

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Long shifts suck life from workers



"The capitalist thinks the working day contains a full twenty-four hours with the deduction of a few hours for repose.... The capitalist mode of production produces, thus, with the extension of the working day, not only the deterioration of human labor power by robbing it of its normal moral and physical conditions of development and function. It produces also the premature exhaustion and death of this labor-power itself. It extends the laborer's time of production during a given period by shortening his actual lifetime."

—Karl Marx

"Paid or unpaid, all labor is forced labor."

—Raya Dunayevskaya

by S. Hamer

As a catfish worker in the Mississippi Delta, I can relate to what Marx wrote. Before our plants were unionized, we worked 10- to 13-hour shifts, six days a week, with only a 30-minute break for lunch, just time to eat a small portion of food. Some had to travel two hours from that plant. If a person got off at 10:00, she wouldn't get home until 12:00, and she would be right back up at 5:00 AM. The body can't adjust to this. As far as the capitalist is concerned, they just want to produce, to make money, and you never know how much they make until you read it in the newspaper.

It didn't make any difference how much work we did, the bosses would always have that time-clock to try to make us produce more. We had to run so many thousands of pounds of catfish a day and then they would put the time-clock on us and

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

Sierra Leone ravaged by war, poverty



Editor's note: The May 25 military coup in Sierra Leone has once again plunged that West African nation into violent chaos and confusion. The coup left 60 people dead. As it stands, at least six contending forces are vying for control over the situation in this poorest nation in the world: the ousted administration of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, who was flown into exile in Guinea by the U.S.; the junta calling itself the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council led by Major John Paul Koroma; the 37,000-strong local militias called Kamajors that Kabbah favored over the regular army; the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), the splintered rebel movement headed by Foday Sankoh who is under house arrest in Nigeria; the regional peacekeeping force called ECOMOG, headed by the Nigerian military junta of General Sani Abacha that claims to be committed to restoring Ahmad Kabbah; and finally U.S. forces who have intervened to evacuate American and other nationals from the capital city of Freetown.

For an analysis of the actors in the Sierra Leonean and broader West African crisis, we print the following letter received from our West African correspondent, BaKarang.

—Lou Turner

The continuous warring situation in Sierra Leone is no ideological conflict. The interest of the different forces have been based more on loyalty to the acting forces in the West African crisis. It is said that radicalism in Sierra Leone has never gone beyond school campuses. However, at one time, Pan-Africanism was on the agenda with the very small radical forces in the country.

The absence of these forces in the present crisis reflects the total lack of an ideological base in the country since independence.

Foday Sankoh, the leader of the RUF is much more a product of Charles Taylor, the rebel leader in Liberia. The destabilization of that region was seen as a very important factor in the liberation of Liberia.

This became more actual with the involvement of the West African peacekeeping force ECOMOG, whose activity was dictated by the interest of the different West African states involved in the crisis. With Ghana,

(Continued on page 8)

U.S. workers of a mind to fight

by Andy Phillips

Detroit—Thousands of workers from around the nation and Detroit marched and rallied here on June 21 to show their support for the 2,000 striking, now locked out, newspaper workers in their two-year struggle against management. While any positive development that emerges from this battle now depends on court decisions instead of union actions, the history of this strike is almost a classic illustration of corporate aggressiveness, and reflects the widening gap that exists between the rank and file's unwillingness to go backward and their bureaucratic union leadership. (For more on the June 21 Detroit march, see page 2.)

The Detroit News/Free Press strike followed a pattern established in previous debacles: the decision to force a strike by demanding unacceptable concessions; the preparation of a substitute work force; and the hiring of armed thugs and goons to protect newspaper property and intimidate strikers. This formula had been established in the Caterpillar, Bridgestone-Firestone and Staley strikes—all of which succeeded in breaking the strikes.

STACKING THE DECK

Central to this strategy is the freedom corporations have to hire permanent replacement workers, a strategy seldom used until 1981 when President Ronald Reagan fired and replaced all of the striking air traffic controllers in PATCO. This gave the green light to all U.S. corporations to follow Reagan's lead.

This weapon in corporate America's arsenal has had a devastating effect on all workers—union and non-union, and is dramatically illustrated in the decreasing number of strikes that have occurred in the U.S. in the past 30 years. There were 3,005 strikes in 1975, 1,016 in 1985 and 385 in 1995, the lowest number of strikes since World War II, and with only 32 of them involving more than 1,000 workers.

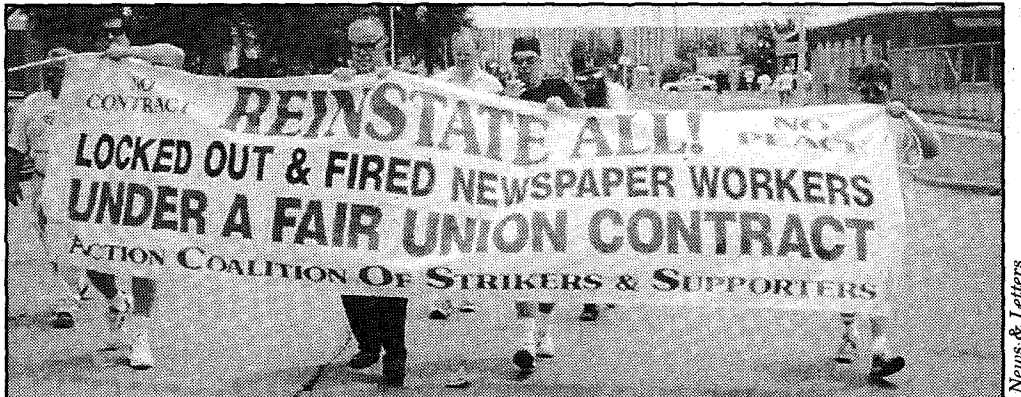
During this same period, employment in basic industries, most highly unionized, was drastically slashed by 50% or more, and included auto, steel, mining, rubber, longshore, aircraft and textiles. Under the sledgehammer blows delivered by automation and a hostile government administration, attacks against workers were stepped up. Agencies originally created to protect workers rights and health, such as the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), were packed with anti-labor administrators that transformed the agencies into management weapons to block unionization and ignore safety violations. Unfair labor practice cases involving unionization and other legal violations were ignored to the point that there was a three-year backlog at the NLRB, rendering all grievances useless and spelling death to union organizing.

Health and safety violations were treated the same, and corporations had a free hand to institute or increase unsafe working conditions. At the same time, the number of NLRB and OSHA inspectors was so drastically slashed that at times only one inspector was assigned to an entire state, further demonstrating the farcical and anti-labor nature of the administration.

NORTH AMERICAN ANTI-LABOR AGREEMENT

As President Clinton gives lip-service to labor's causes, his actions add to the misery of the workers and their families. A prime example of this is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), precipitating a job loss that has been substantial. Not only have hundreds of thousands of U.S. and Canadian jobs already gone to Mexico, hundreds of companies use the threat of moving their plants to Mexico to demand ever-increasing concessions from workers as well as to thwart union drives. Revised laws demanded by NAFTA have thrown workers into the competitive market and depressed their standards of living or thrown them into the unemployment lines.

Last year, GM workers fired from an assembly plant in Mexico City traveled to Detroit to picket GM's headquarters, protesting their illegal discharges and GM's closing of its Mexico City plant and moving work 60 miles away to a plant paying about half of the Mexico City wage scale. Along the Mexican-U.S. border, huge clusters of U.S.-



National rally for striking newspaper workers in Detroit brought out allies—and questions.

owned firms, "maquiladoras," comprise 2,300 assembly plants employing more than 700,000 Mexican workers. Instead of improving health, safety and employment conditions, a supposed trade-off of NAFTA, Mexico has passed a law allowing plants to be "certified" as safe following an inspection, which exempts them from future inspections. The easy abuses in this are clear since a plant management can set up a "safe" operation for an

(Continued on page 9)

Editorial

Still two worlds in China after Hong Kong's return

The last vestige of the British Empire in Asia disappeared July 1 as Hong Kong was returned to China, and Hong Kong capitalists are leading the loudest cheers. Great Britain seized Hong Kong in 1842 after the first Opium War with China as a permanent base for expanding opium smuggling. A nation whose history of capitalist accumulation included piracy and slave trading had no trouble dealing dope. This was the first of a century of unequal treaties China signed at gunpoint with Western powers and Japan.

GOOD RIDDANCE, LOOK OUT

Britain departs no more willingly from Hong Kong than it did from India, Burma, or anywhere else. Former Prime Minister Thatcher agreed in 1984 to return Hong Kong this year, timed to the end of the 99-year lease on the New Territories, without which the rest of the colony was not viable. China in turn agreed to a "one nation, two systems" maintenance of Hong Kong's separate laws for 50 years.

The approach of the date for Hong Kong's return was the occasion for posturing by both Britain and the U.S. After a century and a half of direct colonial rule, during which its much-praised "rule of law" included firing sometimes-lethal rubber bullets on factory picket lines, Britain permitted an elected Legislative Council only in 1995. Secretary of State Albright in turn announced in advance her boycott of the inauguration of the new appointed Legislative Council. China prefers the colonial model.

But the U.S.'s concern for undoing 1840s aggression doesn't extend to offering California back to Mexico, and seven years of similar posturing over China's most-favored-nation status proves it cares less about political rights in Hong Kong or in China as a whole than about guarantees for capital.

Hong Kong capitalists have endorsed reunion with China, running up stock and real estate prices. Since the 1984 pact the border has already been partly erased. China has established special economic zones beginning with Shenzhen, adjoining Hong Kong, for export production that has led China's boom. Along with heavy Taiwanese investment, the four million workers in Hong Kong-owned factories in China outnumber those in Hong Kong itself. Chinese firms—10,000 of them—have in turn invested in Hong Kong. One capitalist said the worst that could happen after July 1 was that Hong Kong would become like Shenzhen, and "we know how

(Continued on page 10)

ON THE INSIDE

The Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya • Lumumba in the heart of Africa.....Page 4
Essay • Adorno and subjectivity.....Page 5
Pol Pot, the U.S., and the Left.....Page 12

Feminism, multilinearity and revolution

by Laurie Cashdan

Last month, I argued that for feminists to theoretically reconnect politics of identity with dialectics of revolution—a link demanded by such appeals as the Combahee River statement, written by Black feminists 20 years ago—we need to go beyond current ideas of multiculturalism by relooking at Raya Dunayevskaya's concept of multilinearity, based on Marx's body of ideas.

One key to Dunayevskaya's multilinearity lies in Marx's last decade, especially his **Ethnological Notebooks**, commentaries on anthropologists' studies of precapitalist societies. She contrasts them to Engels's **Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State**, well-known to feminists, including his notorious view that women had suffered a "world-historic defeat of the female sex" when patriarchy triumphed over matriarchy at the onset of class society. She argues that Engels's view, which takes off from this counter-revolution instead of dialectics of liberation, was never shared by Marx. Instead, it provides a clue to the gulf that separates Engels's unilinearism from Marx's multilinearity.

Marxist-feminist Lise Vogel's recent critique of Engels's **Origin** also contrasts him to Marx, attacking Engels for addressing property forms while Marx attends to production relations. Dunayevskaya's point is quite

Woman as Reason

different. It is true that when Marx addresses property forms in his **Notebooks**, it is in relation to changing social relations, especially in production. However, the real difference is that Engels sees unilateral progression of stages instead of multilinearity development.*

For Marx, there is no form of human development without internal differentiation or dualities. These dualities which could transform into "epochs of social revolution." Vogel's focus on "structures of women's oppression" may explain her failure to critique Engels on women's "historical defeat".

Dunayevskaya argues that in **Origin**, the duality or antagonisms within each formation emerge only at its end, as if patriarchy and class relations blew in fully formed with the primitive commune's demise. Marx, in contrast, shows the dialectic duality within each formation.

As Marx penned his **Ethnological Notebooks**, such dialectic dualities came alive. He stresses the power of Iroquois women in decision-making and Irish women in property ownership before British colonialism. However, he warns us about the limitations of women's freedom—highlighting, for example, the role of the Iroquois chief. His point—unlike Engels'—is that future revolutions cannot merely return to the past, but must transform all human relations.

Marx traces what Henry Lewis Morgan calls "the passions and powers of the mind." That means the power of ideologies that make women's subordination and heterosexual monogamy appear natural. At the same time, however, it also means to Marx the role of "intellect" or Reason in illuminating new revolutionary pathways.

Marx's concern with dualities within each formation illuminates possibilities for new revolutions which break with current pathways of development. In **Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution** (WLDR), Dunayevskaya relies on this dialectic methodology. Multilinearity is no mere appreciation of multicultural diversity, but a road to revolution.

MARX, HEGEL AND DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION TODAY

Most feminists in the 1990s find it difficult to imagine a break from today's stifling reality of class, race and gender exploitation. How then does Dunayevskaya's multilinearity open up new doors? She argues that

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

The religious right lashed out again against women, June 24, as the Islamic fundamentalist-dominated Egyptian court struck down a 1996 government ban on genital mutilation. Human rights activists plan to appeal the ruling to the Egyptian Supreme Court, calling the barbaric butchery cruel, unnecessary and damaging to women's sexual and reproductive health. A 1996 Egyptian government survey revealed that 97% of married women ages 15-49 have undergone such mutilation—often performed on girls as young as 3!

More than 200 women marched through Kampala, Uganda, recently to demand an end to domestic violence after three women were brutally murdered by their husbands within one week. Ugandan women are still fighting to get domestic violence recognized as a crime. At a memorial service for the women, Winnie Byanyima, head of the Forum for Women in Democracy, called for "a new culture in which care, affection and sensitivity replace the violent, dominating and possessive macho male image propagated by the patriarchal and militaristic culture of today."

—Information from off our backs

Marx's prescience resided in his ongoing relation to the Hegelian dialectic, what Marx in 1844 called "dialectic of negativity as the moving and creating principle."

In Marx's multilinearity, new possibilities for revolution emerge from "history and its process." History is not reduced to "supra-historical theories," but is concrete and ever changing because the human resistance of the Subject can open up new historic possibilities. This "ever-developing Subject—self-developing men and women" (WLDR, p. 215) bound the concrete to the universal, Marx's philosophy of revolution. In these human subjects reaching for liberation he saw the "dialectic of negativity".

Engels—and Marxist-feminists who follow him—divides concrete and universal by adhering to stages of production with their structures of oppression such as patriarchy and racism, without working out their dialectical opposite in human resistance. Conversely, poststructuralists who insist on a new relation between universal and concrete attack universal theories of identity, substituting fractured identities that also mystify dialectics of revolution.

For women to become revolutionary Reason, Dunayevskaya shows, a new relation is needed between philosophy and the dialectics of revolution, including women's struggles. She writes: "Marx transformed what, to Hegel, was the synthesis of the Self-Thinking Idea" and the "Self-Bringing-Forth of Liberty" as the emergence of a new society. The many paths to get there were left open" (WLDR, p. 268).

To Dunayevskaya, multilinearity meant a whole new relation between dialectics of liberation and dialectics of thought. Grasping the historic uniqueness of each new women's movement is crucial. But as the Combahee River Collective showed twenty years ago, the point is not mere multicultural diversity, but opening doors to new kinds of revolutions.

*Lise Vogel, "Engels's **Origin**: A Defective Formulation," in her **Woman Questions: Essays for a Materialist Feminism** (Pluto Press, 1995), pp. 66-82. A slightly altered version appears as "Engels's **Origin**: Legacy, Burden and Vision," in Chris Arthur, ed., **Engels Today: A Centenary Appreciation** (St. Martin's Press, 1996).

'One Jerusalem shared by two nations'

Jerusalem—The peace camp in Israel has been exceptionally active in June, commemorating 30 years to the occupation. The highlights were the joint activities of the Jerusalem Link (Bat Shalom and the Jerusalem Center for Women).

