being if they have a family and thus receive more. This particular factory has a relation with a neighborhood assembly that brings over meals for the workers every day. And they do so voluntarily without any compensation. In some re-occupied factories the neighborhood works closely with the workers...there are also schools that are run cooperatively" as well as many unemployed workers' organizations. The factory cooperatives and unemployed organizations are based on nonhierarchical forms based on democratic decision-making.

Yet these groups are not without contradictions. Vanguardist parties have sought to control the cooperatives and undermine what they cannot control. And some cooperatives have gravitated toward supporting Kirchner's government, since it provides financial aid to some of them. Kirchner's mixture of traditional Peronism with neo-liberal economics has also succeeded in co-opting a section of the *piqueteros*. The autonomist assertion of non-hierarchical organizational forms does not necessarily prevent many who defend such a position from making use of or even supporting statist forms as well.

This phenomenon is visible throughout Latin America. Mass opposition to neo-liberalism swept Evo Morales into power in Bolivia and helps explain the support for Chavez in Venezuela. Throughout the continent indigenous peoples have taken the lead in challenging decades of paternalist policies that allowed multinationals to rob their national resources.

This has led to renewed efforts to nationalize industry. In Ecuador, the government expropriated Occidental Petroleum's oil fields in May. A month earlier, Ecuador's parliament raised taxes on oil companies to 50% when prices go above levels stipulated in contracts. The U.S. responded by canceling long-running trade talks with Ecuador. Most important of all has been Evo Morales' dramatic nationalization of Bolivia's oil and gas reserves.

There is often less to these nationalizations of industry than meets the eye, however. Neither Venezuela nor Bolivia has engaged in the outright expropriation of foreign capital that characterized Cárdenas's nationalization of the oil industry in Mexico in the 1930s. Venezuela requires that foreign oil companies convert their contracts into joint ventures with the state and has increased royalties and taxes on their operations. Bolivia does not promote joint ventures, but it has increased the royalties and taxes on the oil companies from 50% to 83%. Morales Dávila, advisor to Bolivia's state-owned oil company stated, "This nationalization process puts capital at the service of the interests of the nation instead of expropriating it...we will be very tough with the companies, but we will guarantee secure contracts."

While many in Bolivia support these moves, many to the left of Morales are also demanding direct workers' control of industry. Some Bolivian leftists worry that a "fetish of statism" may consume the mass movements.(6)

In many places around the world today we are witnessing a return to traditional approaches that focus on nationalized property and the statification of natural resources as the solution to the ravages of capitalism—not just on the part of statist vanguardists, but also on the part of many who oppose them in the name

of grassroots initiatives.

One reason for this is that the movements from theory have failed to offer a comprehensive concept of the transcendence of capitalist value production. Many recognize the need for free association, workers' control, and self-determination. But the question of how such forms can enable masses of people to uproot value production itself has been largely left aside. Politics, like nature, abhors a void. When the anti-vanguardist left fails to articulate how people can create a liberating alternative to capitalism, then other tendencies can be expected to rush in to provide false answers instead.

III. The philosophic-organizational challenge: what happens after?

A. New stage of revolt or birth of a new epoch?

To see the role we can play in helping to resolve this problem, we want to examine the Perspectives Thesis of News and Letters Committees of 1977-78, written as part of an effort to concretize the contributions of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973).

The Thesis was entitled, "It's Later, Always Later—Except When Spontaneity Upsurges and You Realize It is Here and Now, and You Aren't There and Ready." It focused on the difference between "totally new, epochal beginnings" and "only new stages of revolt," stating: "Not all great events which mark new stages of revolt are also epochal new beginnings, initiating a historic new in thought as well as in fact." The East German workers revolt of 1953 marked an epochal new beginning as it "not only achieved the first revolt from under totalitarian Communism, but also raised the question of the Humanism of Marxism." This led, by 1956, to the birth of a new epoch when the Hungarian Revolution pried Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* from the archives.(7)

This new epoch was anticipated by the philosophic moment of U.S. Marxist-Humanism—the 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. It became the basis for Dunayevskaya's development of U.S. Marxist-Humanism, starting with *Marxism and Freedom* (1958). A philosophic moment is a very rare creation. It represents a new stage of cognition. It doesn't just come out of the head of an intellectual. It involves an historic leap in the actions of masses of people.

In the 1960s a new stage of revolt was reached with the protests against the Vietnam War, the Black revolution in the U.S., the women's liberation movement, and the near-revolution in France 1968. Yet while 1968 was a dramatic highpoint as a near-revolution, it did not initiate a new epoch in thought. Unlike East Germany 1953 and Hungary 1956, which brought forth a rediscovery of Marx's Humanism—to the extent that it became taken up by thinkers ranging from Christian theologians to Existentialists, and even to fellow travelers of Communism—France 1968 and the other movements of 1968 did not lead to a deeper conceptual appropriation or development of Marx's Humanism.

Instead, in May 1968 Jacques Derrida penned his famous essay "The Ends of Man," in which he proclaimed the "end" of any liberatory humanism. This rejection of Marx's Humanism, which was by no means restricted to those who went on to develop postmodernism, formed the dominant tendency in radical thought for the next several decades. This shift resulted, in part, from the abstract and ahistorical character of the existentialist version of humanism articulated by thinkers like Jean-Paul Sartre. His philosophy was about "subjectivity without a subject"—an abstract humanism shorn of the impulses arising from actual movements from practice. Such a standpoint could hardly win the argument against anti-humanists like Lévi-Strauss, Althusser, Derrida, and Foucault.

This didn't mean that creative mass revolts came to an end. "Nevertheless, once the near-revolution in Paris in 1968 aborted, it became necessary to draw a balance sheet between what was a truly new, epochal beginning and what were only new stages of revolt."(8)

Dunayevskaya concluded from the unfinished revolts of the 1960s that the time had come to take "revolutionary responsibility for picking up the link" of continuity with Marx's Humanism through a renewed engagement with Hegel's dialectic of absolute negativity, which centers not just on the negation of what is but on the "negation of the negation"—the projection of a positive, liberatory vision of the future. It led to her

writing *Philosophy and Revolution*, which explored the dialectic "in and for itself" and concretized it through a critique of revolutionary alternatives and an analysis of objective world realities.

She wrote in "Not by Practice Alone" (1984): "With *Philosophy and Revolution* we had a new situation. It is not alone all the new passions and forces of the 1960s with which the book ends but the fact that the philosophic predominates over the historic, the theory over the practice...not the movement from practice, but the movement from theory—gave the whole question of Hegelian dialectics 'in and for itself' a totally new meaning, in the sense that it demanded detailing not only the movement from practice but that from theory."(9)

An epochal new beginning does not arise only from a new stage of revolt; it arises from a new stage of revolt that is accompanied by a new stage of dialectical cognition. Not only did the latter not arise in the 1960s, no epochal new beginning has arisen since then—despite Poland's Solidarnosc of 1980, the East European revolts of 1989 that brought down Communism, the Los Angeles rebellion of 1992, and the 1994 Chiapas rebellion and 1999 Seattle protests, which initiated a new movement against globalized capitalism.

Our task today is not to apply the philosophic breakthrough contained in *Philosophy and Revolution* to today in an unmediated fashion. We instead need to absorb, internalize, and develop the ramifications of its central category, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," in light of the problems of our times. Only then will we be prepared for new revolts to come.

What specific challenge for today flows from Dunayevskaya's "unchaining of the dialectic" with the concept of "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning"? In 1987 she wrote: "The burning question of the day remains: What happens the day after [the revolution]? Can we continue Marx's unchaining of the dialectic organizationally, with the principles he outlined in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*?"(10)

B. China's Cultural Revolution, 40 years later

We can gain illumination on this challenge by taking note of the 40th anniversary of China's Cultural Revolution. Mao Zedong initiated the Cultural Revolution in 1966 as a preventive civil war aimed at bringing down leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) who had criticized his disastrous "Great Leap Forward" of 1959-60, in which millions perished. The Cultural Revolution of 1966-73 led to a decade of chaos and near civil war.

Conferences on the Cultural Revolution are now occurring worldwide. Some leftists are arguing for a reappraisal of this disaster, on the grounds that it represented China's last chance to check the growth of a "new capitalist class" and avoid the full-scale plunge into the world market.

The foremost exponent of this view is the French philosopher Alain Badiou, who writes, "Our debt to the Cultural Revolution remains enormous." He calls it "this grandiose and courageous" Event that "was the only true political creation of the '60s and '70s," since it represented Mao's effort to encourage the masses to

Continued on page 7



FIGHT FOR THE FUTURE: Young marchers flood the streets of Paris to denounce retrogressive economic policies of Chirac.

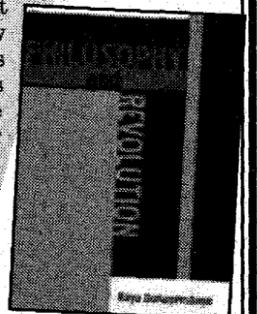
Paris Independent Media Center

Mao's state-capitalism... and its opponents Two works by Raya Dunayevskaya

"Some self-styled revolutionaries are ready to forgive Mao every crime in the book and leave a few blank pages for those he might invent later, on the ground that he is the foe of U.S. imperialism which is the chief enemy of world revolution. They are ignorant of fundamental class divisions within each country, China included, and illogically link those opposites, war and revolution."
—*Marxism and Freedom*



"Moving completely within the superstructure of what Marx would have considered false consciousness (national culture against class nature), Mao believed that the conflict in policies between himself and workers, peasants, and youth could be 'resolved' by the 'remolding of thought of all,' 'touching the souls of men.' Idealism, bourgeois or Maoist, is not, of course, a matter of choice. In every period in which masses have either undergone defeat or demonstrated a new revolutionary way the leaders refused to accept, there has been a tendency to regard the masses as unhistorical, 'poor and blank,' as Mao puts it. Hence Mao arrogates to himself the task of 'making history.'"
—*Philosophy and Revolution*



To order, see page 3.

