

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Inequality built into wage work



by B. Ann Lastelle

The company held a series of meetings with small groups of employees to obtain workers' ideas about how to reduce the production costs of, and add value to, the personal care products we make. A line worker proposed during one such meeting that having the maintenance mechanics perform preventive maintenance procedures on the equipment each week would ensure more consistency than having the relatively untrained machine operators do it, as we do now.

The only maintenance mechanic in the room responded that people in this place should be ashamed of themselves. They make so much money compared to those on the outside, and they don't know how to do anything. Was it coincidence that he scolded a crew that is composed, with one exception, of women?

LABOR POWER FOR SALE

That question aside, our maintenance mechanic is mistaken in his assumption that we are paid for the amount of labor we provide. Karl Marx in *Capital* proved that what the worker sells as her only commodity, and the capitalist purchases in exchange for wages, is not an amount of labor, but the worker's capacity to labor, her labor power. Once the bargain is struck and she enters the factory, an army of superintendence will force as much labor from her as possible.

Capitalism is not a charitable institution. We wouldn't be here if we weren't making money for this company. We do that by working long and hard and producing more value congealed in products than we receive in wages. There is, therefore, in the case of hourly wages, a portion of each hour in which we work to reproduce

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

Tulsa—ethnic cleansing American style



by Lou Turner

A given society is racist or it is not... [I]t is utopian to try to ascertain in what ways one kind of inhuman behavior differs from another kind of inhuman behavior... All forms of exploitation resemble one another...because all of them are applied to the same 'object': man.

—Frantz Fanon

In our era of ethnic cleansings, it's important to remember Tulsa, 1921. This summer when the Tulsa Race Riot Commission excavates what it believes to be multiple mass graves where many of the estimated 300 Blacks killed by rioting whites lie buried, it will not only be Tulsa's, but America's, rendezvous with history.

The Tulsa race riot of 1921 capped America's race wars that began with the 1917 East St. Louis riots and continued through the dreadful "Red Summer" of 1919. The Elaine, Ark. massacre of Black tenant farmers in 1919, reported to have involved the deaths of over 200 African Americans, and the 1923 total destruction of the Black north Florida community of Rosewood, are with Tulsa monuments to this nation's ethnic cleansings. They are also monuments to Black armed resistance.

White America seems never to confront its genocidal past, only to fabricate better rationalizations for repressing its memory. Because it must fight new race wars, the living memory of white America's atrocities may weaken its resolve. So, the past and the present have to be segregated as severely today as Jim Crow physically segregated Blacks from whites before the Civil Rights Movement. This "segregation of memory," as Scott Ellsworth calls it in his book on the Tulsa, Okla. race riot of 1921, *Death in the Promised Land*, persists long after the most obnoxious racial barriers have come down.

American history lives on in two memories—one white, the other Black—separate and unequal. This is not a schizophrenic American mind; it is rather a manic American mind, to use Frantz Fanon's apt term.

Black Tulsa was utterly destroyed by a racist mob of thousands of whites from every class strata of Tulsa society. And yet the white mythology is that "poor whites"

(Continued on page 8)

China's rulers play nationalist card as mass unrest grows

by Bob McGuire

Two anniversaries loom over other events in China in 1999—the 80th anniversary of the May 4, 1919 uprising and the tenth anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre. The Communist Party observed the anniversary of the May Fourth Movement with its annual polite ceremony, claiming for itself the legacy of that 1919 resistance to Japanese expansion in Shandong by students, merchants and urban workers that developed and spread mass activity and liberatory ideas, above all Marxism.

Also in May, thousands of Chinese university students took to the streets in reaction to the May 7 U.S. bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, beginning a week of daily demonstrations at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing and other symbols of the U.S. across China. By week's end organized groups of workers had joined these emotional anti-American protests. Genuine as was the popular outrage over the attack, these were demonstrations that China's rulers welcomed and managed. They were shut down after six days by those in fear of where any mass movement could lead.

All this came on the eve of the other anniversary, the tenth year since the June 4, 1989 massacres in Tiananmen Square and Chengdu. The same slogan on signs protesting the embassy bombing—"blood debt to be paid in blood"—was ten years ago directed at the army and party for the slaughter of over 3,000 protesting workers and students. That debt has not yet been paid.

It is significant that the last mass celebration of the anniversary of the May Fourth Movement was by students and workers in 1989, in the face of police harassment. A university student-initiated hunger strike for freedom and democracy occupied Tiananmen Square and created space for workers as well to gather and create autonomous trade unions which frightened China's state-capitalist rulers.

RISING TENSIONS OVER NATO BOMBING

The Chinese government has opposed any form of



Mainland Chinese in Hong Kong Feb. 13 demonstrate for the right to stay.

NATO/U.S. intervention in Yugoslavia over Kosova, which it justifies as non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. The official press in China has made no mention of Milosevic's campaign of ethnic removal and genocide within Kosova. Official pronouncements exceed in virulence even that of Russia which vehemently opposed NATO expansion to its very border.