After listening frustrated to the rhetoric that Jerusalem belongs "only to Israel" or "only to Palestine" or that Jerusalem was "an insoluble issue" or "the stumbling block to peace," we have been hungering to make our views heard on the subject of Jerusalem. On June 21, 5,000 Israelis and Palestinians turned out to say that the time has come to Share Jerusalem.

The Israeli and Palestinian women of the Jerusalem Link began planning this months ago. We knew that the planning process had to model the very peace that we were seeking—negotiating in mutual respect—and that the product had to reflect the principle of parity and the multiculturalism of our city.

We gathered in the amphitheater at the entrance to Damascus Gate, beside the wall of the Old City of Jerusalem, the heart of this troubled city. Israelis came from all over the country, and Palestinians from everywhere, especially Jerusalem. The speakers alternated between Israeli and Palestinian women. The common theme was that Jerusalem has been shared in the past—Jews, Muslims and Christians have lived amicably in this city for centuries—and that we can do it again.

Only once were the speeches interrupted, when the Palestinian shebab [young men] unfurled a Palestinian flag—banned in Jerusalem—and riot troops waded into the crowd and tried to arrest them. Israeli and Palestinian men and women closed ranks and refused to relinquish the young men to the police. The police were forced to leave empty handed. When the speeches were over, white doves were released and soared to freedom over the hopes of all those gathered.

Then we began the march through the streets of Jerusalem. People held aloft their encouraging signs: "One Jerusalem Shared by Two Nations"; "Jerusalem, the Capital of Two States." Others held the black cardboard "hands" of Women in Black with the words "Stop the Occupation."

I looked around and saw activists of the past 30 years: Amira, an Israeli journalist who moved into a Palestinian neighborhood in the territories, and files reports about the price of living under occupation; Lily, who began dialogue groups between women from her kibbutz and women from the occupied city of Jenin; Hava, who organized support visits to Palestinian women political prisoners; and young men who sat in jail rather than serve in the army in the territories. And the many who have stood on vigils, written letters, stood their ground and gone to jail, or taught their children about injustice.

Only a few people have spoken out about this solution for Jerusalem—sharing it—but this large group had the courage today to say it out loud. Those on both sides who love peace, once again let their defiant spirit rise above the din of narrow rhetoric.

Dyke march in L.A.

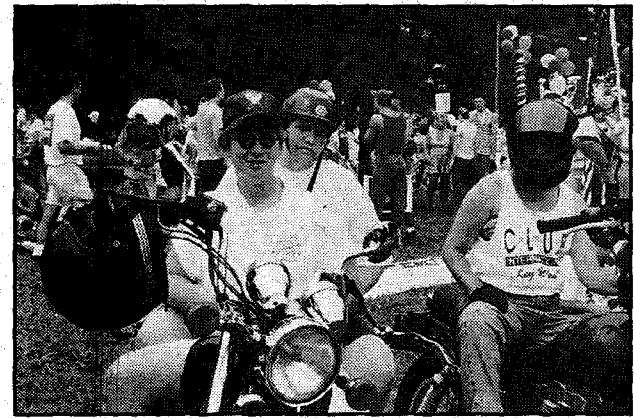
Los Angeles—The Dyke March celebrated its fifth year here with a militant march down Santa Monica Avenue in West Hollywood, June 21. The lesbian organizers made a point of their distance from the corporate interests of the official Gay pride march (Christopher Street West), whose hypocrisy is so great that they even accept money from racist, sexist, heterosexist right-wing Coors!

The Dyke March began with over 500 participants, then swelled to over 1,000 as women and men spontaneously joined the route. If the needed philosophical vision was sometimes subsumed into immediate action and celebration of lesbian pride, there were signs of a total approach to liberation.

One of the most exciting dimensions of the march was its multi-issue agenda: this was not just about lesbian visibility, but included outrage over the gutting of welfare and California's anti-immigration laws. One woman handed out 21 different "Dyke Calling Cards"—business cards with political action telephone numbers for opposing various injustices.

The celebration was a part of the larger struggle, and a part of understanding how lesbians will participate in that struggle.

—Jennifer Pen



Dykes on Bikes lead off Memphis gay pride march, June 21. See story, p.11.

Dead end in workfare

Chicago—I am a mother who has worked and paid taxes. I am now on public aid.

Going to apply for public aid is the most humiliating and embarrassing experience I have ever had. The minute I arrived at the public aid office I was given enough paper work to write a book. These papers repeat the same questions, asked in different ways. I saw three or four caseworkers and told them the same story three or four times.

They had me fill out a redetermination report to make sure my status hasn't changed.

I was told that they really want to get me a job—any job. If I don't show up at it my check will be cut. They also asked me in the initial interview how I became pregnant.

I have four children—two of whom are grown, gone and on their own, and two who are very young. I've worked 22 years of my life and been a public aid recipient for four years. I have done welding, container repair, and driven a tractor-trailer local and over the road. Because of my younger children, driving a truck even locally is no longer feasible.

Knowing that I would have to be retrained to compete on the job market, I chose to take GED. I know that this system with its continuous attacks on the poor and working people will use not having the basics (through GED) to eliminate me from getting a job.

A short time after entering the course program, I was called by my caseworker concerning a job interview. The job was three days a week, for four hours each day, at five dollars per hour. I explained that I was in school and had no child care for the hours they wanted me to work. I was told "I understand, but this job pays, school doesn't."

How am I supposed to support myself and two small children at \$5 an hour? She said the job pays, but what about housing, food, clothes, and other basic necessities? What are the chances I would be able to advance myself and make a living wage?

With mothers forced out to slave-wage jobs there is a need for child care. Many providers won't take the money from public aid, most work on a school-year calendar, few work weekends. If a mother has a job she might be eligible for care for one year. What happens to innocent babies when mom makes \$5 an hour and daycare charges \$80-\$125 and more per child per week?

Illinois must cut 26% of its caseload this year. Many of those cut will be single mothers like myself.

These are a few highlights of the Illinois Temporary Assistance for Needy Families plan:

*Adults are limited to receiving 60 months of benefits over the course of a lifetime. Children who live with a parent who has used up 60 months of benefits are ineligible.

*All adults must engage in work activities after receiving 24 months of benefits.

*Unemployed persons are limited to 24 months of basic adult education, GED, vocational education.

*Persons who attend college must work at least 20 hours per week.

—Rose

Ward's dumps workers and skips town

Chicago—In January, the facility manager Dale Kitzman held a meeting in the Franklin Park warehouse to tell us the facility was closing as of June 1 and Montgomery Ward needed to be out of there Sept. 1 because the lease was up. The truth is that they owned the building and sold it to a new owner.

The new warehouse is in Romeoville, 30 miles away. We had a union contract that said as long as our work moves within 50 miles, we would go with it. I found that 130 out of 170 would have gone to Romeoville if they had the chance. We have a preferential list of 55 people they want to bring to Romeoville, but without the union.

We put calls into Chester Glanton, president of Teamsters Local 743, and Business Agent Bob Walston. They wouldn't return our calls and wouldn't give us any answers. Sixteen of us went on March 3 to the monthly union meeting. Glanton talked about just finding out that Montgomery Ward was closing the Franklin Park warehouse and not planning on taking us with them. I told Chester Glanton that what he said was not true. People called him before January, for two years, ever since a customer whose son was working on the new warehouse told me about Romeoville.

We have a no-strike, no-picket, no-boycott clause in our contract, which ends Aug. 1. There's also a clause which allows Ward's to subcontract jobs meant for Christmas temps and equipment repairs.

They made a contract with Customized Transportation, CTI, out of Jacksonville, Fla., to manage the new place in Romeoville, hiring new people.

I went to their jobs fair at the Romeoville warehouse and found out that they were paying \$8.50 an hour for clerical jobs and \$9.50 for warehouse, compared to an average \$15 to \$17 at Franklin Park.

Ward's claimed that the work sent to the Romeoville warehouse is from Ward's union warehouse in St. Paul that closed too. They said that so they could do something the union couldn't stop, but they are doing our jobs—170 people, two-thirds of whom are over 40.

We went to Operation Push. There were going to help us. Jesse Jackson had made a comment, "If you don't get a ticket, you can't get on the plane," so I joined. At the next membership meeting in April, we learned that the union gave a \$2,000 donation to PUSH, and all of a sudden, we had no calls returned from PUSH.

We wrote a petition to Ron Carey saying that we were getting no answers, that Local 743 had sold us out. We were sending petitions about this not being right, including a copy to the local. We got no answer, and this was in April. We had a meeting with the union's lawyer, who didn't know anything about CTI running the Romeoville warehouse. I told them about CTI myself.

I was angry that they weren't trying to save our jobs. They were working on a severance package instead. We want a right to go to Romeoville. Employees at a warehouse on Chicago Ave. had the right to move to the Franklin Park warehouse.

Now the international is involved. They told us to wear green ribbons to show unity, and they gave us stickers for solidarity. We went to Bull's basketball games to distribute leaflets because Scottie Pippen is a Ward's spokesman and we want him to tell Ward's to treat us right.

On April 7 at a Local 743 meeting at Teamster City, we picketed and leafleted because they would not help. Teamsters for a Democratic Union has given us more help. On March 23, we decided to flood the union hall

Delta Pride workers' victory

Indianola, Miss.—The workers at Delta Pride Catfish, members of UFCW Local 1529, won a big victory in June. Since March, we had been suffering under Delta's new, vicious absentee policy. More than 20 workers were fired.

Suddenly, one Monday morning in April, which still amazes me, about 400 Delta Pride workers did not show up for work. They called in sick. It was the first incident which interrupted production since the 1990 strike. It shocked and devastated Delta. It left them with 350,000 pounds of catfish to process. It cost them a lot of money and unsatisfied customers.

For two months we struggled to keep the union together while brothers and sisters were fired. We filed grievances, and met with management. We stood up together as a union. On June 2, Delta agreed to trash the new absentee policy and put the old policy back in place. All workers who were fired were reinstated.

Through being involved in organizing at Delta Pride and many other plants, I can truly say that unionizing is the way for workers to fight. You as the unit need to make decisions. I have been reading Raya Dunayevskaya's book *Marxism and Freedom*. It helped me to understand my experiences and see what needs to be uprooted for workers to fully develop themselves. At Delta Pride we know that there is always one more revolution to be made.

—Sick and tired Delta Pride worker

with phone calls about our problem. We found out that it blocked up 743 badly.

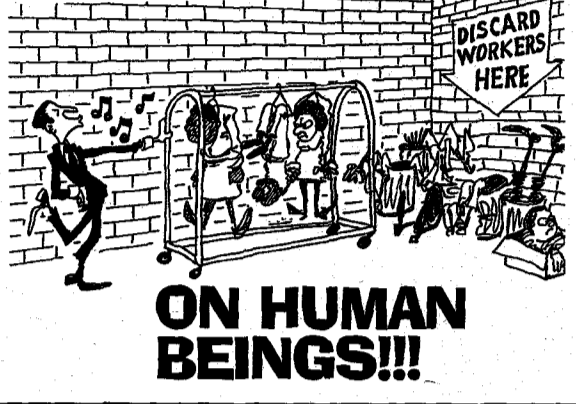
A letter came in a union envelope, but written by Kitzman, which stated that the meeting on June 22 would be about a vote on the final offer. The letter was all about an enhanced severance package. Nowhere was there any mention of arbitration.

We had out June 22 meeting to vote on enhanced severance versus arbitration. The union stewards trashed the union, telling them the negotiations were very one-sided, that they didn't do a good job for us, and that we should go to arbitration. People started to get confused because they hadn't heard a lot about arbitration. Many of us have been off since May 30. I got my first unemployment check by then. It seemed like they were waiting till we got hungry before having this meeting.

Why do I think the union sold us out? Local 743 is economically cushioned, and they were promised 275 members down the road. A few of us have gotten together to go to the NLRB. We feel we were totally wronged, and we are going to bring charges against the union for misrepresentation. There are a few of us who won't take the severance package.

—Warehouse worker

Montgomery Ward Is Having a Big Clearance Sale...



Detroit labor march at last

Detroit—Some 50,000 workers—mostly union—marched, June 21, in support of the Detroit newspaper workers, on strike since July 13, 1995. "Action! Motown '97" was a weekend of activities organized and planned by the AFL-CIO in response to unrelenting pressure from rank-and-file strikers to call a national labor march on Detroit.

Over 40 unions marched. Large contingents came from the UAW, the Communications Workers, Teamsters, Needle Trades, Industrial and Textile Workers, and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee. Other delegations came from the American Federation of Teachers, AFSCME, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and the Canadian Autoworkers.

LOCKED-OUT WORKERS

The Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions had expected only 300 strikers to march, but several strikers estimated that at least half of the 2,000 "locked-out workers" came out. All were elated by the "moral support" given by a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruling—one day before Action! Motown—which upheld every single charge brought by the unions and concluded that the strike was an "unfair labor practices" strike provoked by Gannett and Knight-Ridder (who own both the Detroit News and Free Press under a Joint Operating Agreement.) However, strikers have no illusions about the NLRB ruling; the appeal already begun by the companies will take years.

The march itself is seen as a wonderful show of worker-to-worker solidarity, but there is little optimism that it will help win the strike; one worker characterized it as a "funeral" for Big Labor's character support of what the rank-and-file want from the strike.

Speaking at the rally, John Sweeney, President of the AFL-CIO, praised his own organizers for "putting a team together to organize this march." Contrast the view of a striking graphics worker: "The AFL-CIO did not 'call' this march; we did. We need to think about our goals and generalize it to more than this newspaper strike, because there is so much strength when we make these ties. We need to talk about the welfare struggles, the Black struggle, the struggles in other industries."

LEADERS LIMITED STRIKE

In fact, this organizing philosophy has been carried out by rank-and-file strikers and workers in the Detroit area—which includes Canada—from the beginning. And from the beginning it has been opposed by local and national labor leadership in myriad subtle (and not-so-subtle) ways:

- Not a single "official" Action! Motown activity was directed at the Sterling Heights North or Detroit Riverfront printing plants, for fear it might be interpreted as an attempt to disrupt production.

- No support was given to efforts to link up with and organize support from Detroit African-Americans, whose generations-long experience of media shut-out forms a common bond with the strikers' experience of the same treatment of their strike. (Nationwide, no newspapers covered the march, as they have suppressed news of the strike since it began.)

- Two weeks before the march, no major international union had launched any serious boycott of USA Today, Gannett's most profitable newspaper. For strikers, the demand can only be: Reintstate all locked-out and fired workers with a fair union contract—NOW! ACOSS (Action Coalition of Strikers and Supporters) will continue rank-and-file organizing. Call (810) 447-2716; website <http://members.aol.com/actmotown>; e-mail ActMotown@aol.com.

—Marcher

Beds but no rest at Sealy

Memphis, Tenn.—For two months, we have been working at Sealy Mattress from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. or even later, five days a week. It just wore on us so tough that we would come home, take a bath, go to bed tired, and wake up tired. We'd go back in and have to work 12 hours the next day.

I'd come off work and be so tired I couldn't even eat dinner and play with my son. Before that I'd pick him up from daycare and have time with him before my wife got home, but now my wife picks him up and I don't have any time with him. I miss that time. I need to work eight hours and be off, instead of this.

Sealy was running 700-800 mattresses a day. They didn't have enough people to run those beds. People were getting really tired and not coming to work. We had four or five people who could have been fired because they had used up all their marks.

So they came up with what they call "the last chance." They'd say: "We could fire you today, but we need you. So if you work 20 working days without missing a day, we'll let you stay. If you miss a day, we'll fire you." Some people on that last chance missed a day. Because the company needed them, they gave them a second "last chance."