Theoretic preparation for uprooting capitalism

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"free politics from the framework of the party-state that imprisons it." (11)

Incredibly, Badiou still accepts at face value the Maoist claim that the Cultural Revolution was part of an effort to destroy the party-state that ruled China since the Communists took power since 1949. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth.

Despite its importance, China's 1949 Revolution did not mark the birth of a new world. A new world instead arose from the 1953 East German revolt and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution—which Mao opposed. Mao launched the misnamed "anti-Rightist campaign" in 1957 in response to developments like articles by Liu Binyan in *People's Daily* that reported that many Chinese workers wanted to emulate the 1956 Hungarian Revolution by **smashing** the single party-state.

Mao's crackdown on dissident voices also led to an attack on Humanism in the philosophic sphere. In the 1960s, Wang Ruoshui was assigned by Mao's ideological henchman, Zhou Yang, to write an attack on Marxist Humanism. However, Wang was won over to Marx's Humanism when he read the forbidden books he had been asked to attack (which included works by Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, and Dunayevskaya). It was only after Mao's death, in the 1980s, that Wang was able to publish his famous essay "Does Alienation Exist Under Socialism?" in which he used Marx's 1844 *Manuscripts* to criticize "actually existing socialism." It led to his expulsion from the CCP.

Long before then, in the late 1950s, Mao had argued that the time had come for Russia to directly challenge the U.S. When the Russians demurred, Mao initiated the Sino-Soviet split. Although his subsequent assertion of Chinese leadership of the Communist

world led to a new, narrow nationalism that held the forefront of world attention for two decades, Mao's policies completely failed to develop China. China broke from Russia but was also opposed by the U.S. So how was China going to develop economically? Mao deluded himself that China could achieve a "great leap forward" by forcing greater output from the masses through ideological exhortation. The superstructure was held to be more important than the economic base and consciousness was promoted as an independent force that could shape reality *sui generis*. "Philosophy," in the form of Mao's Thought, was presented as a force that could surmount the two-fold world of the ideal and the real. Everything became subordinated to culture and consciousness. As Mao put it, "Politics is in command."

This led to his launching of the disastrous Great Leap Forward and, in 1966, the Cultural Revolution. Though Mao initially used the latter to rid the party hierarchy of those who favored a more traditional Russian-style approach to economic development, when truly revolutionary groupings arose (such as the

Sheng Wu-lien) that called for the overthrow of the "red capitalist class" and workers' control of production, Mao sent in the army to slaughter them.

The Cultural Revolution proved the total failure of Mao's voluntarist effort to use consciousness to leap across material limitations. It is therefore no surprise that no sooner was Mao dead than his successors moved China toward a full embrace of the world market, while paying lip service to "Mao Zedong Thought."

Mao may not have known Hegel, but Hegel surely anticipated him, as seen in the section of his *Phenomenology of Spirit* entitled "Spirit in Self-Estrangement." Dunayevskaya once wrote, "Politically speaking, such a period I would call 'What Happens After?' that is to say, what happens after a revolution has succeeded and we still get, not so much a new society, as a new bureaucracy." (12) Here is what Hegel says in "Spirit in Self-Estrangement": "Spirit is conscious of an objective reality which exists independently...their alienation is pure consciousness....Spirit in this case therefore constructs not merely one world, but a two-fold world, divided and self-opposed." (13)

Hegel's point is that the opposition of ideal and real cannot be surmounted by "pure consciousness" that "extinguishes all objectiveness." The "universal inversion of reality and thought" cannot surmount barriers to liberation; it simply reproduces them. The fetish of culture, like the fetish of the political, "constructs not merely one world, but a two-fold world, divided and

relations of production and in society as a whole. But masses of people want to know what **specific** relations of production and society need to be transformed in a way that can enable humanity to fundamentally break from value production. We must address that question and not stop dead before it.

C. The transcendence of value production

"The difficulty that Marxist-Humanists have had this year—indeed, what revolutionaries have always encountered great difficulty with, is the sudden recognition that it is the Universal that is crucial, not the particular. That by itself is by no means sufficient because the Universal must particularize itself. In fact, to catch the 'moment' when the Universal particularizes itself and when it does not is the key to everything."

—Raya Dunayevskaya
Marxist-Humanist Perspectives 1986-1987

Each generation brings forth new realities as well as unresolved theoretical questions. The particular question that any effort to challenge existing society faces today is addressed in the third work of Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution," (16) *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1981). In contrasting "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative" to Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence," it posed the question of **how to achieve a "revolution in permanence" that abolishes capitalist value production and creates a classless, non-racist, non-sexist, new society.**

We know from bitter experience that simply nationalizing property and industry, even when under the control of a "progressive" regime, does not constitute the abolition of capitalism. Such efforts have repeatedly led to the formation of authoritarian state-capitalist societies. The transcendence of capitalism requires a far deeper uprooting by creating freely associated relations of labor and of human relations as a whole that abolish the law of value.

We also know from history that cooperatives and worker-run enterprises, important as they are for prefiguring the actual abolition of the opposition between capital and labor, do not constitute the abolition of capitalism. Marx wrote that as long as "[the] cooperative factories run by workers themselves [exist within capitalism they]...naturally reproduce in all cases, in their present organization, all the defects of the existing system, and must reproduce them...But the opposition between capital and labor is abolished here, even if at first only in the form that the workers in association become their own capitalist, that is, they use the means of production to valorize their own labor." (17)

The hard theoretical labor needed today to envision how a revolution can transcend capitalist value production must **begin** by "continu[ing] Marx's unchaining of the dialectic organizationally, with the principles he outlined in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*"—the work in which he issued his fullest discussion of what happens after the revolution in the course of a critique of a supposedly socialist organizational program. Let us briefly review Marx's elaboration in that critical text of how it may be possible to transcend value production.

First of all, we should note that the *Critique of the Gotha Program* expresses Marx's disappointment that his closest followers so little understood the content of *Capital*. Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* not only specifies the tissue of errors of his followers, but it also comes closest of any of his works to specifying the philosophic and organizational principles that would have been adopted by a party "in the eminent historical sense," had it truly projected a philosophically grounded alternative to capitalism and the law of value.

The philosophic and theoretic outlook of *Capital* is integral to the *Critique of the Gotha Program*. In *Capital*, Vol. I, Marx stated that human relations take on "the form of a relation between things," because "that is what they really are" in capitalism. This thingification of human relations is rooted in the "peculiar social form of labor" under capitalism. Capitalism is characterized by a "social relation between the products of labor," instead of "direct relations between the producers." Commodity fetishism begins not in the market, but in production, in the indirectly social character of labor.

Marx then writes, "Let us finally imagine, for a change, an association of free men, working with the means of production held in common, and expending their many different forms of labor power in full self-awareness as one single social force." (18)

He notes that "the total product of our imagined association is a social product." Workers freely allocate part of the product to renew the means of production, "which remains social," and the rest is "consumed by the members of the association as means of subsistence." The way this division is to be carried out will "vary with the particular kind of social organization of production and the corresponding level of social development attained by the producers."

In the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx goes into greater specificity on what is needed for the revolu-



GLOBAL VANTAGE: Participants in the Bamako, Mali location of the World Social Forum this year, convened in response to capitalist globalization's inhuman impact.

self-opposed." The two worlds remain in an insuperable opposition. Faced with this internal barrier, consciousness or will turns into an empty negativism, "the rage of fury of destruction" that fails to create anything new, as Hegel put in the chapter of "Spirit in Self-Estrangement" entitled "Absolute Freedom and Terror."

Hegel's critique of such attitudes toward objectivity in his *Phenomenology of Spirit* not only illuminates the shortcomings of figures like Mao who long ago passed from the scene. It also addresses the standpoint of many prominent radical thinkers today.

Far too much of radical theory today relies on mere critique and negativism while shying away from projecting any positive vision of a new society. It is typified in the approach of Badiou as well as Slavoj Zizek, who recently stated: "As soon as you formulate a critique, they respond: 'Yes, but do you have a positive program?' Of course, one doesn't have one! We live in an epoch of emptiness, where we can only prepare the ground. Our main responsibility today, even if one doesn't know what to do, is to keep an open space." (14)

No totally new epoch has arisen since the 1950s. Yet the world is full of crisis and revolts. We still face "two worlds in opposition." But today there isn't a clear way out of these two worlds in opposition, **largely because radical theorists have failed to develop the new stage of cognition that emerged from as early as the 1950s on the basis of Marx and Hegel by spelling out a vision of a non-capitalist world in relation to the specific revolts and world realities of our times.** Despite the interest shown by many youth today in working out a comprehensive alternative to capitalism, the prevailing tendency of radical thought is to stop dead at the political form of decision-making as the determinant to creating a new society—as if the question of "what happens after" the revolution can be answered without grappling with the difficult problem of how a revolution can transcend the capitalist law of value.