Popular feeling was only intensified by the Chinese government's demand of an apology for the embassy bombing, while withholding for days word of Clinton's first attempts at such an apology. The U.S. explanation—that this hi-tech military campaign had been undone by using an old map—thus sounded incredible, even after NATO bombs damaged the Swedish and Swiss Embassies and devastated a barracks of the Kosova Liberation Army (KLA), which the KLA had wrested from Serb forces more than a week before.

China's support of Milosevic shows they are of one mind when it comes to national minorities, as seen in how the Uighur and Tibetan regions have autonomy only on paper.

While Clinton's visit to China last year was intended to base his foreign policy legacy on the "special rela-

(Continued on page 10)

WE NEED YOUR HELP TO CONTINUE N&L!

Ten years after the collapse of the state-capitalist regimes that called themselves Communist, capitalism everywhere faces new crises and instability. We are confronted with such virulent new forms of racism and ethnic-cleansing that it approaches outright genocide in Kosova.

At the same time, at a protest against police brutality in Chicago, a Black activist charges that the African-American community here is fast becoming "a Black Kosova."

The face of the crisis at home can be seen as well in the draconian cutbacks that have forced thousands of welfare mothers off public assistance and into the most extreme poverty wage jobs or simply into the ranks of the "disappeared." It is measured, perhaps most of all, in the continuing warehousing of our youth within an ever-growing prison-industrial complex.

The constant struggles against these and the many other attacks on our humanity have been documented in every issue of *News & Letters*. It could be seen in the attempt by young Black women workers to organize the catfish plants in Mississippi; in the national marches to free Mumia Abu-Jamal from death row in Pennsylvania, led on the West Coast by Longshoremen; in the way the vicious lynching of Matthew Shephard, far from cowering the queer movement, impelled it to new organizing efforts; and in the daily protests against the police murder of Amadou Diallo in New York that have now continued for almost three months.

Never was it more important to hear all these voices from below unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of revolution that lets them ring louder and clearer because it discerns a very different future coming from the dialectic of the present. This year we have published for the first time anywhere a series of Notes on Hegel's *Science of Logic* from the pen of Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism.

It is this unique combination of philosophy and revolution, which we practice in every issue, that makes it urgent to keep *News & Letters* alive, BUT WE CANNOT DO IT WITHOUT YOUR HELP!

As we have done every year since we began more than four decades ago, we must once more turn to you, our readers, to help us pay the ever-rising costs for our office rent and the printing of *N&L*. We want to thank the many readers who consistently send an extra contribution along with their subscription renewals.

Our special thanks this year also go to all those who paid not just for their own but for two copies of our acclaimed new pamphlet by D. A. Sheldon, *Voices from within the Prison Walls*, so one copy could be sent free to any prisoners who asked for it but could not pay. Requests from prisoners throughout the entire land have poured into our office in such a torrent that the postage necessary to fill those orders has pushed our postage bill to a staggering level!

NEVER WAS YOUR HELP MORE NEEDED TO KEEP THIS UNIQUE COMBINATION OF THEORY AND PRACTICE ALIVE! PLEASE GIVE AS GENEROUSLY AS YOU CAN. WE CANNOT CONTINUE WITHOUT YOUR SUPPORT.

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• I am enclosing \$_____ for gift subscriptions to introduce others to *N&L* (addresses enclosed).

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Prisoners find courage to speak out

by Urszula Wislanka

For the past three years, during my involvement with California Coalition for Women Prisoners (CCWP), I have been visiting women in prison and editing CCWP's newsletter, *The Fire Inside*.

From conversations with women inside, I know how important it is for women to overcome the view of themselves only as victims. This can be accomplished only by breaking the silence about their victimization. The sharing of individual stories of abuse and degradation suffered in prison is the necessary beginning for any change. Many women inside have been victimized all their life, by their families, by their spouses, by the welfare system. A battered woman, convicted of defending herself from her abuser wrote to us after a particularly brutal crack-down, "I live in fear and confusion, unsure of what was real and what was memory...People don't understand that fear unless they've been there."

The whole power of the state is brought upon them to convince them that they deserve nothing better. One of the most despised statements from the more abusive guards that prisoners hear many times a day is "if you don't like it here, you shouldn't have come." The guards try to convince them that all the abuse is what they deserve. Yet despite the continuous pressure to keep quiet and to accept the injustices, many women we talk to find the courage to speak out.

This courage is also reflected in Amnesty International's report "Not part of my sentence: Violations of the Human Rights of Women in Custody" published in March 1999. The stories in it come from women who face a tremendous risk of retaliation for just

Woman as Reason



speaking up. Human Rights Watch published a report in December 1996 entitled *All Too Familiar: Sexual Abuse of Women in U.S. State Prisons*. In September 1998 they were forced to publish another report, *Nowhere to Hide: Retaliation Against Women in Michigan State Prisons*, which documents the retaliation by guards against women who were interviewed for the earlier report.

The women who speak up become a voice many others recognize as telling their stories. They become the organizers inside and realize that the struggle reaches beyond their particular situation. As Charisse Shumate said, "Now please don't give up....Stay in peace with yourself that you are doing the right thing. It's not a me thing; it's a we thing."