They've also brought in a new line, Crown Jewel. They don't have the right staple guns to work on them. When they first came out, they would only give us one per size (Queen or King). Several tables were sharing one gun. They brought in two guys who worked in a team and put out 100 beds in 10 hours. But one of us can run 60 or more in that time. So if they pay us by the bed, we would lose money in teams.

We finally had a meeting with the union, Local 282 (Furniture Division-IUE) and told them we couldn't work all those hours. Since the union talked to them, they've taken beds off the schedule. Now we have 500 or less. The union told them we couldn't work 12-13 hours a day.

Before we had a union, in the 1960s, the company had an agreement with workers to finish out the schedule, but the beds weren't as heavy then. I believe they'll try to satisfy the union for a little while, but they really want us to put out 700-800 beds in eight hours.

—Black production worker

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

say, "We've got this big order coming out."

If your child was in a play, you couldn't see it because we worked from sunup to sundown. Before we were unionized we were only making minimum wage, \$3.35 an hour. We never knew how daylight looked. Your little break was right there because you couldn't leave the premises. Since we've unionized, a lot of stuff has changed.

We wanted time to spend with our kids but we couldn't do it because this company felt they could run you all day and all night. If you've got to take your baby to the doctor, or if you think seeing your child in a play is more important than getting these fish out—you got the gate. We didn't know anything about an eight-hour shift. That's the reason we organized, to get that self-respect back, to be treated like human beings. When we got the union, the fight for the eight-hour shift played a big part. That was one of the first things that we won.

After we got organized, they wanted to figure out a way to dominate us. So they paid over a million dollars for this machine to replace us. They downstaffed and ran these machines for so long they wouldn't work.

A lot of workers got Carpal Tunnel Syndrome, a repetitive motion injury that cripples you. After 20 years of service in the plant, you would be broken down, but all they could see is replacing you. They wouldn't say: "Since Gloria put 20 years in this plant, we're going to put her on an easy job." No. She would either have to do her job, or they would replace her, and she could go home.

A machine will produce for a while, but eventually it will break down and you will have to rebuild it. If you're a person and don't get the proper care, you're going to wear down even faster. Once your hands wear out with this Carpal Tunnel Syndrome, they're going to replace you. It's all about an easy way and a faster way to make money. We as human beings didn't matter.

Marx's writings are hard, but they relate to our workplace. As far as the capitalists are concerned, we are just tools to produce and make them money, and they don't care about anything except the value they are going to get from us.

Marx wrote *Capital* over 100 years ago. It amazed me how things happened in past history. It's the same thing over and over. That's why you have to search for this new-found revolution to make things better. It just repeats itself unless you take control of it.

Read
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis
by Raya Dunayevskaya
To order, see page 7

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
**MARXIST-HUMANIST
 ARCHIVES**

Editor's Note

The historic events in Zaire, now renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo, over this past year have once again evoked the name of Patrice Lumumba, the first duly elected prime minister of the former Belgian colony in 1960. The imperialist and neocolonial forces behind the brutal murder of Lumumba in January 1961 is the subject of the following editorial Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in the February 1961 *News & Letters*, entitled "Congo Premier Lumumba Murdered." We have also excerpted a letter Dunayevskaya wrote to a young comrade, May 17, 1985. Finally, we have reproduced Patrice Lumumba's poem, "A Morning in the Heart of Africa," that *News & Letters* had originally published in its October 1961 issue. Footnotes and bracketed text are the editor's.

The brutal murder of the duly-elected Premier of the Congo Republic, Patrice Lumumba, must be laid at the door, not only of Belgian imperialism and its Katanga stooge, Tshombe,¹ but at the door of the UN as well.

The crocodile tears shed by American Ambassador to the UN, Adlai Stevenson, cannot absolve the United States from the responsibility of having created a condition for the rule of government by assassination.² It was the American Embassy that transformed the straw-man, Colonel Mobutu, into Congo's alleged "Strongman."

The Russian Ambassador to the UN, Valerian Zorin, has called the death a "heinous crime" and is reaping a windfall from this seeming alignment with African Freedom Fighters, not only among the Afro-Asian countries, but public opinion in Europe and America as well. President Kennedy's expression of "great shock" at Lumumba's death, on the other hand, rings false since it is evident that he would rather keep quiet about the treacherous and conscienceless political assassination in order to continue his support of Kasavubu.³ Yet even his young brother, Teddy, had to admit, after a visit to the Congo, that Kasavubu is held to be a "tool of the Central Intelligence Agency" of the United States.

WHERE WAS HAMMARSKJOLD?

Now that Premier Patrice Lumumba and two other elected government officials—the Youth and Sports Minister, Maurice Mpolo, and Deputy Senate Speaker, Joseph Okito—have been murdered and their bodies are evidently so badly mutilated that Tshombe refuses so much as to show their grave, UN General Secretary Hammarskjold is calling for "an impartial investigation" into their deaths. No wonder that even a nobody like Tshombe can defy the UN for it is only natural to ask where was the gentleman from Sweden when the Swedish officers of the UN had reported that Lumumba was so badly beaten on the forced arrival in Katanga that they were not sure that he would survive at all?

Where was Hammarskjold when Lumumba was first arrested and man-handled at Leopoldville [Kinshasa]?

Where was the gentleman when, in the dark of the night, the UN-recognized Congo government of Kasavubu had the Premier bound, blind-folded, gagged and forcefully transferred to a prison in a province which had seceded from the Congo Republic?

Wasn't it obvious then that there was only one reason for this transfer, and that was to premeditate murder?

Where was Hammarskjold when apartheid South Africa announced that Lumumba had been murdered on

Lumumba in the heart of Africa

the very night he was transferred to Katanga, and the Katanga authorities had concocted the escape story only in order to be able to announce later that Patrice Lumumba was dead? It ill behoves Hammarskjold to smirk when the Russian Ambassador declared him responsible for Lumumba's death.

Both are cynics. History will not forgive Russia's butchery of the Hungarian Revolution just because it now poses as an ally of Freedom Fighters—in Africa. And it will not forgive the General Secretary for presiding over that new butchers' kitchen called the UN.

THE IGNORANT, CRUEL, UNPRINCIPLED TSHOMBE

The Katanga announcement of Lumumba's death reveals that the ambitious, petty, vicious tyrant-without-any-scruples, Tshombe, is as ignorant as he is vain, cruel and unprincipled. That statement lumped together the execution of the labor martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, and that of the convict, Caryl Chessman, and used all that as "justification" for his lynching of Lumumba and his colleagues. If Kennedy wants to associate himself with such a traitor to the cause of African freedom, it certainly does not represent the views of the American people.

Are we supposed to take his word, and that of the paid press, that Lumumba was a Communist and "for violence," but this creature Tshombe, whose hands are bloody from political assassination, is a "democrat and a moderate" when this is his concept of trial by jury? Is this the new frontier which he wishes revealed to the people of the world **WHO KNOW THAT IT WAS LUMUMBA WHO ORGANIZED THE CONGOLESE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN 1958 AND LED HIS PEOPLE TO FREEDOM** in 1960 while Tshombe sold out to the Belgian oppressors, and three short days after independence was achieved declared his secession from the newly independent African state?

This is not a new frontier. It is old, putrid imperialism. Times, however, have changed. A century has passed since Belgian King Leopold II could carve out an African empire by reducing the 20-40 million Congolese masses down to 8 million. This is 1960 when a third of Africa has rid itself of European imperialism and is not ready to accept any new imperialism—Russian or American made—in its place. It is the year African Freedom Fighters will carry on the struggle until the old colonialism is driven off the face of the earth.

THE HERITAGE OF PATRICE LUMUMBA

The United States has made it easy enough for Russia to appear as the protector of African freedom. But the Africans will not forget that Russia itself voted for the UN entry into the Congo. Their present demand for UN withdrawal cannot wipe the slate clean, for with that entry there has come chaos, planned chaos. The United States and the others in the UN who had supported Kasavubu as the legal government—although he had only 10 percent of the actual votes of the Congolese people and occupied the figure-head role of president—must now face the consequences of their action.

Only a fool like Tshombe can think that the death of

Lumumba has rid the Congo of "a problem." The Congolese masses have tasted freedom. They will not return to the old stage of oppression, even if Belgian white imperialism now has the Black face of a Tshombe, nor if "democracy" tells them that government by assassination is preferable to "Communism."

That Patrice Lumumba was not a Communist is now being admitted by the very people who called him that yesterday. Patrice Lumumba was no Communist; he was an African Freedom Fighter who led the struggle of the Congolese people. He found out too late that formal political freedom, which does not have an economic base on which to thrive, can be saddled with an economic imperialism as dastardly as that of political imperialism.

Patrice Lumumba leaves behind him an awakened consciousness and love of liberty which took shape in an organized movement for liberation which crossed tribal lines, and was truly of national, and indeed of continental, that is all-African, range. Proof lies in the reasoned statement from Lumumba's stronghold in Stanleyville that Lumumba's death does not in any way stop the National Congolese Movement from continuing the struggle for liberation. Proof lies in the fact that what he had achieved for the Congo, Kenneth Kaunda and Dr. Banda are fighting to achieve for Northern Rhodesia [Zambia] and Nyasaland [Malawi], and the Freedom Fighters in Kenya for Kenya. Even in white supremacist South Africa, and in the fascist dominated Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique the African Freedom Fighters will not rest until they have achieved the goal of African independence.

We mourn the death of Patrice Lumumba, but we are confident that for every leader whose young life has been snuffed out by imperialism and its stooges, hundreds and thousands will arise to take their places and see that the deaths are not in vain, that freedom will be achieved in our time.



Patrice Lumumba

May 17, 1985

[I]t is only when a word suddenly becomes a philosophic category that it has so absorbed historical development that it can find a philosophic expression that is action.

The Congo. Once I met the first Black man I ever saw when I landed in Chicago,⁴ [Black] represented that new, other human dimension which was past any single discrimination, even when it was emotionally integral to one as the experience of anti-Semitism was to me. There was absolutely nothing on the Black dimension from the mid-1920s on that was strange to me. America or Africa. Africa was the other world: I simply must explore every crevice of it. In the 1930s I began meeting Africans [from] Nigeria, the Gold Coast [Ghana], Nyasaland [Malawi], but never, never the Congo. And I hungered for that because that horrible chapter of the inhumanity of whites in the person of the King of Belgium devastating the Congo was beyond belief and imagination.

Now skip all the way to the 1950s and the creation of the first independent country in Africa, Ghana, and the assembling of all Africans who could be to the opening ceremonies.⁵ In struts Patrice Lumumba. I believe I loved every bone in that man's body. I loved especially his little beard, and kept saying it is even more beautiful than Trotsky's goatee. I loved his voice. And out of that wonderful mouth came poetry and the vision of the future of freedom. Did you read the poem by Lumumba I found in a Slavic publication in the '60s and published in *News & Letters*? Do you know that we were given a beautiful picture of Lumumba in recognition of what *N&L* did in that struggle against the U.S., against the UN, and against Tshombe and for Lumumba? Do you know I cried almost as much when he was murdered as when Lenin died, and I was so, so little then, which I certainly wasn't by the '60s.

A Morning in the Heart of Africa

by Patrice Lumumba

For a thousand years you, Negro, suffered like a beast, your ashes strewn to the wind that roams the desert.

Your tyrants built the lustrous, magic temples to preserve your soul, preserve your suffering.

Barbaric right of fist and the white right to a whip, you had the right to die, you also could weep.

In your totem they carved endless hunger, endless bonds, and even in the cover of the woods a ghastly cruel death was watching, snaky, crawling to you like branches from the holes and heads of trees embraced your body and your ailing soul.

Then they put a treacherous big viper on your chest, on your neck they laid the yoke of fire-water, they took your sweet wife for glitter of cheap pearls, your incredible riches that nobody could measure.

From your hut, the tom-toms sounded into dark of night carrying cruel laments up mighty black rivers about abused girls, streams of tears and blood, about ships that sailed to country where the little man walls in an ant-hill and where a dollar is the king, to that damned land which they called a motherland.

There your child, your wife were ground day and night by frightful, merciless mill, crushing them in dreadful pain.

You are man like others. They preach you to believe that good white god will reconcile all men at last. By fire you grieved and sang the moaning songs of homeless beggar that sinks at stranger's doors.

And when a craze possessed you and your blood boiled through the night you danced, you moaned, obsessed by fathers' passion.

Like fury of a storm of lyrics of a manly tune a strength burst out of you for a thousand years of misery in metallic voice of jazz, in uncovered outcry that thunders through the continent in gigantic surf.

The whole world surprised woke up in panic of the violent rhythm of blood, to violent rhythm of jazz, the white man turning pallid over this new song that carries torch of purple through the dark of night.

The dawn is here, my brother, dawn! Look in our faces, a new morning breaks in our old Africa. Ours only will now be the land, the water, mighty rivers poor Negro was surrendering for a thousand years.

And hard torches of the sun will shine for us again they'll dry the tears in eyes and spittle on your face. The moment when you break the chains, the heavy fetters, the evil, cruel times will go never to come again.

A free and gallant Congo will arise from black soil, a free and gallant Congo—the black blossom, the black seed!

Editor's note: The above poem by Patrice Lumumba is reprinted from East Europe, October 1960. They found it on the front page of the Slovak literary weekly Kulturny Sivot, August 13, 1960.

1. Moise Tshombe was the President of the breakaway Katanga province at the time of the Congo's independence. A bitter rival of Lumumba's vision of a unitary Congo, Tshombe was backed by Belgian mining interests out to exploit Katanga's mineral riches. Lumumba was captured by Mobutu's troops in December 1960 while he was enroute to Stanleyville (Kisangani) and handed over to Tshombe's army who later murdered him.

2. For an analysis of the revelations of the CIA sponsored murder of Lumumba made public in the 1975 Interim Report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, see the editorial article, "The State-Made Murderers: CIA, FBI and the Presidents," by Olga Domanski in the January-February 1976 *News & Letters*.

3. Joseph Kasavubu was the Congo's first President, 1960 to 1965, and the malleable puppet that did the bidding of the West and local despots like Tshombe and Mobutu, including the dismissal of Lumumba as prime minister in September 1960.

4. As a child Dunayevskaya's family had emigrated to Chicago from the Ukraine in 1922.

5. This refers to the All-African People's Conference held in Accra, Ghana in December 1958.

Essay Article

Adorno, Dunayevskaya and subjectivity

by F. Shelley

I. HEGEL AND FEMINISM

The importance accorded Adorno by Feminist and Queer theorists brought back to my attention Olga Domanski's essay "Hegel, Feminism and Revolution." Many are concerned with questions of subjectivity, identity and difference, but are antagonistic to Hegel's dialectic. It is in this spirit that Patricia Mills cites Adorno in *Feminist Interpretations of Hegel* which Domanski reviewed.¹

It is Adorno's idea of the goal of Hegel's philosophy—an intersubjective recognition without recourse to domination—that Mills and other feminists find attractive. Such a vision of mutual reciprocity, they argue, has to be outside of Hegel's dialectic which they believe systematically negates difference. Thus Mills argues intersubjectivity can only be conceived by "refuting the moment of Hegelian reconciliation in which the negation of the negation becomes a positive moment of domination" (my emphasis, p. 85).

One issue addressed in this essay is whether negation of the negation can be conceived in a different way, where recognition doesn't become domination, and difference is not subsumed by identity. For Hegel, as can be seen in his *Phenomenology*, the possibility of intersubjectivity is never automatically realized; indeed, it requires a fundamental change in the nature of subjectivity (a change that we would consider revolutionary, and an "action," as Dunayevskaya put it, "that supersedes the subjectivity of purpose").² In this essay the question of Subject will be investigated through Dunayevskaya's critique of Adorno and her articulation of "Absolute Idea as New Beginning."³

Indeed, whether one agrees with Dunayevskaya that "Hegel would not be Hegel if the moment of encounter with the Absolute Idea was a moment of quiescence" (163), the point is not a defense of the "historical" Hegel but a return to Dunayevskaya's encounter and projection of a "new" (or living) Hegel which she believed was crucial for the development of liberatory ideas. In other words, whether the movement of the self-developing Subject—toward an ability to give up immediacy and, by undergoing mediation (and therefore self-negation), to embrace the Other in mutual recognition—is "authentically" in Hegel or not, such a conception is central to Dunayevskaya.