As our Perspectives for 2005-2006 stated: "The tendency to reduce the question of a new society to political forms of decision-making, while shying away from the question of how to transcend the capital relation itself, is symptomatic of much of radical theory today...the radical movement has virtually dropped any discussion of transforming the mode of production, focusing instead on civil society, democracy, culture, 'self-expression,' etc. These issues are important, but what's been left aside is any discussion of how to transform the economic structure of capitalism....The failure by post-Marx Marxists to transform production relations because they fetishized property forms has led many to now act as if the most we can reach for is to transform the political and cultural superstructure of capitalism. In both cases transforming alienated labor and the capitalist mode of production is left untheorized." (15)

No new society can arise without freely associated

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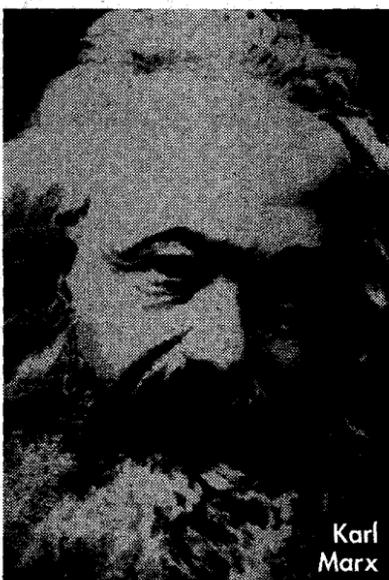
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tionary transformation of capitalist society into communist society. He writes: "Within the cooperative commonwealth based on the social ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products; just as little does the labor embodied in the products appear here as the value of these products, as a material quality possessed by them, since now, in contrast to capitalist society, the individual labor no longer exists as an indirectly but as a directly constituent part of the total labor."(19)



Karl Marx

Marx is here envisioning a post-revolutionary society in which value production is abolished. Labor has become directly social, but without the hierarchies and patriarchal relations characteristic of pre-capitalist societies. New freely associated production relations have arisen in which the alienation in the very activity of laboring is abolished.

These new production relations lead to new relations of distribution. All expenditures of labor are now measured by an equal standard. The magnitude of the contribution that someone makes will be measured by the magnitude of the labor she expends. All contribute labor to the commons and then receives a voucher (not money) measuring the labor they have performed based on the standard of the actual amount of labor time worked. Marx writes, "The individual working time of the individual producer is that part of the social working day contributed by him, his part thereof. He receives from society a voucher that he has contributed such and such a quantity of work (after deductions from his work for the common fund) and draws through this voucher on the social storehouse as much of the means of consumption as the same quantity of work costs. The same amount of work which he has given to society in one form, he receives back in another."(20)

Marx acknowledges that at this initial phase of a new society, or the lower phase of communism, there will still be inequality, because of the unequal productive capacity of individuals and their unequal needs (one works longer and more intensively, another has more dependents who can't work, etc.). But these defects, he writes, are inevitable in "a communist society... just as it emerges from capitalist society."

Although this initial phase of communism is only the beginning of the effort to create a new society, it suggests a huge transformation. Class oppression, value production, commodity fetishism, and indirectly social labor are uprooted. Labor power is no longer a commodity and alienated labor is abolished. A powerful foundation is thereby created for ending the separation of mental from manual labor, which has existed for millennia. This profound transformation of labor at the point of production—no longer alienated labor, but now directly social labor—is the pivot upon which the revolutionary transformation of the whole society must turn, short of which the social relations of capitalist society can only be re-inscribed.

As Dunayevskaya put it, "If goods were produced by labor in direct social relations there would be no two-fold character of labor and the reason for the social division of classes and the realization of value by exchange value would vanish. But even that is preliminary to full Communism: 'from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need.'"(21)

No one has a crystal ball as to how to create the social relations that Marx outlined as needed in the aftermath of a social revolution. Neither a program nor a blueprint can bring it into reality. But the radical movement has greatly suffered from failing to take off from and further develop the principles outlined in Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program. This has left a void that is being filled by false alternatives like market socialism, statism or anarchism. None can answer the pressing question of whether humanity can be free from capitalist value production, racism, sexism, and dehumanized, thingified relations of everyday life.

We aim to help fill the void on the question of "what happens after" by creatively rethinking and restating his concept of "revolution in permanence" for today, and by making Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program our ground for organization. In taking this as our core organizational perspective, we seek to get others thinking about these concepts by going to their meetings, writing to their publications, and engaging in dialog with all whom we can reach.

IV. Political-organizational-philosophic tasks

Dunayevskaya's 1980s work on a planned book on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: The Party and Forms of Organization Born from Spontaneity" speaks to this task. This work centered on a paragraph added to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (1981) that reads: "Though committee-form and 'party to lead' are opposites, they are not absolute absolutes. At the point when the theoretic form reaches philosophy, the challenge demands that we synthesize not only the new relations of theory to practice, and all the forces of revolution, but philosophy's 'suffering, patience and labor of the negative.' Then and only then will we succeed in a revolution that will achieve a classless, non-racist, nonsexist, truly human, truly new society."(22)

In 1992, when we confronted the changed world brought about by the collapse of the state-capitalist regimes that called themselves "Communist" in East Europe and Russia, we addressed the significance of this paragraph in our Perspectives Thesis of 1992-93. We stated, "In correctly opposing the elitist 'party to lead' we have too often acted as if the working out of its organizational alternative would come by itself. The problem with such skipping over of organization is that it cuts away the compulsion to experience philosophy. The Idea thereby gets reduced to an abstract universal that is bowed to but never concretized. That is when we confront 'two worlds' of philosophy and reality opposed to one another instead of their interpenetration. Today's objective-subjective situation provides ample proof of how the effort to work out a new beginning cannot be realized when the concretization of the philosophy of revolution is skipped over. The time is long past when one could just repeat the generalization that spontaneity and party are not absolute opposites. The time has come to act on it." We concluded: "This involves further developing Marxist-Humanism philosophically so that an aim, a goal, an end can become the ground for a new beginning [which] can be projected to those hungering for a vision of the future."(23)

Becoming a "thought-diver" requires digging away at one spot to develop anew the ideas that answer the problems of our age. Thus, the principle task we set ourselves for the coming year is to keep digging away at the elaboration of an alternative to capitalism on the ground of the Critique of the Gotha Program—instead of either spreading ourselves so thin that we fail to seriously engage the issue or reduce the body of ideas to an abstraction.

One way that we seek to meet this challenge in the coming year is by working out a new collection of Dunayevskaya's writings on Marx. It will include a wide selection of her writings on Marx, ranging from the 1940s to the 1980s. Our aim is not to treat the writings as some icon that we bow to but never concretize. We instead seek to absorb and share with others her writings on Marx as part of the effort to work out the unfinished and unresolved task that confronts this generation—working out a comprehensive understanding of what is required to surmount value production. We cannot leave that for later, nor can we leave it on the backs of spontaneous struggles. History shows that once a revolution breaks out events move far too fast to first begin thinking out the content of a liberatory alternative.

This year we had many experiences that provided the opportunity for concretizing this. We were invited to China and Latin America, where we participated in conferences and debates on radical theory, the legacy of Rosa Luxemburg, and the meaning of Marx's thought for today. We engaged in important dialog with thinkers and activists within the women's liberation,

labor, anti-war, Black liberation and immigrant rights movements. We held classes on "Developing a Philosophically Grounded Alternative to Capitalism," in which we probed into the question of "what happens after" the revolution. This work gives us the confidence that we can build our organization on the basis of the challenges facing us.

No less important has been our effort to elicit the voices of the second (oppositional) America and the second Iraq in the pages of News & Letters as part of an effort to project a banner of liberation opposed to both capitalism-imperialism and religious fundamentalism. This has been central to our work in the Women's Liberation movement and we intend to deepen that work in the coming year. An important opening for doing so has been the work of some members of News and Letters Committees as part of a new anti-war coalition dedicated to solidarizing with the workers, youth and women of Iraq and elsewhere, National Organization for the Iraqi Freedom Struggles. As part of this we also seek to extend our philosophic exploration and dialogue in News & Letters in the coming year.

The "two worlds" of ideal and real are still in opposition. We still live in a capitalist world defined by "Spirit in Self-Estrangement." But as Dunayevskaya noted in the Perspectives Thesis of 1977-78, "The overwhelming, incontrovertible fact of the actual continuous revolt is that out of the 'Spirit in Self-Estrangement' comes not despair, but the road to revolution." Her concluding words are especially timely for today: "Revolutions have always been a release of mind as well as of body."