Shumate is a lead plaintiff in a class action suit that includes over 70 other women prisoners from California Institution for Women (CIW) and Central California Women's Facility (CCWF) who came together to challenge then-governor Pete Wilson and the California Department of Corrections, charging the state and the whole prison system with criminal medical abuse. The cooperation and spirit of

the many women inside organizing around this suit led to the creation of California Coalition for Women Prisoners, to give them voice on the outside. The acts of solidarity inside and the growing solidarity outside are what the state fears the most. They know these are the only check on their abuses. They are the only source of any reforms, such as curbing particularly cruel guards, abolishing the three strikes law or improving medical care inside (and out).

Yet, as the case of *Shumate v. Wilson* shows, any particular reform, however important, cannot be the ultimate goal. The prisoners' testimony was so compelling that the state settled out of court rather than face a trial they were sure they would lose. We had great hopes that implementing provisions of the settlement, like fixing call buttons in the infirmary, abolishing the sick call lines, where if you were sick you had a long wait outside regardless of weather, etc. would result in an overall improvement of medical care. The monitoring phase of the settlement is almost over, and although a few improvements were noted by women inside, the general disregard for women's lives continues, except that now everything a prisoner complains about is "Shumate's fault."

We are now talking to women in other prisons about how to change conditions there. Another law suit is a possibility. Yet we all understand that fighting within the "law" has real limitations. It is the process of fighting itself which creates a different sense of self. The women prisoners involved in the suit, despite personal vendettas against them, say that the fight is worth it because of how it changed the women involved in it.

My experience with women inside makes it clear that changes that are long-lasting, that will lead to tangible results, the creation of a new society that can't be taken away by the next administration, are the changes in ourselves, in remaking who we are as human beings.

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

The Sisterhood is Global Institute has issued an urgent call for action against the rising number of acid attacks on women and girls in Bangladesh. Sulfuric acid is being used to disfigure and often blind and kill women over issues such as: refusal of an offer of marriage; dowry disputes; domestic fights, and disputes over property. The more than 200 acid attacks each year in Bangladesh—including on girls under ten—reflects an epidemic of gender violence.

—Information from *Women Living Under Muslim Laws*

* * *

Thousand of protesters, mainly women and children, demonstrated in the southern Serbian cities of Krusevac and Aleksandrovac, May 17 and 18, shouting "We want our sons, not coffins!" and demanding that Serb soldiers be sent home from Kosova. At least 2,000 soldiers left Kosova after hearing that security forces in Alexandrovac had attacked the demonstrators. The Serb army charged the "organizers" of the protest with treason.

* * *

The California Coalition for Women Prisoners (CCWP) is urging support for Theresa Cruz, a battered Latina denied parole for the second time, May 4, after serving eight years of a seven-year-to-life sentence for conspiracy to commit murder. She was stalked, threatened and abused for five years in front of her four children before a friend shot her abuser in the legs—causing no permanent injuries. CCWP cites this case of injustice as indicative of the continuing bias of the California judicial system against battered women.

Mae Bertha Carter 1923-1999

In the 1960s, Sunflower County, Miss. became known for two worlds—one exemplified by the notorious racist Senator James O. Eastland, the other by the civil rights activist and liberation thinker, Fannie Lou Hamer. It was in the life and death struggle between these two worlds that Mae Bertha Carter rose up. Born at the north end of the county, virtually in the shadow of Mississippi's Parchman Penitentiary, Mae Bertha Carter and her husband Matthew worked as sharecroppers for more than two decades.

Mae Bertha Carter joined the NAACP in 1955, years before Mississippi's civil rights movement made national headlines. The murderous repression that swept the Mississippi Delta that year did not intimidate her; throughout her life, repression never stopped her quest for freedom.

In September, 1965, after the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the Carters made a decision to enroll seven of their children in the all-white schools of Drew, Miss. Even to SNCC activists working in Fannie Lou Hamer's nearby hometown of Ruleville, Drew had a reputation for terror.

When verbal threats did not force the Carters to withdraw their children from the white schools, their house was shot up. Not long after, they were evicted from the plantation and prevented from getting farm work anywhere around Drew. Even when they remained the only Black students in white schools in Sunflower County, they persisted. Connie Curry's 1995 book, *Silver Rights*, tells the story of her struggle.

Mae Bertha Carter became a tireless activist in the Civil Rights Movement, speaking everywhere about her experience of struggle, and successfully suing the state of Mississippi over its sham integration scheme. But when Black students finally attended the white schools in numbers, whites set up private schools, leaving the public schools virtually all-Black, and stripped of resources and funds.

This turn of events didn't stop Mae Bertha Carter either. She began exposing the fraud of a bankrupt education system and campaigning for resources in Drew schools. In 1993 she wrote in *News & Letters*, "Education in Mississippi has taken so many steps backward that our children can't compete in this world....There's a teacher shortage here in Sunflower County because teachers are so underpaid. A teacher in Drew makes about as much as at McDonalds....The same government that doesn't see the need to educate our children still wants to send our children to war and put them in the ground. Mississippi had more young Black people in this last war (Persian Gulf) than any other state, just because they couldn't find a job at home. We got a long way to go down here."