Paradoxically, the continuing relevance of Adorno's critique of Hegel for feminist theory can be considered in direct contrast to their relative lack of engagement with Dunayevskaya's new Hegel. Domanski offered part of an explanation for this estrangement by quoting Dunayevskaya's critique of Adorno:

Once you fail to "listen to the voices from below" and reduce your purpose instead to what Adorno called "discussing key concepts of philosophic disciplines and centrally intervening in those disciplines" your next step becomes "the substitution of a permanent critique, not alone for absolute negativity but also of 'permanent revolution itself.'" (RD, p. 173)

Dunayevskaya's critique of Adorno is not simply that he didn't listen to the voices from below. Such a critique would have been thought absurd by Adorno. He never became disillusioned with the proletariat because he never placed his hopes on it. During the 1940s he began to articulate his skepticism of the proletariat, concluding that "even solidarity is sick."⁴

In contrast, for Dunayevskaya it was the dialectic that allowed for the comprehension of the movement's "quest for universality." That quest, she argued, was "already discerned in the dialectical movement of the three final syllogisms of [Hegel's] Absolute Mind." In other words, it is Dunayevskaya's breakthrough on the Absolute as new beginning that enabled her to find impulses from the movement from practice. Such an idea indicates the philosophic difference between her and Adorno:

This unchaining began, of course, with his refusal to consider that Hegel's Notion was related only to thought.

Once Marx discovered a new continent of

thought and of revolution, the task he assigned to himself was that of uniting philosophy and reality. The proof of that unity came from uncovering the hidden Subject...⁵

It is my intention to center the critique of Adorno on this level. In fact "uncovering the hidden Subject" was Adorno's intention in *Negative Dialectics*. While Adorno never embraced the concept of Subject qua proletariat, and concentrated his efforts of concretization on aesthetics, he argued that any attempts at concretization in general should be shunned for "logical consistency," and that the concept of Subject should be used "to break through the fallacy of constitutive subjectivity" (p. xx). By such "constitutive subjectivity," I take him to mean something akin to a force of revolution.

I want readers to hold onto this conceptual division between Subject as concept and its embodiment, not to subsume subjectivity into the concept but to ground it in a new beginning that "breaks through the barriers of the given, reaches out, if not to infinity, surely beyond the historic moment."

II. THE SUBJECT'S OBJECTIVITY

In her 1974 essay, "Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning" Dunayevskaya had reminded readers that Adorno's 1957 "Aspects of Hegel's Philosophy,"⁶ had "almost defended a subject-object identity." In contrast to Lukacs, for whom, Dunayevskaya maintained, the subject-object identity had "slipped back into Hegelian idealism,"⁷ Adorno wrote, "cognition if it is genuine, and more than simple duplication of the subjective, must be the subject's objectivity." For Dunayevskaya such a proclamation of the subject's objectivity must have been exciting. Even in *Negative Dialectics* Adorno argued that Hegel still has "an insight into the subject as a self-manifesting objectivity,"⁸ though such an idea runs counter to the thrust of *Negative Dialectics*.

However it would not be a stretch to "translate" subject as self-manifesting objectivity conceptually as also **creativity of cognition**. Certainly, Adorno was miles ahead of Georg Lukacs' idealistic identity that both overstressed subject/object with class consciousness, sans proletarian praxis, and then translated the "knowing" of such consciousness as the party, as the organ that would pierce through the reified reality.

Yet Adorno's critique of the "idealistic nature" of Lukacs' conception of reification seems doubly ironic. In place of Lukacs' party, Adorno concretized subjectivity's self-manifesting objectivity in terms of a thin layer of modernist artists who he believed were the real ground to resist reification.

What was shocking for Dunayevskaya was that in *Negative Dialectics* "almost out of nothing, [Adorno] suddenly brings in Auschwitz and introduces some sort of kinship between it and absolute negativity" (RD, p. 172). Instead of a dialectic of development continuing into the Absolute, Adorno forces a synthesis "almost out of nothing." Such a collapsing of the Hegelian dialectic into Auschwitz was practically a positivistic move: "totally illogical and undialectical" as Dunayevskaya put it.

It is this move—where Adorno equates absolute negativity with "genocide...pure identity as death"—that puts an end to the concept of the Subject's objectivity, and with it Adorno's own retreat to "intervention" within the academy became irresistible. Implicitly conflating the Hegelian movement of negativity with the one dimensional negativity Hegel criticized in his analysis of the French revolution's "Absolute Freedom and Terror," Adorno strangely found an affinity, at least rhetorically, with Heidegger's, not Hegel's, conception of negation as a nullity, as death.

What is never under discussion is the concept of Subject in Hegel's Absolute Idea which, Dunayevskaya reminds us, rather than a closed ontology or simple synthesis, has to undergo "absolute liberation."⁹

For Dunayevskaya, in contrast to Adorno, absolute liberation, which meant revolution in permanence, was "immanent in the very form" of Hegel's Absolutes. "This is why," she adds, "our age can best understand Hegel's Absolute." Central to that understanding is the "negation of the negation," not as a positivism or a return to the old, but as a new beginning, an articula-

tion of a positive.

But Dunayevskaya did not only hold to the positive in the negative, but also emphasized the negative of the positive.¹⁰ In other words, far from the positive identification of Absolute Idea as the "New Society" being the end point of her investigation into Hegel's Absolutes, the category "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" emphasized the negativity at the heart of the Absolute—the counter-revolution within the revolution—the internal contradiction.

What is at stake in the disagreement between Adorno and Dunayevskaya over the Absolute is not only the character of negativity but also subjectivity, which Hegel sees as the basis for the "transcendence of the opposition between notion and reality." For Dunayevskaya, it is the "living Subject" that supersedes the subjectivity of purpose, i.e. the Subject's objectivity. It was Dunayevskaya's view of a "new Hegel" that allowed her to make a category of the creativity of the subject's objectivity.

III. ADORNO'S VISION

"The point is that the concept of concrete totality escaped him," Dunayevskaya wrote of Lukacs' conception of reification, which could also be addressed to Adorno: "labor is seen not as the laborer in revolt; labor no more than the exercise of labor-power in the most specifically capitalistic form: socially-necessary labor time...Mediation became subject-less."¹¹

Adorno never considered the unique character of Marx's dialectic of labor, and continued throughout his career to define commodity fetishism in terms of exchange value. This distorted view of Marx's categories let Adorno make some tremendously inventive claims vis-a-vis the culture industry and art, but it also meant that he saw nothing more than "objectification" in Marx's conception.

Adorno's interest lay in the identity of exchange (i.e. the exchange of equivalents). Somewhat akin to the equality of "bourgeois right" Marx spoke of in *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Adorno opines that "when we criticize the barter principle of thought, we want to realize the ideal of free and just barter...Its realization alone would transcend barter...if no man had part of his labor withheld from him any more, rational identity would be a fact, and society would have transcended the identifying mode of thinking" (ND, p. 147).

In other words, negative dialectics, though antagonistic, still remain within bourgeois society. More importantly he never grasped that the subjective element on which a new society could be reconstituted arose through the proletarian praxis of freely associated labor. Thus there was no way to find a subsequent negation except through the mind of the critical theorist.

Shorn of the Subject's objectivity, to what degree is Adorno's "intersubjective recognition without recourse to domination" an undialectical, perhaps only an added hopeful element? Indeed, it is a rather vapid "eternal peace," without the intersubjective tension of self and other. A curiously isolated, alone, and aloof "substance," "without further definition or fulfillment." That is why Dunayevskaya's statement—that in place of permanent revolution, Adorno substituted permanent critique—is not rhetoric. Without absolute negativity as new beginning, without the new social relations which result in the revolutionary process—without, in short, revolutionary subjectivity—Adorno's privileging of the moment of difference becomes almost only a celebration. Negative dialectics seems to pass into the death of the dialectic.¹²

For Dunayevskaya, the continuing relevance of Hegel is that "absolute negativity signifies transformation of reality." In contrast, Adorno not only failed to reach out "beyond the historic moment"; once he gave up the dialectic of negativity, the failure to "hear" (or "reflect" the historic moment, to use Adorno's own swear word) what was shouting at him (in the 1950s and 1960s) became palpable—the multi-vocal "voices from below."

In place of creating a step forward in philosophic cognition, today's post-structuralist emphasis on the fragmented and decentered subject, with its roots in Hegel, does little more than hypostatize the hegemony of capitalist social relations. In contrast, Dunayevskaya was concerned not only with overturning present reality—the negation of the negation was also about the new society being built on fundamentally new human relations—but asking the hard question of the failed and aborted attempts, that is, what happens after the revolution. Unchaining the dialectic meant that.

10. This can be seen in her critique of C.L.R. James' *Notes on Dialectics* in her "1953 Letters on the Absolute." Dunayevskaya argued that James' articulation of the positive in the negative, while profound, had been very general. Following Hegel, she noted that "now we can be more concrete, at least in relation to our own organization where the mediating determination is a negative 'but the negative of the positive and includes the latter.'" *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1989), p. 32. The quote is from Hegel's *Science of Logic*.

11. "Lukacs' Philosophic Dimension."

12. In contrast to Adorno's reliance on the critical theorists' mind, News and Letters Committees aims "to promote the firmest unity among worker, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken from the ruling bureaucracy of capital and labor" (my emphasis).

1. Domanski's essay appeared in the March 1997 N&L. American feminist theorists like Seyla Benhabib—an essayist in the collection *Feminist Interpretations of G.W.F. Hegel*, Patricia Mills ed.—as well as Judith Butler, Drucilla Cornell, and Nancy Fraser all find Adorno an inspiration for their work. As Benhabib puts it "the aspiration to a nonviolent relationship to the Other and to otherness more generally" is one that we share, and which enters our work through the influence of Adorno." Butler et al., *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 117.

2. Raya Dunayevskaya, "Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning," in *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy*, Warren Steinkraus and Kenneth Schmitz eds., p. 174. Citations are in text.

3. Dunayevskaya's writings on Adorno and Lukacs will be reprinted in the forthcoming collection, tentatively titled *Power of Negativity*. This essay is part of an ongoing discussion of that book.

4. *Minima Moralia* (London: Verso, 1974), p. 51.

5. "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts," *Marxism and Freedom* (New York: Columbia, 1988), p. 10.

6. "Aspects of Hegel's Philosophy" is reprinted in *Hegel: Three Studies* (Cambridge: MIT, 1994).

7. Dunayevskaya, "Lukacs' Philosophic Dimension," *News & Letters*, February and March 1973.

8. *Negative Dialectics* (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), p. 350. Further citations are in text.

9. To undergo such liberation, Dunayevskaya maintains, one has to follow Hegel into Absolute Mind. In the final syllogism of the *Philosophy of Mind*, Hegel breaks with the logical sequence and replaces it with "the consequential **Self-Thinking Idea**." This creative force is absolute negativity. See "The Self-Thinking Idea in a new Concept of and Relationship to Dialectics of Leadership, as well as Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty," *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, p. 10376.

LABOR VS. CAPITAL AND LEADERS VS. RANKS

Many at the rally to support the Detroit newspaper workers said it was a farewell to the strikers. One called it a funeral. The betrayal by the AFL-CIO, who bound them to the illusion of political redress through the system, cannot be under-estimated, but there is life in the labor movement, especially closer to the bottom, with the working poor. I'm thinking of the Black woman I talked with who had worked at a crummy nursing home job for 7 years and then organized with other workers to form a union affiliated with the UAW. Two other Black women told me they had been trying to organize Elias Big Boy restaurants and lost a close election by 11 votes in a unit of 400. I think they indicate a current that continues.

**Solidarity activist
Chicago**

There were a lot of shop floor issues being discussed by the marchers at the solidarity demonstration for the newspaper strikers in Detroit. A white worker from Chrysler Kokomo told me the company had installed an automated delivery system at an exorbitant cost. They ended up taking it out because it was unworkable, re-deployed workers originally reassigned elsewhere, and rescinded the layoffs. What he wanted to know was why Chrysler didn't just have humans do the work they want machines to do, especially since the people are cheaper.

**Labor journalist
Detroit**

I see a real excitement again in the union movement. At a meeting held by the AFL-CIO, 250 people were expected and 1,000 showed up. It was a real job to scramble to find seats for everyone. My union local started out in 1943 about the same size as now. It peaked just before Reagan got into office. After that, shops were closing down left and right. Today there's a new excitement in the labor movement I haven't seen in 20 years.

**Union organizer
Tennessee**

What is noteworthy about the GM strike in Oklahoma City is that that plant had never had a strike until now. The length of the strike was also unexpected. It reflected management's determination not to hire any new production workers overall.

The production line slowdown which has been announced since the end of the strike has led the UAW to suspect that the hiring deal is being renegeed upon by GM. The company claims that a poor vehicle report, mostly for bad engineering and design, has led to lack of demand for the cars manufactured in Oklahoma City.

**Correspondent
Oklahoma**

United Staff Association Local 3882, which represents the clerical and technical workers of New York University, prominently displayed their literature and distributed leaflets to the thousands

attending graduation ceremonies in Washington Square Park. The university refused to continue negotiating crucial worker issues. The clerical and technical workers—mostly women and people of color, and many with families—make minimal wages and will retire into poverty. Their demands for a contract and a union shop have been supported by many students and over 100 faculty members.

**Demonstration participant
New York**

One of the supervisors at Serta Mattress, Lindell, used to be a steward. He was the worst steward ever. He wouldn't say anything, even if a snake came up and bit him. Now that he's a supervisor, he's the worst supervisor ever. He's always yelling and ordering the workers around. Every time I look up he tells me I've screwed something up. I've been there 15 years and all of a sudden I can't even go to the bathroom without him saying I do it wrong. But we're going to teach him a lesson.

**Fighting working woman
Memphis**

N&L brings back memories of what I witnessed on a shop level beginning way back in the 1930s, especially what the piece work system does to workers whenever they cooperate with management at the point of production to save the company production costs. It always leads to layoffs and speed ups, and it often leads to serious injuries.

Too many workers still think they are part and parcel of the company, and the union officials rarely discourage that type of thinking. If there is to be new leadership in the labor unions, there has to be a change in economic and political ideology among the workers to change the whole system to production for use and not profit.

**79 Years Young
Minneapolis**

**TWO ELECTIONS:
NEW OPENINGS?**

Since the recent Iranian elections, the mood among Iranian Left exiles has been very hopeful. No one trusts the new President Khatami who has been part of the Islamic Republic, but there is a feeling of excitement that 70% of Iranian voters voted against the candidate backed by Khomeini's successor. This hopeful mood was reflected in a meeting of 200 Iranians and Americans at UC-Berkeley on June 21, in solidarity with the Iranian author, Faraj Sarkoobi, who is in jail for his defense of the right to free speech. This kind of international support and the deep mass dissatisfaction reflected in the election leads to hope that it may lead to some new openings for freedom.

**Iranian feminist
California**

The Canadian economy is a disaster, especially here in southern Ontario. The

Readers' Views

recent election didn't really change anything, except that the right wing reform party consolidated its support in western Canada. They actually got fewer votes nationally and lost the one seat they had in Ontario. The only good news was the NDP comeback. Throughout the campaign, the press repeatedly pictured the NDP as about to be wiped out. Instead, they came in ahead of the conservatives and made a breakthrough in the Maritimes.