NOTES

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4. For a discussion of this, see "Luxemburg in World's Sweatshop" by Peter Hudis, *News & Letters*, June/July 2006.
5. For the impact of the feminist movement on the Zapatistas, see "Another (Also Feminist) World is Possible: Constructing Transnational Spaces and Global Alternatives from the Movements," by Sonia E. Alvarez with Nalu Faria and Miriam Noble, *Challenging Empires: An Anthology of Essays on the Theory and Practice of the World Social Forum*, ed. Jai Sen, et al. (New Delhi: Viveka Foundation, 2003) and "Zapatista Indigneous Women," by Mágina Millán, *Zapatista!* by John Holloway and Edoña Peláez, eds. (London: Pluto Press, 1998).
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7. "It's Later, Always Later—Except When Spontaneity Uproges and You Realize it is Here and Now, and You Aren't There and Ready," *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development*, Wayne State University Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, 5726.
8. *RDC*, 5726.
9. *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx*, by Raya Dunayevskaya (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002), p. 282.
10. See "The Year of Only Eight Months," *RDC*, 10690.
11. "The Cultural Revolution: The Last Revolution?" by Alain Badiou, *Positions* 13:3, 2005. In contrast, as early as October 1966 Dunayevskaya castigated the Cultural Revolution as "retrogressive," and noted that Mao accepted Stalin's 1943 declaration that the law of value operates under "socialism." See "China's Self-Created Turmoil," *News & Letters*, October 1966. Excerpts are on page 4 of this *News & Letters*.
12. "Letter to Erich Fromm" [Nov. 11, 1963] *The Power of Negativity*, p. 118.
13. Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. by J.B. Baillie (London: Allen & Unwin, 1933), p. 510.
14. "I Believe in a Universality of Combat," by Slavoj Zizek, *Le Monde des Livres*, April 7, 2006.
15. "Developing a Philosophically Grounded Alternative to Capitalism," *News & Letters*, July 2005.
16. "Trilogy of revolution" refers to the foundation works of Marxist-Humanism, each by Raya Dunayevskaya—*Marxism and Freedom* (1958), *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973) and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982).
17. *Capital*, Vol. III, trans. by David Fernbach (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), p. 571.
18. *Capital*, Vol. I, trans. by Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), p. 171.
19. *Critique of the Gotha Program, Marx-Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 24 (New York: International Publishers, 1989), p. 85.
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21. "Value, Exchange Value, Surplus Value: How Applicable to Capitalist Society and How to Other Societies," *RDC*, 429.
22. *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, by Raya Dunayevskaya (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), p. xxxi.
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REMEMBER HIROSHIMA

The Executive Committee for the 44th International Antiwar Assembly in Japan—representing Zengakuren, Antiwar Youth Committee, and Japan Revolutionary Communist League will welcome your message of solidarity to this annual event for developing international antiwar struggles.

A crisis of war is emerging now in East Asia. It is urgent to advance antiwar struggles internationally. The central and regional meetings of the Assembly will be held on the same day, August 6, in Tokyo, Sapporo, Kanazawa, Nagoya, Osaka, Fukuoka and Okinawa.

**International Antiwar Assembly
Tokyo**

★ ★ ★

Editor's Note: Since its founding we have joined in solidarity with the antiwar assembly in commemoration of the infamous bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the U.S. more than six decades ago. Our greeting this year will include sharing with the assembly our "Draft for Perspectives for Marxist-Humanism, 2006-2007" published in this issue.

ISRAEL-PALESTINE

In listening to the media, my neighbors, the gas station attendant, I am amazed by the lack of comprehension: "We leave Gaza, they shoot missiles at us from there. We leave Lebanon, they kidnap our boys. How do they expect us to leave the West Bank?" What is it about "end the occupation" that they don't understand? I don't justify Qassam missiles or Katyusha rockets hurled at Israeli towns or the kidnapping of anyone. I do not justify any attacks by missile or suicide bomber or remotely detonated device. Nor do I justify the endless shelling of Gaza and Lebanon—land, sea, and air—for any reason, let alone for purposes more related to posturing and domestic public opinion than with accomplishing any political objective. "How could we not respond when they kill and kidnap our soldiers?" asked Yuli Tamir, our Education Minister and a former Peace Now activist. As if shelling is sure to make the Hezbollah leaders remorseful and let our boys come home.

So, as usual in wars, we have an alliance of the jingoistic decision-makers on both sides, whipping up patriotism while they watch the fighting on-screen from bunkers deep in the earth. In Israel, this war absolutely thrills the right wing. The escalation keeps up the militaristic approach to problem solving, discredits the view that Israel must leave the occupied territories, and distances the current war from its roots in the ongoing occupation. And, as usual in Israel, a few cantankerous peace organizations—the Coalition of Women for Peace, Gush Shalom, Ta'ayush, and a few others— increase their presence on the streets. At Women in Black last Friday, we carried our regular signs and butressed them with signs saying "Stop the Killing—Negotiate!"—but when cannons roar, so do the bystanders and a dozen police were there to prevent anything worse than words and gestures.

**Gila Svirsky
Jerusalem**

★ ★ ★

My friends, Mansour and Imam,

READERS' VIEWS

decided to tie the knot in Bi'lin village. They are involved in direct action and decided the weekly demonstration at the Israeli Apartheid Wall would be the best place to get married. As they approached the Wall, a stone was thrown and the Israeli Defense Force decided it was time to bust some skulls. They started beating us with batons, firing sound grenades and rubber bullets. The crowd became livid and everyone jumped in to protect us. The soldiers continued the beating for several minutes while our team successfully de-arrested everyone that was detained. Overall, 30 Palestinians and activists were injured, several had been shot. This is nothing new to Palestinians living in the West Bank or Gaza. Alert everyone in the U.S. that through their tax dollars their government is funding a brutal military occupation by a state that has violated UN resolutions and laws over 400 times!

**Kyle
Bi'lin, Palestine**

BOLIVIA: LIBERATION OR STATISM?

What should be evident in your piece on Bolivia by Jorge Virana (June-July *N&L*) is the danger explicit in how the state paralyzes the dialectic. Virana mentioned that the relationship of capital and the state could entail a regression induced by the unfulfillment of the cycle of protest. The state may be pushing Bolivians into a time when their lives will be state-centered, and where the dominance of the state in terms of organizing and action implies the time of struggle and insubordination will be abandoned. This is important to comprehend because the electoral victory by Evo Morales of MAS came about through the anonymous abilities of the multiple self-organized collectivities. In effect, MAS only capitalized on the reality in the electoral process and the charismatic leaders and party appeals to make history. The dialectic of the masses becomes inverted and the alienation of the masses reappears. Virana shows the necessity of bringing the dialectic to the masses, in short, Marx's articulation of "revolution in permanence."

**Faruq
Crescent City, California**

★ ★ ★

I loved Koigi wa Wamwere's "Life and politics in Kenya" comparison of the grass eaters to the meat eaters—the former being the common people. It is an appropriate metaphor because the meat eaters eat the grass eaters who don't realize how central they are to history. In "Bolivia Today" Jorge Virana gives total credit to those anonymous grass eaters and not the parties or intellectuals. When I sold this issue of *N&L* at a poetry reading here, a guy was bothered by this analysis of Movement for Socialism as a statist party. To come out with this analysis now, when most of the Left is walking on the clouds over Morales' elec-

toral victory, is important—and risky.

**David Mizuno'Oto
Bay Area, California**

HUTCHINGS' FEMINISM AND HEGEL'S DIALECTIC

I feel that Kimberly Hutchings' book, *Hegel and Feminist Philosophy*, makes a valuable contribution by engaging feminist philosophy on the basis of Hegel's dialectic. Ron Kelch's review in the June-July issue of *N&L* goes beyond this by jamming up her self-imposed limitation against Dunayevskaya's grasp of the dialectic as itself an active agent needed for individuals to beat down the barriers to their universalism. The return to her view of the needed new relation between theory and practice not only responds to Hutchings' limitation; it is urgent for our age, when so much theory is based on an assumption of the inadequacy of both the movement from theory and the movement from practice to achieve a new human society. The two are never brought together.

**Franklin Dmitryev
Memphis**

★ ★ ★

Feminists construct subjectivity not just by economics and ideology but within the family. Women's subjectivity is about relations with other members of the family, with neighbors, etc. Those relations have not been appreciated in theory. Most Marxists' use of class does not acknowledge women's experience. When gender and class are counterposed and the discussion of class is limited to economics, it robs it of its human bases.

**Inter-relational feminist
San Leandro, California**

★ ★ ★

There are problems with the essay on Hutchings. Though it is sympathetic to her, it never mentions that she doesn't discuss Marx. She may have interesting things to say about Hegel, but is it possible to directly apply dialectics to feminism without the mediation of Marx—given that Hegel was a misogynist who also supported an authoritarian state (as seen from his critique of Antigone)? It also says that Hegel's dialectic came to life for Dunayevskaya "just when" the modern women's movement emerged in the 1960's. In fact, her work on Hegel preceded the birth of that movement by two decades, as seen in her 1953 letters on Hegel's Absolutes.

**Historian
Illinois**

WORKER STRUGGLES, 2006

The assault by capital on American workers continues to intensify with each passing day. Plants close, jobs are outsourced, work forces are reduced, benefits and pensions are reduced or eliminated, safety procedures are violated or ignored with impunity, and jobs are inhumanly speeded-up in every mine, mill, factory, office and laboratory. Now

when labor contracts are negotiated, the question isn't how many worker benefits are increased, but how much and how many concessions were forced from the workers. Only now there is a very big new player in the negotiations—the courts. Corporations have discovered that by declaring bankruptcy, they have an open road to corporate-friendly judges who rule in their favor not only to grant concessions, but also to destroy the union itself. And as usual, it is the workers and their families that suffer from these attacks.

**Old Radical
Detroit**

★ ★ ★

It was great that your June-July Lead article, "Immigrant struggles and the response to global capital" highlighted labor's potential to tear up this society. The immigrants' movement and labor are not at odds with each other. This could inspire and rekindle the labor movement. The Lead did a good job of revealing the connection between economics, politics and revolt, and the need to raise a new banner of human relations.

**Computer analyst
Tennessee**

IMMIGRANTS, RACISM, AND LABOR



I see a parallel between the immigrant struggles and the environmental racism movement. They tried to make our movement benign, naming it "environmental justice," to sound nicer and more palatable. They tried to turn the focus on science, technology and the law, cleaning it up from the top instead of hearing the voices of the people from below. I don't talk about "environmental justice." I say our communities have been poisoned. Leaders want the immigrants to just sit and wave the U.S. flag, saying "We are Americans." The movement needs to come out with their own clearly stated goals, to reveal the human desire to be free without fearing being a racial minority.