When I talked to Mae Bertha Carter last fall, she was still trying to get a librarian for the school library, still speaking out about the "crime" of schools without funds. She repeated what she had said in 1993: "We got a long way to go down here." But she added: "And we're not going to stop till we get there." Mae Bertha Carter died April 28. We honor her memory.

—Michael Flug

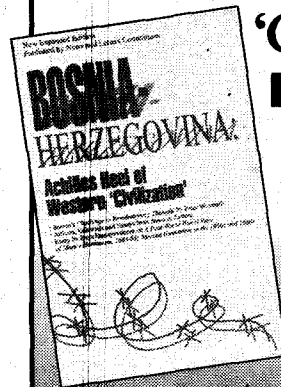
"In the true fascist style, when his Serbian forces invade lands and massacre other ethnic groups, [Slobodan] Milosevic invariably claims that really, secretly, the other side is the aggressor. He began this policy in the 1980s in the Serbian province of Kosova, population 2.1 million, of which the vast majority are ethnic Albanians, with only 10% comprising a Serbian minority. Today, as he forcibly prevents the elected parliament of Kosova from meeting at all, he claims to be defending the Serbian minority against Albanian oppression!" (p. 17, "Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina," August-September 1992.)

"There is no question that the systematic, organized mass rape of primarily Muslim women in Bosnia is a calculated act of the Serbian government's genocidal policy of 'ethnic cleansing'" (p. 19).

Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western 'Civilization'

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New York labor takes the offensive

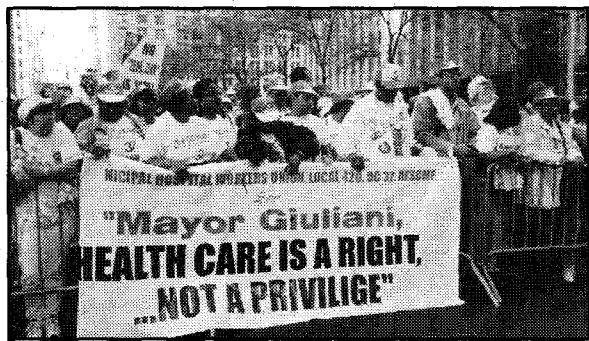
New York—Workers from all the unions in the city filled block after block of lower Broadway May 12 in the largest labor demonstration here in 25 years—30,000 people by the police estimate and 60,000 by the unions' estimate. Called by the Central Labor Council around the theme, "a fair share for working families," the demonstrators demanded increases in spending for education and health care as well as increases in wages and benefits.

Twenty-five years ago New York City was in a financial crisis; private capitalists took over and imposed cuts in services and employee give-backs. Labor has been fighting ever since just to stop losing ground. This demonstration was the first time labor has taken the offensive, demanding that current budget surpluses be used to benefit workers instead of the rich. One sign declared, "Governor Pataki gives the rich tax cuts and the poor health cuts."

This was the first time we can recall that ALL the government and private employee unions cooperated and turned out in such force. People were exuberant behind signs reading, "United we stand, divided we beg." The rally was completely integrated both racially and professionally. We saw huge contingents of teachers, postal workers, City University professors and hospital workers—and that was just in one block! There were also construction workers, bridge painters, nurses' aides, firefighters and even a few police. Other labor rallies in recent years turned out mostly the lowest paid workers, predominately Blacks and Latinos.

A huge contingent of public school teachers demanded smaller class sizes and no vouchers, which the mayor is pushing for. One African-American teacher at a Harlem school told us the teachers were "connecting with the community in opposition to the voucher system that will shut out and hurt the poor even more. Get the politics out of education!" City University students and professors demanded, "Stop the war on CUNY—keep access open," because the city has been cutting the curricula, financial aid and remedial help, and restricting admission.

It was great to see so many city employees from AFSCME District 37, which just went through an enor-



Healthcare workers at 'fair share' rally.

mous scandal. Not only were the local elections for union offices rigged, but so were contract votes, resulting in the workers "approving" no pay increase in the last contract. The shakeup seems to have invigorated the rank and file, who were there in droves with signs saying, "Never again zero" and "Fed up? Stand up!"

Postal workers had huge banners urging the defeat of postal privatization and one that read: "Celebrate labor! We do the work, we deserve the wealth and the power to control it—Mailhandlers." Someone else had a little handwritten sign that said, "Labor: organize the unorganized."

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani responded typically by making fun of the event and declaring there would be no pay increases for city workers without "increased productivity," that is, speedup and layoffs. One worker in a city child welfare agency, whose office turned out a lot of demonstrators due to rumors of layoffs, commented on Giuliani's "mean attacks on the poor and workers" and declared, "We must stop him from getting a higher office."