**Supporter
Ontario**

**QUESTIONS
FOR
AFRICA**



Lou Turner's latest article on the Congo was fantastic. Victory in the Congo is exploding the situation in the whole of central Africa. South Africa is not playing any ideological godfather here. The reactionary attitude of the ANC makes it almost impossible for them to play the role they wish for themselves.

**Ba Karang
Gambia**

Reading Raya Dunayevskaya's pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions again, I was startled at the parallels between Mao's "Army-Party cadre" strategy and Kabila's road to victory in the Congo. Mao's army was fed and nurtured by the economic organization of the peasantry; Kabila's army did apparently have a commune-type structure in its strongholds, but it also had access to the international mineral traders. On this last point, some people seem to think that Kabila's leverage could force the West to cut a new deal with Africa. One African friend here said: "This is the end of Francophone Africa," meaning that the region has tilted towards Anglo-American interests centered in Uganda and Museveni's politics as much as Kabila's.

**Dave Black
England**

In a recent BBC report on Kabila, interviewer Robin Denslowe asked him, "So, are you Castroite, Maoist, Pan-African, capitalist or what?" And Kabila laughed and said, "Maybe all those things, maybe none. You'll see what we are."

**Waiting to see
London**

What's happening in the Congo now makes me think of the importance of what Raya Dunayevskaya called "revolution in permanence" vs. the "half-way houses" of unfinished revolutions. We see from South Africa what happens when the situation is at its best, with a mass movement bringing change; yet nothing there has changed in the lives of the masses. Now we will see to what extent Kabila is willing to bring in the other forces who have been in opposition to Mobutu for many years. I wonder if the Western powers might engineer it so he will set up a new, "acceptable" dictatorship. The idea that the revolution has to continue has to be emphasized.

**W.S.
California**

THE BLACK DIMENSION

It is ironic that Clinton apologizes for slavery at the same time he is putting people in 20th century slavery with his workfare laws.

**Observer
New York**

Why did Mike Wallace in "60 Minutes" out of the blue do a program on the Black Panthers featuring, of all people, Eldridge Cleaver? And why did he then follow up that segment with one on Timothy McVeigh? Was he trying to equate the two? This is because of

Geronimo Pratt's release. They want to set the atmosphere so no other political prisoners are released. And they want to make sure Mumia is killed.

**Watching
New York**

Last April, at a meeting of the Coalition to Protect Public Housing, Rev. James Bevel took over the leadership of the June 19 March here. The only information given to us about him was his work with Martin Luther King in the 1960s. I was appalled by his "sermons" in 1997 which included negative references to women and Blacks and the idea that racism is the fault of Black people. It only made sense when I learned that he had become a follower of the neo-fascist, Lyndon LaRouche. Bevel's retrogression is his own tragedy, but it will be a greater one for us if his insanity is tolerated within the movement.

**Suzanne Rose
Chicago**

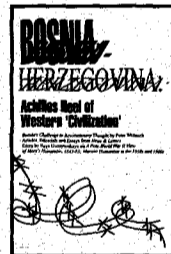
At the celebration the evening Geronimo Pratt was released after 27 years imprisonment, the room was electric, because this was a long fought-for victory, because Geronimo symbolizes a moment of deep struggle, because everyone knows that the struggle continues, because a sweet triumph like this helps give energy and hope. We have all been through this wasteland of 27 years, seen a massive freedom movement get crushed, racism and poverty intensify, crime, gangs, three strikes laws—and now we have reached a moment where, like Geronimo stepping out into the world, there is a possibility of an opening to something new.

**Michelle Landau
Los Angeles**

I see the release of Geronimo Pratt, and president Clinton's apology for slavery, as part of a play for Africa. The U.S. is getting ready to move in on Africa's resources in a big way, with France now out of the Congo.

**Black American
New York**

**BOSNIA, STILL
CIVILIZATION'S
'ACHILLES HEEL'**



The horrendous status of more than a million Bosnian refugees of Muslim origin continues to indict the murderous policies of the Western government, and the Serbian and Croatian government 18 months after the signing of the Dayton "peace" agreement. In Germany, where there are over 350,000 Bosnian refugees, the government has started to forcibly return asylum seekers, awakening them in the middle of the night, handcuffing them and forcing them on airplanes. In Bosnia, refugees who have tried to return to their old homes in the 49% of the territory under Serb Chetnik control and the 30% under Croatia government control are attacked by rocks, clubs, fires and guns. Still they are determined to go back.

**Solidarity activist
Chicago**

Circumstances have changed since women from every region of former-Yugoslavia and women coming from abroad first started meeting together in 1992. It is our hope that a process of decontamination from an authoritarian, militaristic and nationalistic consciousness is underway, but it will take much time. We continue our visible resistance because we have no illusions that a change of regime will alter the dominant mentality. We will consider peace to be real only when all refugees can live in

Betty Shabazz, 1936-1997

The death of Dr. Betty Shabazz, the wife of Malcolm X, June 23, marks a troubled milestone in post-Civil Rights Black America. She died from extensive third degree burns over 80 percent of her body as a result of an alleged dispute with her 12-year-old grandson, named Malcolm, three weeks earlier.

The outpouring of grief and remembrances at memorial meetings across the nation may have seemed as unexpected as this latest tragedy to befall the family of Malcolm X. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The great rift between the generations has revealed the most fatal contradictions within the Black community it has ever wrestled with. The tragic irony is that no other political figure anticipated and spoke more powerfully to the violent contradictions of today's Black urban life than Malcolm X.

It is no less ironic that the life of Betty Shabazz, who at the time of Malcolm's assassination in 1965 became a 28-year-

old single mother of six daughters, embodied the personal resilience and individual determination that is so universal a feature of struggling Black women today. That is what lives on in the memory and example of Dr. Betty Shabazz.

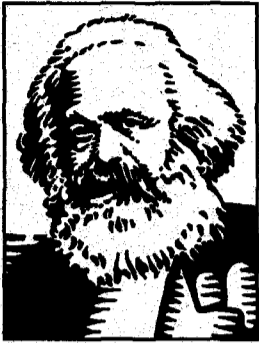
She prevailed over one of the formidable tragedies of an era. As a nurse, public health educator, early childhood development advocate, inner city college administrator, and leader among Black women, she labored in the trenches of the Black community. In her own words, she did so by using "my spiritual, material, and intellectual capacities to help build a better human society."

All of us are diminished by her loss, not only because one more link to the Black radical tradition has slipped the chain. But because the circumstances of her loss remind us of that self-contradictory realm of darkness at the heart of the Black community that our philosophic vision has yet to pierce. —Lou Turner

dignity and the right to be Other and different is recognized.

We invite women from all countries to join us in our 6th International Meeting Aug. 7-10 in Novi Sad (a city 80 kilometers from Belgrade). For more information on the meeting and on obtaining a visa, our e-mail address is WIB_BG@zamir-bg.ztn.apc.org. Our fax number is +381-11-3247-877.

Women in Black Belgrade



MARX'S MARXISM TODAY

While Kevin Anderson's essay on "Uncovering Marx's yet unpublished writings" (January-February N&L) is welcomed around socialists here, I feel that the MEGA2 project may be a part of a "canonizing" of Marx. These unknown writings may draw a more "Eurocentric face." As Bakuninists, we won't be very surprised but all feminist Marxists, revolutionary Marxists and humanist Marxists through the Third World countries may lose the game, if MEGA2 uses the "unknown writings" as a wall to separate them from Marx. Will a game prepared by European scholars be a revolutionary game? It's hard for me to believe this.

Sureyyya Evren Turkey

The ethnological notebooks represented a new departure in Marx's thinking. In the *Grundrisse*, and in one or two other texts, Marx had previously shown a lively interest in gender roles, patriarchy, and non-Western cultures. But the depth and detail of Marx's attention to these subjects in his ethnological notes eclipses anything that went before...Marx, it becomes clear, was preparing himself to grasp the exact

nature of the unfolding collision between Euro-American capital and non-Western cultures. And his studies were so thorough that more than a century later there is a great deal to be learned from his account of clan culture.

We can say, with Luxemburg, Marx has still not been read with proper care, even on the eve of the 21st century.

David Smith Kansas

Editor's Note: David Smith's translation into English of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* is expected to be available soon.

What Marx described in *Capital* is exactly what I experienced on the production line as a welder. Has capitalism changed so little that Marx got it all 100 years ago? Or was he that much of a visionary? Capitalism today is more refined, but labor is still in bondage. We are not seen as human beings. We are just labor. It used to be you'd load a piece of wire into the welding torch, and it would last a few minutes. Then they changed the technology, so you'd load one long loop that would last more than a day. That eliminated the breaks you got while reloading, so you were just welding constantly. But somehow they still needed us to work 12 hours a day.

Black worker Memphis

EDUCATION OR DISCIPLINE?

The Memphis high school student who wrote on "School as discipline" in the May issue had it right. Public schools originally came about after the Civil War based on the idea of education for freedom. Now they are a form of discipline to fight the independent thought of the students. It is why so many drop out.

Consider, if this is what schools are like, what level that moves to at the work-place. Imagine the level in prisons. Schools reflect the whole relationship within a society.

Gene Ford Los Angeles

Louisiana ranks second only to Texas in national energy production. It is also successful as an agricultural and mining state. Yet Louisiana's school system ranks among the nation's worst. Thousands graduate high school unable to read beyond the most elementary level.

Education is not on our leaders' agendas. Instead they come up with new tactics in a war against our own citizens. The ones who make headlines with so-called "anti-crime" proposals wind up the next government crooks to be busted because they stepped on some other crooks' toes. After the public money is siphoned off by our criminal leaders to fight a war against the people, there isn't enough left to teach children to read and write.

D. Tyler Lafayette, LA

Some of the high schools I've visited recently are like a prison, with security guards everywhere. Many of the students are conscious of the issues. In some schools over half the students walked out to protest the anti-immigrant ballot initiative known as Prop. 187. The spirit of revolt rises and then recedes.

College student Los Angeles

THE RAVAGES OF CAPITALISM

Workers, academics and activists, gathered at a conference sponsored by the Center for Working-Class Studies at Youngstown State University, noticed how the ravages of capitalism are clear throughout the area. The capitalists have abandoned the steel factories, leaving massive unemployment and environmental degradation in their wake. The land is so damaged that no creative use can be undertaken safely. When the river freezes in winter it is applauded because it means there is more water than chemical pollutants in the river!

Feminist Oakland, CA

The nuclear industry is desperate to turn over its deadly waste to the govern-

ment to store "temporarily" at the old nuclear test site on Shoshone land in Nevada. They tell us it's perfectly safe. Why then are they desperate to get rid of it? Clinton claims to have a "new, open" Dept. of Energy that confessed to experimenting on human beings. At the same time the same DOE has been trying to silence its most honest scientists, who have projected radioactive contamination of the water table from the proposed dumps at both Yucca Mountain, Nev., and Ward Valley, Cal.

Longtime anti-nuker Memphis

For more than 50 years the legacy of the nuclear chain, from exploration to waste, has been proved genocidal and ethnocidal. July 25, the anniversary of the Rio Puerco nuclear accident and nuclear testing by the French in the Pacific at Bikini Atoll, was designated as a national day of acknowledging the devastating impacts of the nuclear industry against indigenous peoples. There is an Indigenous Environmental Network readers can contact at POB 485, Bemidji, MN 56619.

Environmental activist Minnesota

HOUSING: FIGHTING TOGETHER OR ALONE?

The tenants movement in New York came out in big demonstrations to protect rent stabilization laws in New York City and its suburbs. The important question to me is whether they will put the same energy into opposing HR2, the law that is out to destroy public housing for the poor, and Gov. Pataki's draconian welfare laws. Or will the poor and the Blacks, those on welfare, be left to fight alone?

J. Marcotte New York

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Black/Red View

by John Alan

President Clinton's proposal to hold a year long national dialogue on race immediately opened a debate about the nature of that dialogue. Liberals were quick to point out that Clinton's June 14th speech on race in America at the University of California, San Diego graduation, failed to announce any concrete social programs to resolve the issue of racism in this country.

Conservatives such as Newt Gingrich would shift the focus of Clinton's dialogue away from race, would concentrate on the "achievements of individuals" as Congress is preparing legislation to ban federal racial and sexual "preferences."

With reflection, it becomes obvious that these differences between liberals, conservatives and Clinton are a sterile debate. Neither side is prepared to confront the objective source of racism in the structure of American capitalist production, in the historic racial social division of labor which reaches back to an economy based upon Black slave labor. This original social division has reappeared in various forms. The African-American working class—a racially segregated source of human labor power—has suffered the most at every stage of development of technology and economic crises occurring in this country.

Thus, President Clinton is largely engaging in an ingenious rewriting of history. He tells his audience that "Our founders sought to form a more perfect union. The humility and the hope of that phrase is the story of America, and it is our mission today."

This is a fable. The sole aim of those founders was to

Geronimo Pratt released, unbroken

The west coast has known of Geronimo Pratt's struggle for many years and some in the prison movement have been fighting for his release from the day of his arrest in 1968. This has been a hard fought struggle and it took masses of people and time to shake and crack the walls of San Quentin for Pratt's release.

Upon his release June 10, Pratt said: "I have been locked up so long that when I see a tree, it makes my knees weak ... it has been just that long." Pratt was set up by the FBI, LAPD, and COINTELPRO, because of his activities as Deputy Minister of Defense for the Black



Supporters of Geronimo Pratt celebrate his release.

Panther Party (BPP), singled out by J. Edgar Hoover as a top priority for destruction. He was snatched off by Julius Butler in the murder of Caroline Olsen and the shooting of her husband in a \$16 robbery on a Santa Monica tennis court. Pratt stated in his defense that he was at a BPP meeting in Oakland at the time of the murder. The FBI had phone wiretaps to prove Pratt's whereabouts.

The day of Geronimo's release on bail he made a public appearance at a church in South Central L.A. where hundreds came out to hear him speak on a few hours notice. He conveyed an image of power and excitement and joy to all those there to help celebrate our, the people's, victory: "We have a right to control our own destiny," said one woman speaker, "that is why 'G' is a free man today ... He did not die in spirit." And Pratt conveys this victory as not only struggling to survive, but to preserve revolutionary

Voices From Within The Prison Walls

By the time this is printed, the State of Texas may well have put to death 25 men by lethal injection for 1997. As of this writing (June 10) the death toll stands at 20 with another fellow scheduled for tomorrow night.

Last month Texas upholders of "law and order" strapped Terry Washington to a gurney and pumped his body full of deadly chemicals until he was pronounced dead. Terry Washington was mentally retarded.

The following day, Kenneth Edward Gentry met the same fate at the Huntsville Texas Walls penitentiary. New evidence in his case, which in all likelihood would've absolved him, had surfaced. As well, on his day of execution a man even came forth and confessed to the crime Gentry had been convicted of. Governor of Texas George Bush Jr. would not even grant Kenneth Gentry a one day stay of execution to look into the matter. It appears that Bush was busy dining with some of his rich associates and couldn't take the time out to bother with a human life. Such people are grist for the mill of capitalist politicians who view them as mere statistics in a "get tough on crime" bamboozle of sound

Clinton's doublespeak on race

set up a government to protect the economic interests of the mercantile capitalists, slave owners and large land owners and not the rights of the masses, including African-American freedmen and slaves, who fought in the Revolution against England.

Of course it's easy to see that President Clinton's speech is mostly self-serving political cant. He told the graduates that they were living in a "truly golden moment for America." The economy is "the healthiest in generations and the strongest in the world." Science and technology will give them "exciting new careers" and crime and poverty "are finally bending to our efforts." But, he said, the greatest challenge the nation faces today is "discrimination and prejudice ... the most perplexing one is the oldest, and in some way the newest, the problem of race."