**Kenneth Bradshaw, Black Environmentalist
Memphis**

★ ★ ★

Some people say that an increase in the labor force drives wages down. But capitalism drives wages down regardless. Capitalism uses any population to bring down wages—Black, women, youth—not just immigrants. Or they try to outlaw labor union, as we see in China, which is experiencing massive immigration of the rural population to the cities. They are the "immigrants" supplying the slave labor there. As Marx said, capitalism creates a vast army of the unemployed and they are capitalism's gravediggers.

**Brown Douglass
Tennessee**

VOICES OF REASON FROM WITHIN THE WALLS



In 1862 the Texas Prison System, using slave labor, became a major manufacturer of Confederate army uniforms, and continued to manufacture them until the "traitors" surrendered in 1865. That dingy

gray uniform was and is an emblem and symbol of chattel slavery. At the end of the Civil War, manufacture of that uniform ceased—except in Texas, where it was kept as a defiance to the Union Army and Reconstruction.

It is still manufactured today by the Texas Penal System as the required uniform for its employees. The not-so-subtle message in 2006 is that it is a slavocracy and white Supremacist operation. Any-

one who believes it is time to pull Texas out of the racist 19th century and abolish Confederate army uniforms for Texas state employees should write to the Governor and tell him so, at Rick Perry, Governor of Texas, State Capitol, P.O. Box 12428, Austin, Texas 78711.

**Robert J. Zani
Tennessee Colony, Texas**

★ ★ ★

If the job of the prison system were justice, it would rightly be called a broken system. But since it is a system of social control, it's operating very well.

The past years have been full of thousands of reports from the imprisoned and their families describing inhumane conditions including cold, filth, callow medical care, extended isolation often lasting over a decade, use of devices of torture, harassment, brutality and racism. There are vivid descriptions of four point restraints, restraint hoods, belts and beds, stun grenades, stun guns, stun belts, tethers,

waist and leg chains. When the news about Abu Ghraib broke, President Bush said, "What took place in that prison doesn't represent the America I know." Unfortunately for the more than two million Americans and countless immigrants living in U.S. prisons, this is the America that they, their loved ones, their lawyers and activists do know and experience daily. These conditions and practices are in violation of the UN convention against torture and the convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, both of which the U.S. has ratified. Many also violate the UN convention on the rights of the child.

The U.S. prison system is more than a set of institutions. It is also a state of mind. That state of mind led to Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo. That state of mind led to the American-style ethnic cleansing that many say occurred in New Orleans. Sending the military into New Orleans instead of caregivers is

yet another piece of U.S. genocidal history. People in prison call freedom on the streets "minimum security."

**Prisoner
Pampa, Texas**

★ ★ ★

The question "what after?" is the question to be asked not only as "what after the revolution?" but for prisoners it means what after being arrested, judged, and sent to prison? This can be a dialectic in itself. As a prison(er) abolitionist I/we must look at the eradication of prisons as a revolution, one which would need to be a "revolution in permanence" to abolish the system which is rooted in poverty, under-education, unemployment and all that stems from the fundamental root of capitalism. Your paper helps give a theoretical tool to guide the practice of those of us who are in the grassroots prison struggle.

**Prisoner
Madison, Iowa**

Tule Lake: dignity and survival

OAKLAND, CAL.—At the final planning meeting before the 2006 Tule Lake Pilgrimage, someone announced a rally to be held in San Francisco on June 27 to support Lt. Ehren Watada, a 28-year-old U.S. Army officer who refused duty in Iraq. Watada, in military custody awaiting retribution of his superiors, had stated at a previous public event, "I refuse to be party to an illegal and immoral war against people who did nothing to deserve our aggression."

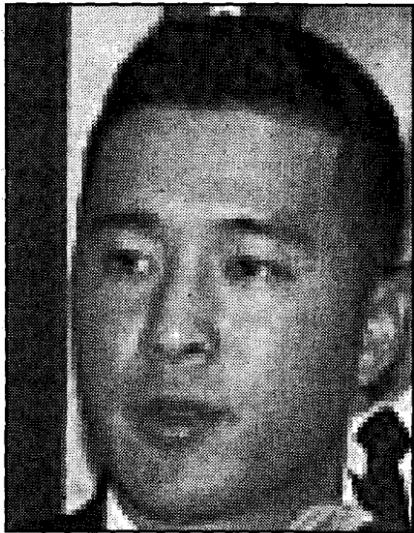
The *Rafu Shimpo*, a Los Angeles-based Japanese-American daily, ran an editorial that disparagingly compared Watada to the "disloyals" who ended up at Tule Lake Segregation Center during World War II.

A week later 250 of us, mostly Nisei, Sansai and Yonsei (2nd, 3rd, 4th generation Japanese American), boarded five buses and headed to Tule Lake for the long Fourth of July weekend.

What we call Tule Lake is a 7,400 acre desert-like region in Northern California near the Oregon border, where the largest of ten internment camps for persons of Japanese ancestry once stood. The camp became Tule Lake Segregation Center in 1943 after internees in all camps filled out a survey containing two questions that specifically addressed national loyalty. Those deemed disloyal by the federal government remained in or were sent to Tule Lake.

The "loyal" internees were transferred to other camps.

That division, at first clearly seen to be a government contrivance, eventually became internalized and exists in the Japanese-American community today. It was no surprise to many of us in Tule Lake Committee that Japanese Americans were notably missing from



Lt. Ehren Watada announces that he will not return to duty in Iraq.

the many rallies held for Ehren Watada. In hopes of opening up dialogue across the divide, we chose "Dignity and Survival in a Divided Community" as the title and theme of the 2006 pilgrimage.

Our dialogue largely took the form of sharing and absorbing stories whether from former internees of any camp, descendants of internees, or from attendees who wished to learn more about American concentration camps and had something to say. There were one-on-one conversations during a tour of the camp site as well as group discussions at a nearby (Oregon) college campus where we lodged.

At one of the few remaining camp fixtures, the foundation of Block 73 latrine, a Nisei who spent his early teens in Tule Lake told a small cluster of us that his family had answered No to the loyalty questions for fear that his older brothers would be drafted into the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. It was common knowledge that this renowned all-Nisei unit (except for the commanding officer) was routinely called up for suicide missions in Europe.

In my intergenerational discussion group, another Tule Lake internee said he and his brother answered No because of the chance they would have to fight against their older brother who had been drafted into the Japanese Imperial Navy. The two families were neither pro-Japan nor anti-U.S. Keeping the family together and alive was the primary concern at the time whether or not one declared loyalty to the United States.

The loyalty questions asked about the willingness to serve with the U.S. Armed Forces and allegiance to the United States but never mentioned the Constitution—maybe with good reason. Ehren Watada stated shortly before his incarceration, "As a commissioned officer of the U.S. Armed Forces my legal and moral obligation is to the Constitution—not to those who would issue unlawful orders."

Despite this forthright stance, he is likely to be charged with cowardice and disloyalty in the court of public opinion just as the "No-No Boys" of Tule Lake were. But this begs some questions posed by our theme: Does one path (going to war) really take more courage than the other (refusing)? Should loyalty be to a nation or to a principle?

During the pilgrimage a group from the Bay Area which had attended the June 27 "Thank You, Lt. Watada" rally invited others to an impromptu discussion on the topic. Later, a petition asking public officials to support Watada was drafted. On the way home only a quarter of the Berkeley bus passengers signed the petition. Apparently our community remains divided.

Yet where one community divides, another comes together. Perhaps it is the community of those who struggle for true human freedom that the lieutenant needs. Surely that community, i.e. the movement, could use an Ehren Watada if both are to survive with dignity in these pre-revolutionary times. See www.thankyou-out.org and www.couragetoresist.org.

—David Mizuno'Oto

Indiana prisoners begin hunger strike

Prisoners at the Wabash Valley Correctional Facility in Carlisle, Indiana are staging a hunger strike to protest harsh conditions of starvation and constitutional rights violations involving cruel and unusual punishment.

The Secured Housing Unit (SHU) at Carlisle is a hotbed of racist attitudes, discrimination, constitutional violations, food tampering by staff, mail tampering by the staff, and a host of other attacks against prisoners.

Since a contracted agreement was made with the private food provider ARAMARK in July 2005, there has been no improvement in food portions for prisoners in population nor for those who are housed in administrative segregation in the unit that is approved to purchase food off commissary. This means we must starve ourselves simply because we are on long-term segregation. For this reason, and the conditions we've been forced to endure, we are organizing a hunger strike.

- We want to be approved to order food from commissary, at least a \$25 order once a week or every two weeks.

- We want an end to officers tampering with our mailbags and giving other prisoners our mail.

- We want to be allowed to take pictures to send to our families, just as prisoners are allowed to do on administrative segregation.

- We want an immediate end put to officers working the SHU from putting feces in our food trays.

- We want the facility to reincorporate a program for group recreation on the SHU.

- We want an end to all verbal disrespect from SHU officers waged against prisoners and slandering prisoners' characters.

- We would like to be afforded an opportunity to address our issues with the IDOC Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner personally, one on one, so that we be professionally addressed and not just brushed off.

- We demand to be treated like human beings and not like wild animals nor sub-humans.

We on strike would appreciate it very much if you would call in your concerns and support for the hunger strike to the Department of Corrections officers.