The class lines are clearly drawn, and the success of the rally may reflect an opening against a mayor who has been weakened by his indefensible defense of the police in the Diallo killing. As one teamster we met at the rally said, "Where will Rudy be without the support of workers?" —Anne Jaclard and Sheila Garden

Carpenters wildcat

Editor's note: We print below the text of a flyer distributed by Working Carpenters for a Stronger Union during a wildcat strike in the San Francisco Bay Area in late May. "Although our walk-off has ended," they say, "we've all gone back united and proud of what we've done. We're going to continue in our struggle to take back our union."

CARPENTERS: ONE MEMBER, ONE VOTE!

Brothers and Sisters: Throughout San Francisco carpenters are shutting jobs down. The San Francisco Airport—the largest construction job in California—is shut down. Carpenters walked off Pacific Bell Park. They walked at Kaiser Hospital in San Francisco. They walked at Microsoft.

We are getting support from the ironworkers, the laborers, the cement finishers and the electricians. If we have left any out, or we have left out any other jobs that have been shut down, we apologize. This first day has succeeded so far beyond our imagination that we are unable to fully keep up with our successes.

We all understand what is at stake. We are fighting to take our union back from that tiny handful of unelected, unrepresentative officials who are shoving this contract down our throats. We are the strongest union supporters there are, but we know that the only way the union will be truly strong is if it fights for us.

We are told that we are jeopardizing the "Project Labor Agreement" at the airport. We, the working members, are the real project labor agreement. We have sworn a blood oath that when we go back to work there, Agreement or no, there will be no non-union construction at the airport. We don't need a "PLA," all we need is our own strength and our own unity.

We demand the following:

(1) The contract must be taken off the table. It does not represent our interests and it was voted on illegally at a meeting that was called illegally. It must be removed.

(2) No new contract voted on by the Regional Council delegates until it is voted on and passed by the working members at area-wide general membership meetings where we can discuss the pros and cons. No phony "mail-in" ballots, where they control the source of information, they keep the members feeling isolated, and they count the "results."

We are united, we are strong, and we will take back our union. Join us!

Y2K blues

Memphis, Tenn.—Everyone's heard about the Y2K (Year 2000) bug, but what does it mean for people who work with computers? More and more companies are going into panic mode as they realize their usual method of planning computer projects—running around like chickens with their heads cut off—has not eliminated the problem. They are now turning to their usual method of making up for their unrealistic plans: loading us with more and more work and expecting lots of unpaid overtime.

I can remember talking about Y2K with my co-workers more than 15 years ago. We didn't have the name then, but we saw it was going to be a problem and that we should start to prevent it. So why is it such a big problem now? Because capitalist managers are cheap! Why fix today what you can put off a few years, when the managers will probably be working somewhere else? Programmers knew about it, but the managers wouldn't put it on the agenda. Now everybody's scrambling to make up for it. Even when the long-term consequences are foreseen, capitalism has a hard time taking into account anything beyond the immediate profits.

—Computer programmer

All slaves must be freed!

Huntsville, Tex.—The old adage that "crime doesn't pay" doesn't currently hold true for America's corporations. On the contrary, the imprisonment and subsequent enslavement of vast numbers of Americans is filling corporate coffers like manna from heaven. But what the corporations, state and federal governments, and, yes, the "people" of the United States are doing is itself a crime—a crime against humanity!

Americans collectively rail against nations, such as China, for using prison slave labor to produce goods sold on the world market. At the same time, our government has relegated almost two million Americans to forced slavery in one of the most repressive and abusive prison systems in the world.

The State of Texas, always on the wrong side of history, has made press releases proudly proclaiming "the largest prison system in the free world." With approximately 150,000 prisoners warehoused in 113 prisons stretching across a state the size of a large country, the Texas prison system does indeed live up to its billing. Texas runs a massive prison-based agricultural and industrial operation by utilizing the labor of tens of thousands of prison slaves. The "Lone Star State" doesn't even bother paying the pittance that passes for "prisoner pay" in other states.

COTTON CULTURE PERSISTS

To briefly illustrate the "Old South" mentality of Texas prison officials, consider the prison system's massive textile operations. The prison slaves toil in the sweltering Texas heat growing and picking cotton with their bare hands. Then other prison slaves labor in textile mills weaving the cotton into cloth and sewing it into useable items such as guards' uniforms, while they themselves are clothed in rags.

Texas appears to be operating in accordance with its antebellum roots. After all, it was one of the last states to receive word of the Emancipation Proclamation and also one of the last states to ratify the 13th Amendment, which abolished race-based slavery, supplanting it with class-based slavery.

In the case of prison slaves there is no Mason-Dixon line. The rest of the nation appears to be falling in line with the "Texas method." The prison systems that do continue paying prisoners have adopted the methodology of the Walsh-Healey Act, which effectively allows 80% of prisoner wages to be applied to room and board, restitution, taxes and so on. However, the Walsh-Healey Act has so many loopholes in it that capitalists can easily exploit prison labor to their profitable advantage and export their slave-made goods without ever paying a prisoner a cent.

You just can't beat the price of slavery when it comes to labor costs. There's none of those pesky add-ons such as workers' compensation and health insurance. With the global chase under way for the cheapest labor available, there's no doubt that corporate America is positioning itself to exploit prison slaves in a big way.