As one would expect, Clinton sees no relationship between his alleged booming economy and the problem of race in America. We know his healthy economy does not manifest itself in the African-American community. According to the most recent reports the unemployment rate for Black Americans is 10.3%. This is more than twice the 4.8% of the white unemployment rate. But when this 10.3% rate is broken down, it discloses that the rate of unemployment for teenage Black males is 38.3% and for teenage Black females is 28.3%.

If we disregard the political posturing of Clinton such as his belated support of affirmative action, the central thesis of his speech is that the growing racial diversity in this country will end the problem of racism. This con-

principles: "I stayed in the hole eight years because I fought for the brother coming into the pen. Some people told me to keep my mouth shut and don't get into any battles, but I could not do my time quietly."

I say Pratt was liberated from the California penal system, their Adjustment Center and Security Housing Unit (SHU) where the Mind is tested for weaknesses in identity, because we are our minds. The SHU is a prison within prison for those classified as "predators" by the state or for those that have leadership ability or influential power to organize what the system characterizes as gangs. A history of defiance spells out punishment by the state. But respect can be found among fellow prisoners which puts fear in the heart of a prison system which is based on control of the individual.

Pratt made it clear that he was a Vietnam vet and not ashamed of that fact, but that he was not, nor had ever been a patriot of America. He volunteered for the service at a young age because of his elders who told him to join "because of Emmett Till." He had to learn to preserve life through self-defense, and that the real battle would be waged here at home when he returned from Vietnam. This became clear to him once he heard about the assassination of Martin Luther King.

One contradictory part of Pratt's talk was when he spoke of history. He stated that he thought Nat Turner made a mistake, that Turner was too fast in his rebellion, and he failed and lost many lives. This made me think that Pratt narrowed the Turner rebellion to a tactical question rather than a question of the historical moment that permeates the thinking of people when a "higher power" consciousness calls upon you—Turner—to act. The Turner rebellion was a revolutionary signal given for the upcoming civil war.

The most powerful point in Pratt's speech came when he spoke of his comrades behind prison walls. Some past—murdered in prison—like George Jackson, W.L. Nolan, William Christmas; and some present—and still fighting—like Hugo Tinell and Ruchell McGee, were locked down before Pratt's imprisonment in 1968 and are still there today. Comrades who have stayed strong cannot be counted among the broken men and "we have to fight for their release."

"I was born in the struggle and it is about liberation," Pratt concluded. "I can not promote myself. I can only promote revolution. I discovered a new kind of love in concrete prison. That love makes you strong. It is not about personalities. That was Huey Newton's downfall and he knew it. It is about principles..." —Gene Ford

KKK capital punishment in Texas

bite politics designed to get these crooked politicians re-elected.

Kenneth Edward Gentry proclaimed his innocence till the last breath was snuffed out of him by the fascist State of Texas. This is not the first time an innocent has been put to death in Texas. As recently as 1995, a Mexican man who had exonerating evidence was murdered by the state. The Supreme Court ruled that justice was served by his death and that he got a fair trial.

Aside from the class-biased aspects of "justice" in capital cases and the root causes of such cases, many people are simply railroaded through the courts with shoddy, ineffective council and convicted on circumstantial evidence. There are some totally innocent people on death row and in the graveyard because of this sham justice.

There have been many protests on the issue. If you or anyone you know would like to give Texas Governor George Bush Jr. a piece of your mind on this issue you may call his office toll free at 1-800-252-9600. Tell him you want the killing to stop!

—Revolutionary anarchist prisoner

cept presupposes that no group is capable of outvoting the other. This is pure fantasy. Racism is a social relationship which was neither created nor defined at the ballot box, but was born out of capitalism, which created a racial social division in production beginning with slavery and maintains it up to today as a method to divide labor along racial lines to facilitate the extracting of surplus labor time.

The solution to the problem of race lies not in racial diversity nor in the social moralisms espoused by Clinton at UC, San Diego, but in the long task of transcending capitalism and creating a new society which puts an end to the production of surplus value.

Black World

(Continued from page 1)

Burkina Faso, among others, on the one side, and Nigeria and her allies, on the other side, the crisis became much more of political interest.

Having Sankoh in Sierra Leone, Taylor was able to link up with the notorious Samba Sanyang of the Gambia and the Casamance forces in southern Senegal in an effort to better coordinate their activities. This, among other things, was seen by Nigeria as a big threat to her regional interests.

The overthrow of Ahmed Kabbah, who was elected in the general elections in an effort to return the country to civilian rule, was carried out by forces who believed that the new political process in the country did not represent their interest. The national army has all the time argued that since they are the ones who will be fighting against the rebel forces, they should have a political role and a position in the new political process. This was never taken seriously by a regime which was confident that it will be able to carry out the peace process with the rebels and continue in power. The break in this process came as a big blow not only to the regime but also to outside forces like Nigeria.

Foday Sankoh, who is under house arrest in Nigeria and has been removed as the leader of the rebel forces, has been called upon by the new military leaders to come and join forces with them. Sankoh is believed to have been arrested by the Nigerian state in an attempt to destabilize the rebel forces.

Nigeria is fighting to reinstate Ahmed Kabbah, with the help of the U.S. forces in the area. There is no doubt that the fighting will leave the already marginalised people of Sierra Leone (considered the poorest nation in the world) in a total state of suffering and hunger. The reason for the involvement of the forces of Nigerian dictator General Sani Abacha reflects the political situation in the area; it is a sign as to how far the military rulers in Nigeria are prepared to go in securing their regional interests.

The ironical situation is that the ruling forces in Nigeria who came to power in the same way as their counterparts in Sierra Leone, by overthrowing a democratically elected president, are now claiming to be involved in a "just cause." Abiola, the winner of the Nigerian election, continues to linger in jail.

Whatever the case, the intervention by Nigeria and the arrest of the rebel leader Sankoh by Nigeria is not likely to bring about any serious political change in the country. Whether the present crisis will produce new, democratic forces in the country is difficult to say. But as long as such forces are absent, it will be difficult to predict the future political situation in Sierra Leone.

—Ba Karang

Defense Depot's toxic racism

Memphis, Tenn.—The Defense Depot of Memphis, Tenn., Concerned Citizens Committee (DDMT-CCC) had a community meeting on June 9 to hear people from regulatory agencies like ATSDR (Agency for Toxic Substance and Disease Registry) and EPA (Environmental Protection Agency). The main topic was the environmental injustice being wreaked on the Black community by the Defense Depot.

The meeting got off to a bad start. The school that we had rented from the Board of Education was not open. It was threatening rain and we had 50 or 60 people waiting outside for the meeting to start.

Doris Bradshaw (director of DDMT-CCC) did get on the news for three or four days, we got good coverage and the meeting was a success in terms of getting our message out to the community.

It was a pretty good meeting although we were disappointed at the turnout of about 80 people because we expected 200 or 300. But we have to accept that because we're dealing with a very controversial subject: the government is contaminating the Black community. Everyone is either shocked or in denial because it is difficult to believe that an agency of the U.S. government would actually be so heartless as to contaminate an all-Black community with a wide variety of toxins to create an epidemic.

With all the laws these criminals at the Depot broke, the next step was a government cover-up. The EPA man was a typical bureaucrat who didn't want to commit one way or the other.

From the beginning I was opposed to any government official attending. All they do is confuse the new members and start big arguments. That's exactly what they did.

—Environmental Justice activist

U.S. labor of a mind to fight capitalism and labor fakers

(Continued from page 1)

inspection, receive certification, and do whatever it chooses afterwards. Similar legislation is being sought in the U.S. regarding OSHA, which would pose grave danger to American workers.

Hardest hit by outsourcing are the textile and apparel industries, with 141,000 jobs lost in 1995-96, for a staggering total of 40% of all manufacturing jobs that disappeared in the U.S. in 1995. Clothing manufacturers now import more than 50% of their apparel from abroad, primarily from Asia, Mexico and Latin America, compared with 20% imported 20 years ago. A look at world sewing hourly pay rates, including benefits, clearly explains the increase: U.S., \$9.46; Canada, \$9.88; Mexico, \$1.08; Philippines, \$0.62; India, \$0.36; Bangladesh, \$0.31; Kenya, \$0.30; China and Pakistan, \$0.26. Industry profitability, however, soared from \$32.8 billions in 1975 to \$56.3 billion in 1985 and \$74.2 billion in 1994.

FARMWORKERS, U.S. THIRD WORLD

The two million farm workers right here in the U.S. also continue to live in dire poverty. Their conditions, bad 20 years ago, have worsened, with their income dropping by 20% since then and their wages declining to \$6.17 an hour. Had they just kept up with inflation, their pay would be \$9.40 an hour today. Growers have conspired to assure a surplus of immigrant labor to keep wages depressed, and many have stopped providing housing, which adds the cost burdens of lodging and job transportation.

United Farm Workers union membership has also been slashed, from 80,000 in 1970 to 26,000 today, thanks in major part to California's grower-friendly political atmosphere. At three farms in that state where workers did try to organize, the growers either plowed their fields under or shut down the farms. A current campaign to unionize California's 20,000 strawberry pickers, kicked off by a march of 20,000 workers planned by the AFL-CIO in April, appears promising, with several large strawberry growers indicating a willingness to bargain with the UFW.

Meanwhile, media headlines trumpet official reports of U.S. unemployment dropping to 4.8%—the lowest since 1973. Yet little is heard of the millions not counted, including those working part time, those who have given up trying to find a job, or those in prison and in the military. Nor is much documented on those working two or three jobs who are literally destroying themselves trying to provide for their families. What the data does reveal is that whereas general unemployment is at 4.8%, for Blacks it more than doubles to 10.3%, and for Hispanics is at 7.4%. For youth, unemployment for whites is at 15.6%, but for Black youth soars to 32.6%.

In response to these objective forces and rank-and-file expectations, AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, who replaced do-nothing Lane Kirkland a year-and-a-half ago, has launched a number of organizing drives that involve low-paid workers in poultry, hospitals, and nursing home care.

While never having much interest in non-union and marginalized workers, or workfare employees—those thrown off of welfare and required to take assigned jobs at minimum pay—have been used to fill so many union positions that local labor federations want to form new workfare bargaining units. States eyed for workfare organizing are New York, New Jersey, California.

Another new organizing tactic is pressuring management to recognize the union with simple card-checks rather than elections, designed to offset management's advantages in the union election process. This strategy though, like so many others, merely seeks to exploit some aspect of ever more confining labor laws, and is intended to halt Big Labor's loss of over 500,000 members during the past two years.

EURO-STYLE LABOR BATTLES

In sharp contrast to the dismal labor picture in the U.S. stands the experience of European labor, where efforts to reduce living standards have been met by massive and successful worker and community resistance. (For more on restive labor in Europe, see page 12.) It is precisely because of European awareness of America's declining standard of living that the rulers' efforts to impose the U.S. model on Europe, as well as the rest of the world, have been met by determined resistance everywhere. If that ferment crosses the Atlantic, it won't be without roots here, for parts of U.S. labor don't accept the restructuring or the acceptance of it by the leadership.

The top demands in recent auto strikes, in addition to halting job outsourcing (runaway shops), center on exploitative work conditions—the elimination of inhuman job speed-up, horrendous overtime work, and unsafe job practices.

These strikes, all the result of rank-and-file insistence on action, have succeeded in shutting down General Motors and Chrysler nationally. "Just-in-time" production methods eliminate parts stockpiling and result in shortages—as when strikes occur—that halt production and force the companies to accept union demands. As one retired Chrysler worker noted, "Before, we had strikes over national contracts. Now, local strikes have become national strikes."

Management's assault against the workers recognizes the importance and power of ideas—which is why there has been a constant attack against the principles of unionism which emerged out of the concepts of freedom and equality and were concretized in the fight to

maintain human dignity and respect—an injury to one was truly an injury to all.

LIVING IDEAS RESURFACE

Concessionary contracts negotiated by the union leaders have eroded, if not destroyed, many of these principles by granting one-, two- and multi-tiered provisions. This has resulted in unequal pay for equal work, delayed benefits and protection, dilution and abolition of seniority rights, forced overtime even when fellow workers are laid off, teamwork arrangements which pit worker against worker in a plant and between plants, deep-sixing worker grievances and even the grievance process itself. All strike at the **idea** of unions, weakening worker strength and solidarity.

One fact about solidarity is clear, that every significant change in American progressive development has been achieved with a coalescence of Black and white workers. Karl Marx's expression that "Labor in the white skin can never be free where in the Black skin it is branded" is not an empty slogan, as the lily-white craft unions involved in the newspaper strike painfully learned. Management hired many Black replacement workers to fill the skilled craft positions, and claimed that it was providing Blacks skilled work opportunities, as opposed to the exclusionary practices of the guilds. This did raise questions in the Black community and hurt the strikers' cause.

Chicago's public housing struggle takes shape

Chicago—As hundreds of poor residents of Chicago Housing Authority buildings, in contingents marching from three different locations in the city, converged on Grant Park, the stamp of history left its mark. For these marches and the rally that followed took place on "Juneteenth," the anniversary of the day, June 19, 1865, when the last slaves, in Texas, received word of the Emancipation Proclamation two and a half years after it was issued.

This day's twin themes, as then, easily could be: freedom delayed and destiny seized. A marcher from Cabrini-Green, asked by a reporter why would she want to live in a roach and rat-infested building, snapped back that she has a right to choose which community to live in and to a well-maintained apartment.

The 1,000 or so of the poorest of the poor in Chicago who assembled here—mostly Black, many women and their children, and the majority a hair's breath from homelessness—were joined by housing activists and supporters. The day's events were backed by union, the Local Advisory Councils of the housing projects, social service organizations, and many other community

Whenever this lesson has been learned, workers have hewed a path to realize their vision of freedom. The creation of the CIO is an example. Yet not since then has white labor thrown its all behind Black movements even when, as in the 1960 Civil Rights Movement, there is deep Black labor militancy. When the Civil Rights Movement reached its high point in the Detroit insurrection of 1967, the reaction against those potentially revolutionary developments started with the election of Richard Nixon who worked to roll back the gains, and was only halted by Watergate. Ronald Reagan picked up where Nixon left off.

That's not to say challenges from the other America don't continue. In 1992 Black discontent exploded in South Central Los Angeles and inspired Latinos to join them. These actions restored the idea that revolution is possible in the U.S.

Many workers at the Detroit march and rally were asking serious questions about where the labor movement is going from here. A striking GM worker from Pontiac wanted to know what alternatives there were to the self-defeating policies of the union leadership, fully aware that more than what they offered was needed.

In the face of economic restructuring born of crisis and a bankruptcy of ideas among current leaders, the rank and file's search for alternatives is sure to show itself more and more.

groups. As picnic tables were circled around the stage and kids played, speakers drew a picture of city and federal arrogance towards the poor, and of resistance.

Among the many speakers, Della Mitchell of the Coalition for the Homeless called for a living wage, well above the current federal minimum, so poor people could afford livable housing. Bertha Gilkey, a nationally known housing activist from St. Louis, alternately fired the crowd up by declaring "This is a struggle for 3 million women and children" across the country, and then perplexed them with calls to get involved in electoral solutions, even after invoking Malcolm X's slogan, "by



Public housing residents at June 19 protest raise a banner: "Jobs to fix 'em up, not to tear 'em down. Stop the people removal."

any means necessary."

It was perplexing because seldom since the movement to elect Chicago's first Black Mayor Harold Washington has the deepest stratum of Chicago's working class congregated to represent its own interests as it did this day, nor have political calls to do so been compelling. The plans of Mayor Daley and the private real estate developers have seemed unassailable.

The "Call to Action" on Juneteenth, issued by the Coalition to Protect Public Housing, gave body and voice to the unheard element of housing policy. The formation of the coalition and localized independent residents groups, an incident of armed resistance to police intimidation of politically active residents, and this day itself are all challenges to the class prerogatives of city and federal government, and even to some do-nothing Local Advisory Councils. (For more on residents' self-activity, see "Urban redevelopment unhouses the poor," in N&L, June 1997.)