—Robert E. Hemphill, # 855957 B-1009

Leonard McQuay (Khalfani Khaldun), # 874304 B-902

Charles Clearly Jr., # 891908 B-911

Rudy Gonzalez, # 111800, B-1001

Send protest messages to:

J. David Donahue, Commissioner, IDOC South
302 W. Washington St.
Indianapolis, IN 46204-2738
(317) 232 5711

Edward B. Motley, Deputy Commissioner, IDOC South
302 W. Washington St.
Indianapolis, IN 46204-2738
(317) 232 5568
emotley@doc.in.gov

BLACK/RED VIEW

Continued from page 1

the City of Mobile case, that the mere fact that Blacks can't get elected in a voting-at-large election is not enough to prove discrimination. What must be proven, the court asserted, was intent to discriminate. This is difficult, if not impossible, to prove.

Neither has the Voting Rights Act prevented racial gerrymandering of districts and the annexation of white suburbs to prevent the election of Black officials.

However it would be an historical error to look at the right to vote, or any other civil right that the masses of people may have, as a mere question of legislation or judicial decisions, as many Black politicians and leaders want to convey. These rights had to be fought for by masses acting as a social force within capitalist society. The history of this country abounds with such struggles—of labor to organize and to limit the working day, of women for the right to vote but also to end racism, an endemic characteristic of American capitalist society. The state gives nothing on its own.

The present Voting Rights Act is a child of one of the greatest mass movements that this country has ever experienced—the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

Reagan's Administration has assumed that they can dismantle or ignore civil rights victories which took Black revolts more than a decade to achieve. The Administration has taken advantage of the current crisis of capitalism to ignore Black rights. Under the rubric of "getting Washington off the backs of the people," they hope to turn the clock back to some unrestrained period of capitalist exploitation.

This would take a veritable counter-revolution that would be resisted by workers, Blacks, women and youth, the potential of which was shown by the tremendous turnout at the Solidarity Day gatherings in Washington and in other cities throughout the U.S., opposing Reagan's "cut back, take back" economic programs.

To resist counter-revolution, the criticism is not enough. We must escape from the narrow alienating thought that there is a "political solution" that can open the future to Black liberation.

"Political Emancipation certainly represents a great progress. It is not, indeed, the final form of human emancipation, but it is the final form of human emancipation within the framework of the prevailing social order. It goes without saying that we are speaking here of real, practical emancipation."

The above quote by Karl Marx, writing on the insufficiency of political emancipation, pinpoints the flaw in the thinking of Black politicians. They constantly repeat, in various forms, that Black liberation can be achieved within the framework of the "prevailing social order" of capitalism—a social disorder in which human beings are exploited, debased and neglected, where there is no room for human freedom or development. By doing this, these politicians have ignored the whole of history—that real emancipation on an oppressed people or a class is an act of the self-movement of the masses to transform the reality of an oppressive society into one where the full human potential is free to develop.

Protest as Bush visits Graceland

MEMPHIS, TENN.—Last month, over 100 demonstrators gathered at Graceland, where President Bush was entertaining Prime Minister Koizumi of Japan, evidently a big fan of the long-dead Elvis. The Mid-South Peace and Justice Center had gotten a permit approved by the Secret Service and the Memphis Police Department (MPD) to gather directly across from Presley's old home. The demonstration was co-sponsored by Democracy for Memphis and News and Letters Committees.

When we arrived, the Secret Service redirected us 300 feet away to a spot obscured from the President's view by a row of Memphis buses and fire trucks—parked there for that very purpose. The only break in the buses was so the press could make it look like one could see the President and voice dissent. In reality, even his supporters were kept from view.

I spent 45 minutes trying to contact the agent in charge, and repeatedly jumped the rope line so we could gather in our permitted spot. Each time I was stopped by Graceland security and told I would be arrested. When I finally talked to the Secret Service, we were told we could stand on the sidewalk but it was 1,500 yards from the front of Graceland.

Had we been allowed our allocated space, we would have been in the shot of every news camera there. When I tried to talk to the national media, I was denied contact. I tried to jump the line and was stopped; they refused to deliver our press packet to them; and I was told we could only see the press after they had left!

We set up down the street on the President's car route in the 95-degree sun for several hours and dis-

played our signs and Faces of the Fallen, photos of the faces of soldiers killed in Iraq. Ex-soldier Allison Devante held a sign that spoke most personally for her: "Stop rape of military women in Iraq." When the President finally sped by, those in his heavily armed motorcade pointed M16s at us.

Denied our permitted space, we were put together with Bush supporters. It could have gotten ugly, except we outnumbered them, and soon moved to our own spot. Several demonstrators from the Memphis Center for Independent Living came on their wheelchairs via public transportation. As one woman rolled in with her sign, pro-Bushites called her a "godless lesbian."

We found out after the fact that Bush and Koizumi also visited the National Civil Rights Museum. How disgusting that Bush stood on the spot where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was murdered, as if he was some supporter of civil rights, as if he wasn't directly responsible for the illegal detention and torture of people at Guantanamo or the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi civilians. Had we known he was going to be there, we would have been too.

Despite the machinations of the three different police entities, our demonstration was really great and got great national and international media. As far away as Sweden, they were talking about the number of protesters here. To be able to show the rising level of dissent in a place as small as Memphis reveals that the tide is turning strongly against Bush and his war.

—Jacob Flowers

Director, Mid-South Peace and Justice Center

Marx, capitalism and the 'automatic subject'

by Karel Ludenhoff

Anselm Jappe has two goals in writing a book about value theory. One, he wants to contribute to explaining the worldwide movements of protest and resistance against capitalist society. He is thinking, for example, of movements like the peasant struggles in India and Brazil and struggles which try to resist the destruction of the welfare state in Europe and which are fighting the new biotechnologies. He argues that today's social movements are limited to their own sectors and propose partial solutions without looking for the deeper cause of the phenomena they are fighting. However, the need for fundamental explanations is emerging and he sees his book as part of a process of providing them. Two, he criticizes those currents of Marxism that have their point of departure in the conception of labor as "the turning point of every society, which in modern society has come to the fore, while it had been concealed in the past."

He writes, among other things, about the commodity as an unknown entity, compares precapitalist societies with capitalism, relates fetishism and anthropology; and criticizes the modes of thinking and practice in the anti-globalization movement. I will here focus here on just one theme, the so-called "automatic subject," and relate it to the concept of the Subject in Marxism-Humanism.

THE AUTOMATIC SUBJECT

Jappe says that it is of primary importance today to make use of Marx's work because it criticizes the basic categories of capitalist society and is not simply concerned with distribution. Nor did Marx envision applying his theory of value to non-capitalist societies.

He discerns two tendencies in Marx. One is a so-called exoteric Marx, whom he sees as a theoretician of modernization, a dissident of political liberalism and a protagonist of the Enlightenment who wanted to perfect industrial labor society under the guidance of the proletariat. The other is a so-called esoteric Marx, who in his difficult-to-understand criticism of value production went beyond capitalist civilization. According to Jappe, only this second side of Marx can provide a fundamental comprehension of present-day reality and enable us to trace out its most remote roots.

He writes: "This criticism of the center of modernity is nowadays more topical than it was in Marx's lifetime... To bring this aspect of Marx's criticism—value criticism—to the fore... it is sufficient to read the texts [of Marx] intently, although nearly no one did that for more than 100 years." On the other hand, Jappe considers most of Marx's empirical work "obsolete" for our times. Jappe makes use of the notion that Marx conceived of abstract labor and the value created by it not as material and concrete entities but as societal abstractions. Jappe then introduces the notion "real abstraction," which he defines as "societal reality, an abstraction, which becomes reality." Although "where the circulation of goods has been mediated by money, the abstraction has become real," he emphasizes that this real abstraction takes place in the sphere of production. That is because "money only makes possible the expression of [value], but it is not its creator."

He differs here from the views of Alfred Sohn-Rethel, who situated real abstraction only in the sphere of circulation. Jappe argues that abstract labor, which creates value, dominates and determines all spheres of life in capitalist society: "In reality it is only indirectly, through the self-expansion of value, that the demands of material production in capitalist society are victorious over all social, aesthetic, religious or ethnic points of view." Things are very different in precapitalist societies, where "material production could be sacrificed to such considerations." In a society based on commodity production the concreteness of things is submitted to this abstraction of value as a result of abstract labor. One of the most important consequences of this is the destructive forces that it produces in capitalist society. Jappe writes of the "destructive potential" of capitalist society—destructive because what matters to it is only the capacity to transform [things into] money. The ecological crisis is one thing he has in mind.

He argues that the commodity—just like value, money and abstract labor—is a fetishistic category because abstract labor creates the value of any commodity. Jappe refers to *Capital*, where Marx writes: "As the foregoing analysis has already demonstrated, this fetishism of the world of commodities arises from the peculiar social character of the labor which produces them."

Jappe stresses that Marx conceived of fetishism not only as a mistaken conception of reality but also as an "inversion of reality itself" and he illustrates this with a passage from *Capital* in which Marx says: "To the producers, therefore, the social relations between their private labors appears as what they are, i.e. they do not appear as direct social relations between persons in their work, but rather as material [dinglich] relations between persons and social relations between things." In his method of analysis Jappe starts with the logic of value and not with surface phenomena—like the actions of social actors or the observable classes and their conflicts in everyday life. These he sees as

deduced forms, consequences of the logic of value. We do not need to be surprised about that, he writes, because in a fetishistic society there is an inversion of concrete and abstract, of human beings and means, of subject and object.