OPPOSE PRISON PROFITS

We must oppose all of private industry's efforts to set up shop in the nation's prisons. To allow them to do so will only create a negative two-pronged effect: (1) glean as much profit as possible off the backs of prisoners, which (2) injects large amounts of additional revenue into the prison systems to insure their continued expansion.

Reforming prisons in the hope that things can be made better is just as ridiculous an idea as the premise that capitalism can be reformed to be "worker friendly." The whole wretched system, both prison and capitalist, needs to be junked. Slavery, torture and untimely death, whether as punishments or capitalist industrial practices, have no place or legitimate purpose in a modern society.

It took many brave souls to raise their voices in opposition to race-based slavery. Abolitionists of the 19th century often were viewed with contempt and indifference when they first began their fight against an entrenched slavocracy. We must take up the abolitionist battle anew against an entrenched and staunchly defended prison slavocracy. It's time for all humanists to rise up in opposition to the economic interests which want to continue slavery in perpetuity. For a better society!

Truckers lose jobs

Denver, Colo.—"Something is wrong when we lose track of the individual human being and his or her rights." This statement by an out-of-work truck driver of NationsWay Transport Service Inc. sums up the attitude of the employees toward the company and owner Jerry McMorris for filing Chapter 11 bankruptcy and shutting down the trucking firm, May 20, with no notice. About 1,000 Teamsters union employees in Colorado and 3,000 nationwide were laid off.

How is it possible that Jerry McMorris, part-owner of the Colorado Rockies professional baseball team whose top player is paid \$12 million a year, who owns other successful businesses, can lose a multimillion-dollar trucking company, put thousands of people out of work with loss of pay, health insurance and pension benefits, and still keep his share of the baseball team and other businesses? In business-speak, the answer is called "corporate firewalls," the ability of a business person to create a corporation that is its own entity and thereby not put his other assets at risk.

The truck drivers and dockworkers belong to Teamsters locals 17 and 961. The sting from their sudden unemployment gave them a different perspective on Jerry McMorris' "smart" business strategy. As one truck driver put it, "These guys right here bought the Rockies with their own sweat, not him." —D.H.

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

the value of our own labor power and a portion during which we produce surplus value, and therefore profit, for the capitalist. We work both portions or we don't have a job.

Marx refers to these two portions of the working day or hour as "paid" and "unpaid." (In one translation the latter is referred to as "the unrequited labor of the wage-laborer.") The wage-form obscures the difference:

"On the surface of bourgeois society the worker's wage appears as the price of labor, as a certain quantity of money that is paid for a certain quantity of labor... The wage-form thus extinguishes every trace of the division of the working day into necessary labor and surplus labor, into paid labor and unpaid labor. All labor appears as paid labor. Under the *corvée* system... the labor of the serf for himself, and his compulsory labor for the lord of the land, are demarcated very clearly both in space and time... In wage-labor... the money-relation conceals the uncompensated labor of the wage-laborer."

"We may therefore understand," Marx continues, "the decisive importance of the transformation of the value and price of labor-power into the form of wages, or into the value and price of labor itself. All the notions of justice held by both the worker and the capitalist, all the mystifications of the capitalist mode of production, all capitalism's illusions about freedom, all the apologetic tricks of vulgar economics, have as their basis [this] form of appearance." This form of appearance is the basis for the notion of "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay" and for the maintenance mechanic's reproach.

WORKING IN WHOSE INTERESTS?

Our maintenance mechanic missed as well, perhaps because he is individually inconvenienced by it, the workers' resistance to the domination of capital. That resistance is measured, in part, by the extent to which people do not plunge immediately and enthusiastically into learning everything they can about the job or the machine. They instead refuse to make adjustments or repairs they don't consider to be part of their job, call maintenance and wait for the mechanic to come to the line, diagnose the problem and fix it.

Workers, for similar reasons, may refuse to assist one another. Individual workers or entire crews may refuse to anticipate and solve production problems, forcing responsibility onto the supervisor. During one particularly contentious day when we had paged our supervisor repeatedly for one problem on the line after another, he said, exasperated, "You people run this line every day, don't you? I shouldn't have to babysit you."

What more do they expect when at the core of the production process is this antagonism between workers and capital, whose only interest is in the workers' greater exploitation?

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Editor's Note

As a continuation of our discussion of the "Dialectics of Marx's *Capital* and Today's Global Crisis," as our just concluded class series was titled, we print for the first time an excerpt from the polemic Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in 1943 against a leading theoretician of the Workers Party, Joe Carter, on Marx's concept of capitalist "production for the sake of production." A *Restatement of Some Fundamentals of Marxism Against Carter's Vulgarization* (Nov. 14, 1943) was published in a Workers Party mimeographed bulletin, March 1944 as a defense of J.R. Johnson's (C.L.R. James') article, "Production for Production's Sake" (see *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 225-40), that had been subject to debate within the Workers Party. The full text of Dunayevskaya's essay can be found in the *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 167-191. Page references to Johnson and Carter are cited in the text. The page references to the Kerr editions of volumes I and III of *Capital* (1906, 1909) that Dunayevskaya cites in the footnotes are followed by added page references to the Vintage Books editions (1977, 1981).