—Jim Mills

INS charged with abuses

Chicago—"Open up the borders! Close the INS." That was one of several chants voiced by a hastily assembled crowd of mostly Latino residents of Chicago who picketed in front of the Immigration and Naturalization Service office June 22.

Demands general and specific were aimed at the Clinton Administration's and Congress' racist policy and its execution. Where some classes of immigrants have not been excluded by law, a derelict naturalization process now looms as a bureaucracy impossible to penetrate. Yet the machinery for sweeping factories and communities in search of Mexicans to deport has been well-oiled and busy.

Most recently when INS agents raided an IBP meat-cutting plant in Moline, Ill., detained workers were left shackled in sweltering vehicles where one passed out. Families were also split apart with young children being left behind as their parents are deported—without due process, a new feature of immigration law.

"The bonds of some of these workers—they are very poor—are set at \$7,000. Our protests to the judge managed to get it lowered, and to get the INS not to take mothers with children," explained one activist.

Another said that the raids "have mostly taken place outside of Chicago because we have been very strong in resisting them in the Westtown area here for the past three years."

—Participant

Don't Buy Botany 500 Pants!

These men's and boys' pants are produced and distributed in Tennessee by the Masterwear Corporation. But you'll find their corporate headquarters at 350 Fifth Ave., Suite 1125, New, NY 10118—in the Empire State Building.

Even though this corporation is very profitable, the average wage of their Tennessee employees is less than \$6 per hour. As a matter of fact, to make ends meet, some employees have to work two jobs or seek assistance.

For over three years the employees at the Somerville, Tenn., plant have been attempting to negotiate a labor agreement with this employer only to have every **fair** and **reasonable** proposal rejected.

These workers deserve and need the help of every fair minded person in the U.S.A.

Your support of the Botany 500 Boycott is deeply appreciated. You can also give support to this cause by writing a letter to **Mr. Norman Bernard, president and CEO of Masterwear Corporation** at the address above, and urge him to settle this unnecessary dispute. Please send a copy of your letter to Willie Rudd, President of Local 282, Furniture Division, IUE, 1910 Air Lane Dr., Nashville, TN 37210.

For further information, call 1(800)800-8860.

Editorial China after Hong Kong's return

(Continued from page 1)

to make money there."

On the other side of the class line, workers and casual laborers seem more skeptical of the future. Since the 1984 pact the mass freedom and democracy movement has blanketed China twice, and twice it has been suppressed. In 1986-87 demonstrations were forcefully put down when workers in Shanghai and then Beijing joined with students.

ABROAD AT HOME

In Spring 1989, beginning with the death of Hu Yaobang who had been removed as Communist Party chairman in 1987, massive marches in Hong Kong were an integral part of the nationwide movement. After the bloody suppressions at Tiananmen Square and Chengdu following the formation of Workers' Autonomous Federations, Hong Kong held annual June 4 memorial marches. This year's was 80,000-strong.

People in Hong Kong have been connected to China's revolutionary events since long before the 1949 Revolution. Later, Hong Kong's population and work force swelled as Chinese fled famines of Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward period and after. They accepted refuge, but not necessarily the "idea" of Hong Kong. In 1967, for instance, youth from refugee families warehoused in prison-like housing tracts rose up, the same year as the Black rebellions in Detroit and Newark.



Protesters in Hong Kong raise banner of the Goddess of Democracy, a symbol of the 1989 Tiananmen student movement.

Another demonstration in Hong Kong this year commemorated the April 5, 1976 Tiananmen incident, when masses of people came into the streets to memorialize Zhou Enlai and (implicitly) challenge Mao. It brought up the legacy of dissidents in Hong Kong and whether they will be able to demonstrate after July 1. Tung Chee-hwa, Hong Kong's new leader, cast a shadow over the future by saying, "We will not allow Hong Kong to be a base for destabilizing China."

WHICH FUTURE?

One well-known dissident in Hong Kong is Han Dongfang, founder of the Beijing Autonomous Federation in 1989. When he tried to reenter China after being forced to flee to Hong Kong after the brutal repression at Tiananmen Square in 1989, he was refused entry. He has publicly stated his intention of returning to China this time by just staying put.

Commentators have been playing the parlor game of predicting if Hong Kong will end up looking like China or China like Hong Kong. Those are the choices only if post-Deng Xiaoping China's future is worked out by Party leaders through capitalist plans.

We will see if returning Hong Kong to China at a time that peasant and unemployed demonstrations are taking place provides any openings from below for turning decision-making over to the workers that the regime has always feared most.

On the dialectics of organization

The special section in the June 1997 issue of *News & Letters*, commemorating the tenth anniversary of Dunayevskaya's June 1, 1987 presentation on dialectics of organization, written eight days prior to her death, raised some serious questions in my mind about the meaning of that presentation for today in 1997, as we near the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of a new century of (hopefully successful) revolutions.

I thought the special section was especially good in making clear the need for us to begin where Marx left off. As Hudis so provokingly writes in his essay, "The Challenge of Dialectics of Organization": where Marx in

nation as what Hegel calls "The Self-Thinking Idea." As Dunayevskaya puts in "The Dialectics of Liberation": "That is one of the forms of getting to the transformation of reality—what Marx called the realization of freedom. That's why Marx stuck so much to the dialectic. We're not throwing philosophy out, we have to realize it... When the Self-Thinking Idea and the self-movement of the masses unite, then and only then will we have a new way to transform reality, a new philosophy, a new society."

Interestingly, Dunayevskaya's vision of realizing philosophy does not mean its abolition, but rather the creation of a new philosophy, a new society. Likewise for Marx himself, philosophy was not exhausted in its realization in subjects of revolt.

Even after he singled out the proletariat as the subject of revolution in 1843, even after he transformed Hegel's dehumanized dialectic into the revolutionary dialectic of "real corporeal man," he still nevertheless posited the need, as Hudis puts it, for "a new philosophy, rooted in absolute negativity, calling it, 'a thorough going Naturalism or Humanism that distinguishes itself from both idealism and materialism, and is the truth uniting both.'" (Inside quote from Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic.")

Indeed, it is only after Marx's greatest work *Capital* had concretized the great divide between the Hegelian and the Marxian dialectic because, as Dunayevskaya puts it, "the Subject... was neither economics nor philosophy but the human being, the masses" who are the "gravediggers of capitalism, that Marx lashed out at his followers in the 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Program* about the need to assume organizational responsibility for the Idea."

In other words, as Hudis argues, the founding of a philosophy immanent to the self-activity of the masses makes it more not less imperative to assume organizational responsibility for the Self-Determination of the Idea.

This is more true for our 1997 reality than ever before. Never has the need to project a viable humanist alternative to this degenerating society been more imperative, and never has the need for revolutionaries to assume organizational responsibility for philosophy loomed so large. The dialectics of organization and philosophy remains the central contradiction facing the revolutionary movement—it is where Dunayevskaya left off and we must begin for any real forward movement.

—Maya Jharsi

Philosophic Dialogue

1841 faced a world in which philosophy and reality faced each other with hostility because of Hegel's dehumanization of the Idea, we in 1997 do not have the same problem. We have a body of ideas that can absorb the aspirations of the subjects of revolution, a philosophy that makes explicit the embodiment of the Idea in live human beings, founded by Marx and recreated in the post-World War II world as Marxist-Humanism.

What makes philosophy and reality appear at odds today is the gap between philosophy and an organization that has absorbed the subjectivity of that philosophy.

This has been the pitfall of the most creative revolutionary movements of our time. By refusing to assume organizational responsibility for a philosophy of revolution, revolutionaries have been extremely unsuccessful in positing an alternative to the alienated social reality of capitalism, often opting instead to focus all critical energies on what they are against.

But, organizational responsibility for philosophy not only means critiquing what is, but projecting a vision of a new society, and thereby making philosophy itself a force of revolution.

To do so requires not only listening to the voices of revolt who embody the Idea but also "listening" to the Idea itself, assuming responsibility for its self-determi-

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Status quo since Rio

The hype surrounding the fifth anniversary of the Earth Summit can hardly hide the fact that it did nothing to slow down the march of environmental destruction. So little has been done to live up to the paltry promises made by the world's governments in 1992 that even the Earth Summit's secretary-general, Maurice Strong, had to admit that "We haven't made the fundamental change of course promised in Rio."

One of the most urgent problems on the Earth Summit's agenda was global warming. Ever faithful to the oil, coal, auto companies, and so forth, the U.S. government made sure the 1992 Convention on Climate Change had no teeth. This June, both the Summit of the Eight industrial powers and a special session of the UN General Assembly took up global warming. The results? Talk, talk, talk, and no action or even agreements.

Meanwhile, the reports keep pouring out.

- Earth Summit Watch projects that Greenhouse emissions by the U.S. will be 13% above the target by 2000. Europe's and Japan's will be 6% over. Emissions by rapidly industrializing countries have soared 20-40% since 1990.

- The 1990s are the hottest decade on record.

- The World Health Organization reports that global warming is probably expanding the habitat of the anopheles mosquito, which carries malaria and dengue hemorrhagic fever. This may cause an extra 80 million cases of malaria each year by 2100.

- The President of Micronesia, a Pacific island nation, says some atolls have already been abandoned due to rising ocean levels.

Two years ago, a UN panel of 2,500 scientists reached consensus that human-caused global warming is occurring. A few scientists, acting as hired guns for industry, have been trying to confuse people by distorting the facts. But now even the rulers are admitting global warming is a fact. However, their pretenses of taking action are as lifeless as an extinct species.

As the Earth Council put it, "The demographic, social and economic forces that drive unsustainable development still remain dominant."

What they do not see is that sustainable, human development is in basic contradiction to the laws of development of capitalist society. Only a revolutionary change that puts an end to this social system can set in motion the totally new, human kind of development we so desperately need.

—Franklin Dmitryev

Mexico's elections

Nothing is confidential. The U.S. gives 24 helicopters to Mexico immediately after the Chiapas revolt on "pay whenever you can" terms. The U.S. helps the war on drugs. Timely leaks in the U.S. press reveal Mexican officials' involvement in drug trafficking. Mexican debt to the U.S. skyrockets. Clinton goes to Mexico to lay down the rules for U.S.-Mexico relations: "Democracy," no going back on NAFTA, and the war on drugs.

Democracy has become the key word to exercise mind control on the masses by making people believe the right to vote will bring about the best conditions to change things. The rulers act as if the sole act of changing the ruler on top without ever changing the social relations that provoke or create oppression is sufficient. This is the scheme of changing the top that Clinton went to sell to Mexico and Latin Americans—American-style democracy or the illusion of change.

With Clinton talking to the right-wing PAN (National Action Party), a party that has close links to the worst part of the Catholic church (the Opus Dei), one wonders what sort of change will occur. The U.S. has the illusion that a change on the top will pacify the population and ensure its access to a labor force that is cheap and ready for exploitation with the least amount of inconvenience. Clinton assured the private investors and manufacturers in Mexico that under no circumstances will NAFTA be ended or revised. On the contrary, it will be expanded to include other countries of Latin America.

The social unrest that is slowly surfacing is what they refuse to acknowledge. Instead, using the "war on drugs," they are arming and training the Mexican government's repressive capacity. Helicopters, crowd control equipment, and other means of readiness for social unrest are now in place and being put into practice in Mexico. The resistance of the Mexican ruling class to change is dealt with by a timely and selective release of information to the media about the depth of corruption by some, if not all, members of the regime, thereby forcing the Mexican government to give in to any resistance they may have on complying with American demands. The last aggression perpetrated by the United States on the integrity of the Mexican people is to force the Mexican government to accept DEA and FBI agents on Mexican territory fully armed with political and civil immunity. This means that even if they kill a Mexican citizen, they cannot be charged by the courts.

In the July elections, for the first time, people elected the mayor of Mexico City. The center-left Cuauhtemoc Cardenas and the PRD won the elections for the mayor of Mexico City. The cracks in the PRI regime are many and it is obvious it will undergo a great change or end.

—Antonio

N&L will analyze the results of Mexico's elections next month...

Youth

by Kevin Michaels

Legislative attacks against workers, women and Black people have characterized much of the retrogressive period which confronts us. Youth have not been overlooked in this onslaught and in fact, recent efforts towards the criminalization of the young have shown just how profoundly anti-human this retrogression is. What we are witnessing is in fact a low-intensity war against poor urban youth.

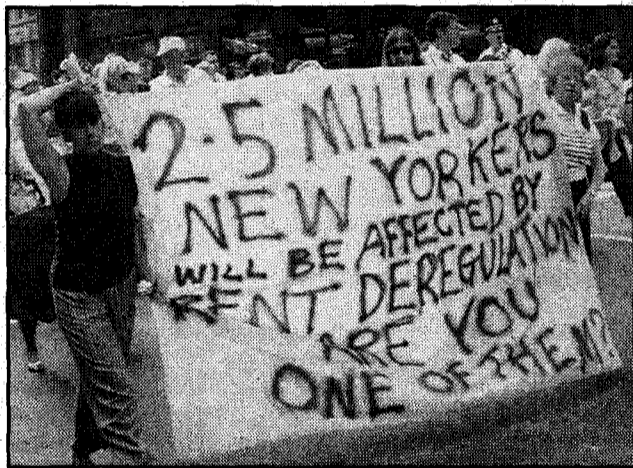
California, a trendsetting state in the offensive against immigrant rights and affirmative action, recently reached a breathtakingly low point in its legislative discourse. Governor Pete Wilson, a Republican, and the speaker of the State Assembly, Cruz Bustamante, a Democrat, both said that they would be in favor of executing criminals as young as 13 years old. These statements were made in the course of debate over changing California's juvenile justice system, specifically, a bill introduced by the Governor which would permit the trial of teenagers as adults and prescribe the death penalty for some serious offenses. The bill was defeated, but the fact that something this abhorrent has been articulated marks the beginning of a new stage in the criminalization of youth.

The stealthy descent to this nadir has been underway at least since the early part of President Clinton's first term. New Orleans instituted a stiff curfew ordinance in May of 1994 which prohibits teens from being on city streets between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. on weeknights. The curfew seemed to catch the President's fancy and he visited the city in May of 1996 to praise the measure as an

Mixed win for New York tenants

New York—Faced with large demonstrations by tenants in the last few days before rent regulations were to expire June 15, the state government "saved" rent controls for another few years, but seriously weakened existing laws in the process. The Republican governor and legislators, who had declared rent regulation incompatible with the "free market," were forced to back down by the threat of mass upheaval in New York City and some suburbs where controls still exist. But in a back room deal with the Democrats, they extracted big changes in a number of tenant protection laws, all for the worse.

The largest demonstrations took place in front of the governor's midtown Manhattan office. Thousands marched to his office June 12, tying up traffic on major streets, and 33 people were arrested for sitting down on Third Avenue. Demonstrators of all ages and ethnicities, the poor and the middle class, joined together to denounce the governor for proposing, as a bogus compromise, a system of "vacancy decontrol" in which an apartment becomes deregulated when the current tenant moves out. The demonstrators threatened to phase out Governor Pataki if he phased out controls. Although some people called for a city-wide rent



Marchers in New York City demand extension of rent control.

Chicago mothers fight cop brutality

Chicago—Three women, Shirley Alejos, Linda Giron, and Leticia Martinez, are speaking out against what can only be called a reign of terror that the Chicago Police are carrying out against their North Side communities.

I recently met them and heard their stories at a series of meetings. All three are working-class Latina mothers who have personally felt the impact of police violence directed against them and their families.

- Cops brutally beat Shirley last year in an interrogation room at the Foster Street station. They had arrested her after she attempted to defend her children and their friends when the police were harassing them on the sidewalk one evening outside her home.