This conception of the logic of value results for Jappe ultimately in the notion of value as "automatic subject": "The dynamics of a commodity producing society is not to be reduced to the subjectivity of the exploiters against the resistance of the subjectivity of the exploited. In reality, real societal subjectivity cannot arise in a commodity producing society." In Jappe's vision, "in capitalism there can be only one subject: the automatic subject, which has to be destroyed and not developed." He adds to this, "Value does not limit itself to being a form of production; it too is a form of consciousness." Jappe thinks he finds support for his conception in two statements of Marx. The first one comes from *Capital*, where Marx in his chapter "The General Formula for Capital" analyzes the money and commodity function of value: "It [value] is constantly changing from one form into the other, without becoming lost in this movement; it thus becomes transformed into an automatic subject." The second one is from the *Grundrisse* and reads: "Value enters as subject."

CAPITALISM AND SUBJECTIVITY

It is true Marx criticized the basic categories of capitalist society. In doing so he broke with bourgeois society in its totality. And no one will doubt that the historical situation in Marx's lifetime is different from our own. But to split Marx up in an exoteric and an esoteric part is in my view completely besides the point. On the contrary, the power of Marx's thought is precisely the complementary character of the historical and logical in his analysis of the development of capitalist society.

Of course, there is a logic of value. But value does not exist in a vacuum, as a logic on its own. Or, as Otto Morf puts it in *History and Dialectic in Political Economy*: "When logical categories are, as Marx holds, real categories, then they have to be found in reality; method cannot be taken out of the object and cannot be put in opposition to it." In this sense the notion of "real abstraction" is better conceived of as a non-observable reality which gets an observable character through expression in a material object."

Is most of Marx's empirical work obsolete? I don't think so. Let us take as an example Marx's chapter about the working day in *Capital*. In this chapter we can see how Marx listens to the voices from below, how he analyzes the forces of the Subject in capitalist society. Marx writes here explicitly: "It is otherwise with

"The power of Marx's thought is the complementary character of the historical and the logical."

the subjective factor of the labor process, labor power, which sets itself in motion independently." Labor power which is preserving the value of the means of production by transferring it to the new product and labor power which is creating new value at the same time. This chapter illustrates the status of *Capital* as a weapon in the struggle for human emancipation in capitalist society in order to get rid of capitalist society.

It is this status of *Capital*, which makes it, as Raya Dunayevskaya put it in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, "a very different book than either the *Grundrisse* or the *Critique of Political Economy*, and it is a very different book from the first chapter to the last... it is that Great Divide [from Hegel] just because, the Subject—not subject matter, but Subject—was neither economics nor philosophy, but the human being, the masses."

Marx's concern with Subject as the living human being is developed throughout all of his work. In the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* Marx already stresses subject as the living human being: "The worker produces capital, capital produces him—hence he produces himself, and man as worker, as a commodity, is the product of this entire cycle." More as three decades later, in his "Remarks on Wagner," he states: "neither 'value' nor 'exchange value' are for me subjects, but the commodity." The commodity then is the result of labor power, which functions as wage labor.

It will be clear that a view that is fixated on an automatic subject, and with it the disappearance of the human being as Subject in capitalist society, can only envision the way out of capitalism through a so-called "breakdown" of capitalist society. In the vision of Jappe, such a breakdown occurs through "the increasing productivity of labor—which in the last instance brings about the breakdown of the society resting on value."

Before coming to a conclusion about Jappe's conception of an automatic subject, a few words about the support he thinks he finds in the above mentioned passages in Marx. In both passages Marx is writing about form specificities. In the *Grundrisse* he is dealing with the formal specificity of the production process: "this process is a process of self-realization. Self-realization includes preservation of the prior value, as well as its multiplication." In the *Capital* passage Marx is concerned with the difference between Capital-Money-Capital and Money-Capital-Money. In both passages labor power actually is the center and I think Jappe's support is out of place. In reality, Jappe's notion of an automatic subject makes engagement for changing consciousness, in order to change the world, superfluous.

In my view this represents a dramatic example of the reification of thinking into categories. To change the world entails not only reading of the texts of Marx, but also listening to the voices of below, to the living subject, to develop theory to change the world.

Hunger strike for Iranian political prisoners

NEW YORK—Iranians living in the U.S. joined Akbar Ganji, a recently released Iranian political prisoner, in a three-day hunger strike in front of the United Nations. To demand that Iran free all "prisoners of conscience" and respect human rights, hunger strikes were held in three cities in Iran and in 18 cities in the U.S., Canada and Europe, July 14-16. Ganji, Iran's leading dissident intellectual, was freed in March after six years in detention, only after he nearly died from a protracted hunger strike.

The strikers called for the immediate release of three prominent political prisoners: Ali Akbar Mousavi Khoeni, a student leader and former member of parliament, Dr. Ramin Jahanbegloo, a philosopher, professor and public intellectual, and Mansour Osanloo, a prominent labor leader and executive director of the Worker's Syndicated Union. They and many other people are being detained for peacefully expressing opinions. In Iran, there is no limit to how long one can be held without charge and denied access to a lawyer.

Iranians came from around the U.S. for the N.Y. demonstration, which included a rally of 150 supporters. The global hunger strike was organized spontaneously by a variety of groups and people after Ganji announced that he would undertake a hunger strike. Those at the New York location pointed out the importance of the event: it was the first time demonstrations were held simultaneously inside and outside Iran, and it was the first time secular and Muslim groups worked together for human rights. One woman described Ganji to me as "a voice who can lead" because he calls for a separation of religion and state while having a religious background (he was once in the government and turned against it), and because he wants a dialog among all people and religions. Ganji told me, "We are advocating humanistic Islam."



Akbar Ganji, writer and activist

Among those present at the event were relatives of political prisoners who were killed in jail. They want the world to know that 5,000 such prisoners were secretly executed in 1989. I spoke with a woman who was arrested with her husband in 1986. He was a doctor who had sometimes criticized the government. Her infant children were put in jail with her. She was released after several months, but he remained in prison and was executed in 1989, along with her sister's husband and 14 of her close friends.

I met a young woman whose friends in Tehran participated in a recent women's demonstration that was brutally repressed. "It wasn't even a protest," she said, "just a statement that women should have rights, such as custody of children, and husbands not be allowed to marry four women. My friends, men and women, were beaten and arrested."

The hunger strikers issued the statement below.

"The human rights situation in Iran continues to deteriorate. Petitions and protests to end the abuses have gone unanswered. During the past year, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's government has sought to monopolize power in Iran by silencing and suffocating all independent and dissenting voices. The suppression of demonstrators in Azerbaijan, Khuzestan, and Kurdistan, the silencing of labor, women, and student movements and the vicious attacks on demonstrators throughout the past year, are all evidence of the ongoing and abhorrent human rights violations by the Islamic Republic of Iran. By arresting and imprisoning intellectuals, lawyers, political activists, and labor leaders and by forcing the resignation or early retirement of dozens of university professors, Ahmadinejad's government is pursuing policies that are reminiscent of some of the darkest days of the Islamic Republic. In such an atmosphere, Iran's democracy movement calls for the unity and support of people of conscience from around the world. Without such unity, there is little hope of stemming the appalling human rights violations in Iran and the growing authoritarianism of the regime" (www.free-political-prisoners.net).

—Anne Jaclard

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Growing crisis in the Middle East

by Kevin A. Barry and Mitch Weerth

Arab-Israeli explosion

The Arab-Israeli conflict has exploded again. The immediate spark came in June, with an attack by Palestinian militants from the armed wing of the fundamentalist Hamas on an Israeli checkpoint at the Gaza-Egypt border. This resulted in the deaths of two Israeli soldiers and the humiliating capture of another, who is still being held. Since then, Israel has rained bombs and missiles on Gaza, killing hundreds of civilians in what the human rights group B'Tselem calls "collective punishment," a clear violation of international law.

Then in July, the Shiite fundamentalist party Hezbollah launched an attack on a border post from southern Lebanon. This time, eight Israeli soldiers were killed, and two captured. Israel, again humiliated, responded with fury, attacking the whole of Lebanon from the air, killing hundreds of civilians and damaging the infrastructure that had been painfully rebuilt since the wars of the 1980s. In a counterattack, Hezbollah rockets managed to kill Israeli civilians in Haifa, 18 miles from the border.

How did this come about? In May, a Palestinian peace plan hammered out by Fatah and Hamas prisoners called for the implicit recognition of Israel—with a Palestinian state to be composed of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem—and an end to attacks inside Israel proper. The dominant wing of Hamas opposed the plan, as did the Israelis. Yet to most of the world, it seemed reasonable. More importantly, polls showed it had overwhelming support among the Palestinian people, with a referendum on it about to be scheduled by Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas.

In response, the militant wing of Hamas kept preparing for the June raid, knowing that a predictably disproportionate Israeli response would kill off the new peace plan. Meanwhile, Israel tried to provoke the Palestinians with a series of raids into supposedly independent Gaza. These raids were said to target those who had launched a few missiles harmlessly across the border, but in fact resulted in the deaths of many innocents. Two weeks after a murderous June 9 attack on a whole family during a picnic at the beach was broadcast on TV around the world, Hamas attacked.

The authoritarian Iranian and Syrian-backed Hezbollah movement also took advantage of the situation. Hezbollah, which had in recent months become isolated in a Lebanon that has increasingly turned away from Syria and toward democracy, has now gained a respite, while the secular democratic movement has been severely weakened.