REIFICATION OF PEOPLE AND THE FETISHISM OF COMMODITIES

Com. Carter is horror-struck when Com. Johnson says that under capitalism machines exploit labor. "Capital is then a material thing which exploits labor" (p. 13). Instead of analyzing the capitalist labor process and thus discovering how a material thing becomes an exploiting force, Carter accuses Johnson of having fallen victim to the fetishism of commodities, and indignantly reminds him that for Marxists capital is not a thing but a social relation of production established by the instrumentality of things. What Carter does not perceive is that the thing, means of production, has become the social relation, capital, because of what Marx calls "the contradiction between the personification of objects and the representation of persons by things."¹

The focal point of Marx's analysis of capitalist society is his critique of capitalist production. The ideology which flows from this historic mode of production is enveloped in the perverted relation of dead to living labor. Marx pointed out that the very simple relation—capital uses labor—expresses "the personification of things and the reification of people."² That is to say, the means of production become capital and are personified as capitalists at the same time that the workers become reified, that is, their labor becomes objectified into the property of others.

Marx's critique of capitalist society, based primarily on this inverted relation of dead to living labor at the point of production, extends also to the surface of society (the market), where the social relation between people assumes "the fantastic form of a relation between things."³ This is the fetishism of commodities. Com. Carter sees only that. But he is blind to the inverted relation of dead and living labor. This relation, without which Marx's political economy is vitiated, never gets one single line in all Carter's theorizing. He thus bungles both of Marx's theses. Had Carter kept in his mind Marx's plan for Volume I [of *Capital*], this would have become clear to him.

In Part I of Volume I Marx deals with capitalist wealth as it appears to be: "an immense accumulation of commodities."⁴ Because he deals only with the appearance, or what Marx calls the phenomena, of capitalism, he does not here analyze the class relationship under capitalism. Here our capitalist is still only Mr. Moneybags, who has bought a commodity, labor power. That is why, in "The Fetishism of Commodities," Marx uses the words, "social relation," or "personal relation," not capitalist relation. In the market, then, where rule "Freedom, Equality, Property and Bentham,"⁵ where the cardinal tie between men is exchange, the social relation between them appears as a relation between things. Marx advisedly does not analyze the class relationship until after Mr. Moneybags has left the market and gone into the factory, where his capital can expand and he becomes a real capitalist, that is, where the class relationship is created.

Marx proceeds to analyze the capitalist mode of production. Now that the worker is in the factory, the "social relation" becomes a production relation. By virtue of that fact his relationship to the boss is very clear; it in no sense assumes the fantastic form of a relation between things. On the contrary, there the worker overestimates the capitalist's might. He thinks that the capitalist alone is responsible for his plight instead of seeing the cause in the mode of production which the capitalist represents. There the worker personifies things: the means of production used as capital become the capitalists. We are here confronted with what Marx called "the personification of things and the reification

of people." Marx was most emphatic in laying bare this "reification of people" because that is the very heart of his critique of political economy. He grasped this very early. "When one speaks of private property," wrote the young Marx in 1844, "one thinks of something outside of man. When one speaks of labor, one has to do immediately with man himself. The new formulation of the question already involves its solution."

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, OR 'PRODUCTION TAKEN AS A WHOLE'?

Carter has discovered that Johnson "by sleight-of-hand has passed from the notion of capitalism to the notion of the 'strict process' of capitalist production.... [C]apitalism is not and cannot be confined to a 'strict process of production' or reduced to this by any ever-wonderful miracles" (p. 14).

Our theoretician is anxious to show us that his hand is on the pulse of life, and not on Hegel's *Logic*. He is eager to demonstrate his opposition to any such "sleight-of-hand" as Johnson practices. Hence he clearly distinguishes his conception of the strict process of production from that of Johnson:

"Without the preliminary social distribution of the material factors of production, without the preliminary process of circulation in which the products are sold and profits are once again converted into capital, the immediate process of production is a meaningless abstraction; a complete impossibility" (p. 15).

Insofar as distribution, both of the means of consumption and of the elements of production, is concerned, there is no ambiguity whatever about Marx's emphasis that production is the determining factor from which a certain type of distribution flowed. He went to great length to argue against those who thought that either distribution or conquest was a determining factor. He demonstrated how even the Mongol devastation of Russia logically flowed from the Mongol method of production.⁶

Insofar as social distribution, or circulation of the aggregate capital is concerned, Marx was equally emphatic as to which is the determining factor and which the subordinate. Let us follow Marx.

Volume I [of *Capital*] is subtitled: *The Process of Capitalist Production*; Volume II: *The Process of Capitalist Circulation*; and Volume III: *The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole*. It is clear that capitalism there is not the process of production and the process of circulation, as if each is an equally important movement of the development of capitalist society. Rather the summation of the analysis of capitalism is the process of capitalist production "taken as a whole." That is so because circulation or social distribution is but the other side of the same coin, production.