- Cops from the Albany Park station killed Linda's 15-year-old son, Angel Castro, on Oct. 23, 1996. They shot him after his bike collided with their speeding police car. Angel, who was seriously injured in the crash, was simply trying to rise to his feet. Although the bullet hole behind his left ear indicates that he was shot from behind, the Office of Professional Standards (OPS) ruled June 11, 1997, that the police were "justified" in killing Angel. OPS supported the cops' ridiculous claim that Angel had a fully loaded gun which he hurled onto the roof of a two-story building after he was hit by the car and before they shot him.

- Leticia has had numerous confrontations with police in the Foster Street station in defense of her children and other youth in the neighborhood. In the most recent incident she called a press conference June 22, with the help of Shirley Alejos, to expose an incident where the police choked, beat, and verbally abused her teen-aged daughter, Kimberly Gonzalez.

In this latest police attack in late June, Kimberly, who is only 5 feet-2 inches and weighs 130 pounds, was abused by two white police when they broke up a loud argument and shoving match that Kimberly got into with

effective one. In July of that year the President made a trip to Monrovia, Cal., a suburb of Los Angeles, to speak approvingly of that city's even more strenuous curfew, which has been challenged in court as unconstitutional.

These local efforts to outlaw the mere presence of youth go hand in hand with the implementation of more far-reaching laws which will try youths as adults and incarcerate them in adult jails.

The House of Representatives passed a bill in early May which offers Federal grants totaling \$1.5 billion to states which agree to try 15-year-olds charged with violent crimes as adults. Another of the bill's provisions sets the adult trial age at 14 for federal courts and gives prosecutors the option of lowering it to 13. In addition, the bill would permit the housing of teens side-by-side with adults in prison. Clinton spoke out against the Republican-sponsored bill, but did not substantially challenge its content. Instead, he offered an ambivalent opposition by calling it a "crime bill in name only" which lacked support for crime prevention programs.

The action now has shifted to the Senate. The Violent and Repeat Juvenile Offender Act, an even more authoritarian piece of legislation than the House bill, is currently in the Judiciary Committee. This bill has similar age content, but is more broad in scope and gives judges the power to jail runaways and truants. Clearly, the passage into law of these measures would formalize the wholesale abandonment of a generation of poor, Black and Latino youth.

It is easy enough to oppose these moves on the grounds of pragmatism. They don't work and the

strike and claimed housing is a human right, most of the emphasis was on simply stopping the politicians from taking away what little protection tenants have, after years of the powerful real estate industry whittling away at rent and eviction protections.

"Vacancy decontrol" was averted for apartments renting for under \$2,000 a month, but a similar stimulus to harassment of tenants was inaugurated by giving landlords extra large rent increases—no less than 20%—when any apartment turns over.

The politicians were so scared of tenants' wrath that they announced they had agreed on a new law in the middle of the night after the old law expired, when in fact they had not. In a graphic expose of sham democracy, the new law was written by two powerful legislators over the next three days, and then passed by the legislature with no discussion.

Tenants are now supposed to be grateful that controls were not all ended at once, but unless they continue to flex their new-found muscles, the end is only a matter of time. Since only luxury housing is being built, New York City may soon be home only to the rich.

—Anne Jaffe

a friend while walking home from the Chase Park pool.

She described how the Chicago police chose to resolve the conflict: "The cop grabbed me around my neck, and he started choking me. I just wanted to faint right there. I couldn't breathe at all. He kept telling me, 'I'm going to kill you! I'm going to break your arm!' I fell on the floor, and he kept on choking me. He handcuffed me real tight, and then he picked me up by the neck."

Until very recently these women were all unaware of each others' activities and were carrying on their struggles independently. They each told me what they have learned from their experiences was under no circumstances to trust OPS to do anything to help victims of police brutality.

Instead they have learned that the only way to fight brutal cops is organize on the grassroots level and expose everything to the media. As Shirley put it, "So many people out there are unaware of what can be done, and they are scared. If people would stand up and fight back, this would not be happening."

Linda Giron, who holds a vigil every month near the spot where her son was gunned down, feels she learned not to rely on OPS when it was already too late. Linda's family had actually been forced to move out of the neighborhood where her son was shot five months before the shooting because Angel was repeatedly beaten and threatened by cops to move.

Shirley, who won a large out-of-court settlement from the police, says she will not rest until the cops who beat her are serving jail sentences. And she will continue to fight for other people victimized by the police.

She advised 13-year-old Kimberly Gonzalez: "Whatever you do, the most important thing is to never let those cops see that you are scared. Keep your head up. The second they see you're scared they will tear into you."

—Jim Guthrie

Legislators declare war on youth

premises they are based on are false. For example, the enforcement of the New Orleans curfew would require far more cops than are available; in practice it is largely ignored. In addition, youth crime in California, the state in which Governor Wilson proposed executing 13-year-olds, is actually declining. Nationally those under 18 are three times as likely to be murdered by an adult than by another teen.

The reason why these moves must be opposed, however, is because they are an integral part of a much larger process: the demonization of the poor and nonwhite for strictly ideological purposes. Those in public housing are being forced out of their homes and into the vagaries of the market's housing sector. Those on welfare have little choice but to accept low-paying service jobs which don't allow them to seek education.

Similarly, the government's willingness to execute teens and condemn poor youth to the adult penal system represents yet another authoritarian solution to capitalism's crisis. The message to poor youth is clear: Unless you find a way to make it within the narrow range of options open to you, you will be disposed of. America's gargantuan prison system awaits, and even your age won't rule out the death penalty.

Surely a response similar to the 1992 L.A. Rebellion is stirring among a generation despised by those in power.

Memphis Gay Pride Day

Memphis, Tenn.—On the first day of summer over 1,500 women and men marched two miles through the heart of midtown Memphis celebrating gay and lesbian pride. Participants didn't let the 92 degree heat stop us from yelling slogans like "We're here! We're queer! Get used to it!" and "Two, four, six, eight, how do you know your kids are straight?" which an older woman turned around to ask "How do you know your parents are straight?"

At the end of the parade, marchers streamed into a huge garage associated with Holy Trinity Community Church whose pastor, Timothy M. Meadows, wore Mickey Mouse ears to protest the vote at the Southern Baptist Convention to boycott Walt Disney Company for its non-hostile policies towards gays and lesbians. Mouse ears could be seen throughout the crowd and a costumed "Mister Mouse" led off the parade along with a group of lesbians on motorcycles, some of whom displayed the most amazing tattoos.

In the garage service organizations, bookstores, and individuals selling homemade items set up tables while those gathered listened to speakers and musicians. The high points were performances by the cast of the theater version of "The Rocky Horror Picture Show" and by lesbian activist and singer Alix Dobkin.

Even though this event was a big deal for Memphis, only one TV station reported the march and the major Memphis paper only ran a short article on it after it was over. Despite this conspiracy of silence by the news media, the march was bigger, bolder and livelier than last year.

—Marxist-Humanist-participant

Kenyans protest Moi rule

Pro-democracy demonstrations across Kenya were set upon by government riot police on July 7. The demonstrators were calling for changes to Kenya's constitution which would check President Daniel Moi's authoritarian rule. At least seven people were killed in the unrest and dozens of others were wounded. Students have been in the forefront of the democracy movement and have borne much of the government's repression.

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DETROIT P.O. Box 27205 Detroit MI 48227 MEETINGS Thursdays, 6 p.m. Central Methodist Church Woodward and Adams	OAKLAND P.O. Box 3345 Oakland, CA 94609 510 658 1448 MEETINGS Sundays, 6:30 p.m. 2015 Center St. (at Milvia) Berkeley
LOS ANGELES P.O. Box 29194 Los Angeles, CA 90029 213 960 5607 MEETINGS Sundays, 5:30 p.m. Echo Park United Methodist Church 1226 N. Alvarado (North of Sunset, side door)	MEMPHIS 1725B Madison Ave., #59 Memphis, TN 38104 FLINT, MI P.O. Box 3384, Flint, MI 48502
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Our Life and Times

Specter of unemployed haunts summit

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

As West European government leaders gathered in Amsterdam in mid-June for their annual European Union (EU) summit, they voted to maintain the Maastricht budget-cutting criteria agreed upon a few years ago. These criteria, which mandate low budget deficits in order to join a projected single West European monetary union beginning in 1999, have led to a series of draconian austerity measures across the region, in many cases sparking mass protests and strikes. The EU leaders maintained Maastricht despite objections from the newly-elected French government that job creation, including by the state, should be a major goal as well, at a time when the unemployment rate in the EU countries averages 12.8%, the highest since the Great Depression.

The French government caved in quickly enough, after not only Germany's conservative leaders, but also the newly-elected British Labour government, insisted that Maastricht was the only road to prosperity. But outside on the streets, separated from them by a wall of police, the EU leaders could hear the anger of 50,000 unemployed marchers from all across Europe, some of whom had been walking toward Amsterdam from as far away as Ireland, Bosnia, and Morocco for several months. These marchers, many of them working with openly anti-capitalist and revolutionary Marxist or anarchist organizations outside the control of the labor bureaucracy or the main political parties, expressed the type of proletarian anger that has fed the strike wave of the



Amsterdam cops beat demonstrators.

past year, which sent France's conservative government packing on June 1, and which threatens Germany's conservative rulers as well.

Seldom in recent decades has there been such a coordinated mass movement across national borders in Western Europe, one made possible by the fact that capital and the West European states have themselves been moving toward a new type of unity. As the marchers passed through dozens of towns and cities on the way to Amsterdam, they not only received warm welcomes, but were also able to intervene in local struggles.

For example, a French marcher recounted proudly that when his contingent passed through Burgos, Spain, they learned that 30 workers had just been fired at a poultry processing plant. The unemployed marchers joined with local people to blockade a supermarket which was selling the plant's chickens. The very next day, under pressure from the supermarket, the plant rehired 12 of the poultry workers.

All across the EU countries, there have been new labor and unemployed actions. In Germany, 20,000 demonstrated in Munich against austerity a week before the Amsterdam summit. In France, 70,000 turned out for a demonstration against unemployment a few days later. During those same days before the EU summit, a Western Europe-wide strike by truck drivers tied up roads in several countries, especially France.

Across Western Europe, the "American model" of an increasing gap between rich and poor, of gutting welfare protections, of refusing to establish a national health care system, and of lowering the unemployment rate by creating precarious, low-paid McJobs, is the future that the masses dread. That is why, at the Denver meeting of the world's seven richest nations plus Russia, the European leaders resisted, at least publicly, Clinton's urgings that they accept the American model.

Turkish military attack

The military in Turkey has initiated two related actions: one is the brutal invasion into Iraq in May to attack Turkish Kurds of the PKK guerrilla army, and the other is the political pressure which forced Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan of the Islamic-based Welfare Party to resign in June.

The pressure to end the year-old rule of the Welfare Party intensified beginning in February, when military leaders demanded the government close the 600 Islamic schools it sponsored. The Welfare Party government, which ruled in not too firm coalition with the non-religious True Path Party, began to crumble. But the face off between the first elected religious-oriented ruling party and the Turkish military is not as simple as incipient fundamentalists vs. traditional defenders of secularism.

In the absence of a left alternative, and in opposition against the upper-class secular elite, the Welfare Party appealed to many Turks ground down by Turkey's capitalist economic expansion. For their part, the military upholders of secularism have not hesitated to trash civilian rule, staging coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980, and nearly hinting at the possibility of another one in 1997.

Whether the military is primarily motivated to keep Turkey firmly in the western camp and NATO (Erbakan began his presidency with trips to Libya and Iran), the Turkish Kurds are bearing the brunt right now. Not only PKK guerrillas, but Kurdish civilians living in northern Iraq have been assaulted by Turkey's tanks, bombs and troops.

Pol Pot, the U.S., and the Left

The purported capture of Cambodian Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot by his own followers, the announced possibility that he might be put on trial for policies and actions that killed up to two million people during his years in power, 1975-79, certainly caught the world's attention. Pol Pot is the greatest mass murderer still at large, the scale of his crimes against humanity dwarfing even those of the Rwandan Hutu fanatics or the Bosnian Serb militias.

Since he came to power in 1975, was overthrown by a Vietnamese invasion in 1979, and persisted since then as the leader of an increasingly small band of guerrillas on the Thai border, Pol Pot has tested and exposed deep contradictions not only among the world's rulers, but also on the Left.

The Khmer Rouge, which never enjoyed significant mass support, came to power in part because of resentment against U.S. invasions and massive bombings of neutral Cambodia during the Vietnam War, and in part due to massive Vietnamese support. As they set about starving and massacring the population in an effort to build a Maoist-style communal society, in reality a version of state-capitalism, protests and exposes soon came from the Western countries, especially the U.S.

Some on the Left, such as Noam Chomsky, pointed correctly to the hypocrisy of these U.S. crocodile tears, especially given their silence over U.S.-backed Indonesia's genocidal takeover of East Timor during the same years in which Pol Pot was in power, an invasion which eventually killed 200,000 Timorese, a third of the population. But Chomsky went further.

Locked into the notion that opposing U.S. imperialism, not working out what one is for, is the guideline to

follow, he also wrote a number of articles claiming that U.S. reports of deaths in Cambodia were a typical example of State Department exaggeration and disinformation. This brought about a precipitous decline in his reputation as a leader of the intellectual Left, especially after several French leftists refuted his arguments in the *New York Review of Books*. Also during the 1970s, the leading Trotskyist economist Ernest Mandel brought discredit upon himself by insisting that Pol Pot's Cambodia also was a workers' state, although bureaucratically deformed.

During this same period, some French intellectuals who had been drawn to Maoism in the 1960s, reacted to the revelations about Pol Pot by breaking with Marxism, embracing the Russian conservative writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and founding what they termed an anti-totalitarian movement, the New Philosophy. These developments also influenced the rejection of Marxism in the 1970s by a host of French intellectuals such as Michel Foucault, whose influence soon spread globally.

By late 1978, Vietnam finally began to criticize Pol Pot publicly, and soon toppled him. Now the U.S. did a turnabout, tacitly supporting Pol Pot for over a decade as part of the resistance to the Vietnamese-installed Cambodian government, and funneling aid to him and other opponents of Vietnam through U.S. ally Thailand. One country, China, has been consistent all along, however. From Mao to Deng to Jiang Zemin today, its rulers have staunchly supported Pol Pot. Most recently, this has meant threatening to use their veto to block any effort to try him before a UN human rights Tribunal.

Tudjman wins in Croatia

Ex-Communist boss cum nationalist-fascist Franjo Tudjman won another five-year term as president of Croatia in June. It was a state-controlled electoral farce exposing the hollowness of the 1995 Dayton Accords and the perverse reality that settlement sanctioned.

Less than half the electorate voted. That electorate was minus over half a million Serbs ethnically cleansed from Croatia. It was plus some 400,000 Croats who lived outside Croatia, including in Mostar, Bosnia, which Tudjman's army-militias have de facto annexed. Tudjman's party scripted the state-controlled media, and his bodyguards attacked one opposition candidate while they invoked the name of Ante Pavelic, the fascist ruler who ethnically cleansed Croatia by executing thousands during World War II.

Voting came on the heels of U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's visit in May, during which she chastised Tudjman for blocking the return of Croatian Serbs, and not delivering indicted war criminals to the Hague tribunals. However, the baselessness of her mission was demonstrated by her diplomatic stop in the so-called Serb Republic, the outlaw enclave in Bosnia harboring the Serb front-line perpetrators of genocide. Albright's trip was most likely groundwork for Clinton to pull out of Bosnia altogether. In the final reading, the U.S. and European military presence has done nothing to enforce any feature of the Dayton accords, except their rotten essence—sanctioning the partition of Bosnia

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

Who We Are And What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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