Authoritarian, militarist, and fundamentalist groups have gained, but there is also revulsion against them and a yearning for peace. Iranian dissident Akbar Ganji summed things up: "This is fundamentalism—Muslim, Christian, and Jewish—that is setting fire to the region and we need to isolate this fire,

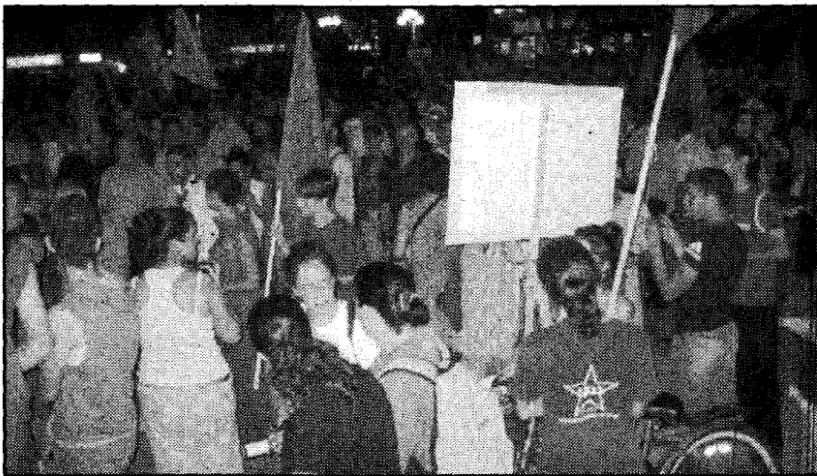
this fundamentalism."

(As we go to press, Israel's land invasion of Lebanon and Hezbollah's raining of rockets on Israel continues to threaten those already-ravaged areas and their residents.)

Iran and the U.S.

As the Arab-Israeli conflict heated up again in July, U.S. leaders pointed to Iran as the instigator of both the Hamas and Hezbollah attacks on Israeli soldiers. For U.S. imperialism, this was an attempt to divert attention from its tacit support of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, at a time when U.S.-supplied Israeli planes were terrorizing the Gaza Strip and Lebanon.

The U.S., bogged down in Iraq, has no stomach for further military interventions in the region, something U.S. public opinion would also oppose. Thus U.S. threats against Iran ring hollow, especially given the



More than 5,000 peace activists marched through Tel Aviv, Israel, July 22, with signs demanding "End the War" and "End the Occupation."

close links between Iran and the very Shiite fundamentalist parties the U.S. is supporting in Iraq.

The Iranian government's threats against Israel are equally hollow. The incendiary rhetoric over the past year about wiping out Israel, the obscene Holocaust denials, and the hints about being on the verge of developing nuclear weapons, are all designed to gain support among the Arab and Muslim masses internationally, by projecting Iran as the leading Muslim state willing to confront Israel.

While nationalist sentiment inside Iran favors nuclear weapons, as it does elsewhere, the rest of this agenda tends to fall flat. Opposed by wide sectors of its youthful population, the 27-year-old Shiite theocracy has to contend with ever-newer forms of resistance. Most recently, it has been faced with the formation of an underground and exile network, the Persian Gay and Lesbian Organization (PGLO). PGLO <www.pglo.net> has gained a lot of attention since the July 2005 hanging of two gay teenagers. Supporters of women's rights have also continued to hold demon-

strations, despite police violence. Rather than fear, the regime's heavy-handed tactics have sown contempt.

Silence the Cannons! Start Negotiating!

The illusion that a "strong and firm" Israeli government can unilaterally determine the borders and lives of Israel and its neighbors has shattered into a bloody reality. We can only expect that more casualties, wounded, destruction, anxiety, economic and social paralysis for us and our neighbors are the price to pay if we continue to avoid political negotiations.

Barak unilaterally stopped the peace process with Syria and preferred a unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon, without negotiations or agreements. Israel was left with the Golan Heights and with an armed Hezbollah on the border. We are now paying the price.

Barak and Ben-Ami, Sharon and Ben Eliezer, Mofaz and Peres, and now Olmert and Peretz gave up negotiating with the Palestinians and are trying to withdraw from some of the territories while maintaining the occupation in the rest of the territories.

Now it is clear. No fence and no wall will protect Israel from hostile neighbors. The IDF has failed and will keep losing in the battle against guerrilla forces. Technological and instrumental superiority allows one to spy, destroy, liquidate, but it cannot prevent injuries in the border or the home front, among civilians and soldiers.

After the long years of the failed military attempt to overcome guerrilla forces in Lebanon, how can we think that the current use of force will solve anything? We've been in this situation before!

The only true defense, the only way to guarantee a different future, a future of peace and security, is to resolve the source of the hostility, to solve the conflict through negotiations, through compromise, by ending the occupation and establishing a relationship of equality and respect between Israelis and Palestinians and between Israelis and the neighboring nations.

Does it sound crazy? It is the sane thing to do. The sounds of explosion, the smell of burning and the rivers of blood are the crazy things.

Does it sound difficult? It is. We have realized already that the negotiations won't be simple, that the conflict is complicated, that both sides will be required to make big and painful concessions. But does anyone seriously think that military solutions are possible?

No More Military Madness! Stop the Unilateral Illusion! Stop Killing Civilians in Lebanon, Israel and Gaza! Start Political Negotiations!

—Taayush, Gush Shalom, The Women's Coalition for Peace, Anarchists Against Fences, Yesh Gvul, The Committee Against House Demolition

Tumultuous aftermath of disputed Mexican elections

Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) lost the July 2 presidential election in Mexico by 0.6% of the vote. That, at least, is the official stance, which AMLO and his supporters are determined to change before the IFE's (Federal Electoral Commission) seven judges must announce by Sept. 6 who will be the next president. AMLO and his party, the PRD, have been making daily accusations of fraud, and have convened mass demonstrations in Mexico City to make their case.

Since the declared winner, Felipe Calderón of the PAN, promises more of the anti-worker, anti-campesino policies that Fox has pursued for the past six years, AMLO's ostensible defeat has been a huge blow to those who feel he might have taken the country in a different direction.

AMLO has garnered massive support from progressives, especially in Mexico City, but the ongoing electoral drama has been mostly a secondary matter to the worker and campesino movements outside of the capital that have been struggling under Fox's rule. The most radical movement has been in the southern state of Oaxaca, which began May 22 when the state's 70,000 teachers went on strike.

The teachers in Oaxaca strike every year, but it's usually a routine affair ordered by the SNTE (Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación) that the teachers don't take too seriously. This year it inspired a mass movement that has yet to run its course.

The strike started as an attempt to win better salaries, more school equipment, and more financial aid for students, as well as to show opposition to Fox's school reform proposals. It was led by the head of SNTE in Oaxaca, Enrique Rueda, and one of its first actions was the partial shutdown of the Oaxaca airport. When the governor of Oaxaca, Ulises Ruiz, threatened to crack down rather than negotiate, several mass marches resulted, on June 2 and June 7, where some 50,000 teachers were joined by as many

others. These were the biggest marches Oaxaca had ever seen.

When the threats from the PRI governor continued, the movement responded by becoming more radical. They threatened to boycott the July 2 elections. About 40,000 teachers and other activists were permanently occupying 56 streets and Oaxaca's central square, the Zocalo. Then, before dawn on June 14, several thousand police arrived and tore up tents, beat about 100 strikers, and killed two (some reports say more were killed).

Again the city's population responded by throwing more support to the strikers. Another mass march was held on June 16 (some reports say as many as 300,000 marched in that one). Marches in solidarity were held in various cities throughout the country, and numerous government buildings were occupied throughout the state of Oaxaca.

The movement was no longer just a teachers' strike. The demand was now that Ruiz be removed from office; nothing less would be accepted. On June 18 a new organization was created, the Asamblea Popular del Pueblo de Oaxaca (APPO, the Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca), to insure the removal of Ruiz and the replacement of the existing government with a decentralized, non-party form of "people's power." No political parties were allowed to participate.

Then, on July 5, just as several thousand APPO activists were getting ready to occupy a building in the central square and declare it the new seat of government, a division arose between the SNTE and the rest of the movement. Seemingly out of nowhere Enrique Rueda emerged from a meeting of top SNTE bureaucrats and announced to the people in the square that teachers would return to work the following Monday, July 10, supposedly to allow students to complete the final two weeks of the school year (approximately 14,000 schools were affected by the

strike). It was announced that about 10,000 school administrative employees would remain on strike until the end of classes on July 22, at which time the teachers would rejoin them.

Shouts of "traitor!" and "sellout!" went out from the crowd. All were shocked that the teachers themselves weren't consulted, since this ran counter to how the movement had been conducting itself since the population joined the teachers.

Rueda insisted it was not a retreat, but the following day Governor Ruiz seized on it, claiming that the teachers had given up the struggle as a result of his initiatives. Since then Rueda has headed up some other marches in an effort to show that he is still serious about the demand to oust Ruiz, but the signal was clear: the leadership of the SNTE was not about to sanction any "people's power" to replace the governor.

Oaxaca's experience over the course of this six week battle was a watershed event. In a period when the ruling class was trying to get everyone to focus on elections, the people of Oaxaca staged the largest movement the state ever had.

The PRD had nothing to do with it, and in fact the movement almost boycotted the July 2 elections. They took a big step towards breaking one of the barriers that has long existed in that state—how to unite the teachers, whose ranks have become increasingly younger and more dark skinned (i.e. indigenous peoples) with the other, smaller groups of workers and campesinos. And they learned how far they could go towards abolishing the existing powers before the union bureaucracy, which in the case of the SNTE is part of the state, would back away from them.

It's sure to have an impact on the future, and it points in a very different direction from the focus many activists are putting on achieving so-called "clean elections."