Marx tells us that Volume III deals with: "the movements of capitalist production as a whole . . . (which) approach step by step that form which they assume on the surface of society in their mutual interactions, in competition and in the ordinary consciousness of the human agencies in this process."⁷

Here Carter always remains. Here, then, we learn that commodities sell, not at value, but at price of production; that surplus value is not an abstraction, congealed unpaid labor, but that it has the concrete form of profit, rent and interest; that capital is not only a social relation of production, but has the bodily form of money-capital. Here we study the role of credit and even learn about gambling and swindling.

What is the grand result of learning all the facts of life? In order to get at the real cause of crisis Marx has to make an abstraction of "the bogus transactions and speculations which the credit system favors."⁸ In order to ascertain the cause which will doom capitalist production, we revert to the law which dominates over production, the law of value and hence of surplus value:

"In order to produce the same rate of profit when the constant capital set in motion by one laborer increases ten-fold, the surplus labor time would have to increase ten-fold, and soon the total labor time, and finally the full 24 hours a day would not suffice even if wholly appropriated by capital."⁹

Marx thus brings us back and "confines" us to the strict process of production and to that supreme commodity, labor power.

Compare this with Carter who never leaves the surface of society even when he thinks he is in the inner

abode of production:

"...in the immediate process of production of commodities, the capitalists may not be found physically present; in such cases they are represented by the managers, foremen, etc." (p. 14).

And this is supposed to teach Johnson that if the "capitalists are nowhere," they are represented by managers, foremen, etc.!

VALUE AND PROFITS

In Carter's thought-formations the appearance and the essence are always identical. His failure to understand the quotation on pages 1028-9 [p. 1022] of Volume III is a good example. Let us examine the structure of the chapter, "Conditions of Distribution and Production," in which this quotation appears. Marx shows, first, how the condition of distribution appears to "the ordinary mind."¹⁰ He then counterposes "the scientific analysis."¹¹ Marx completes the part regarding the condition of distribution with the conclusion that the condition of distribution "is merely the expression of this historically determined condition of production."¹²

Thereupon, without restating his method or treatment, he reverts to the appearance of the condition of production to the ordinary mind: "And now let us take profit . . . It is a relation which dominates reproduction."¹³ Marx analyzes this concept of the ordinary mind by saying that profit "appears here as the main factor, not of the distribution of production, but of their production itself."¹⁴ But, Marx continues, that is not true at all. To the scientific mind profit arises "primarily from the development of capital as a self-expanding value, creating surplus value."

Carter is blind to all this. He is certain that he has not used the quotation out of context. To "prove" his point, he quotes "supporting evidence" from Marx's analysis of the thing which worries Ricardo, "the fact that the rate of profit, the stimulating principle of capitalist production" is declining.

Once again Carter has picked the wrong quotation. A few lines further he could have read that this characterization of profit is from "a bourgeois point of view, within the confines of capitalist understanding."¹⁵

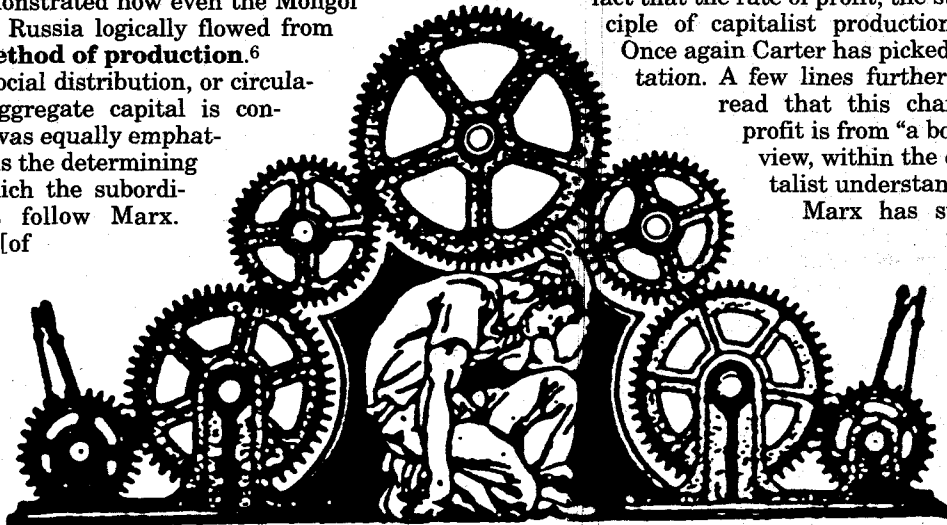
Marx has stated thus the theory of the law of the declining rate of profit: "The fall in the rate of profit therefore expresses the falling relation of surplus value itself to the total capital."¹⁶

Bourgeois economists do not understand this law. They are, however, struck with the expression of this law, the manner in which it asserts itself: the declining rate of profit. Marx considers it significant that a bourgeois economist is worried about this law because thereby Ricardo reveals that he "vaguely feels" that "something deeper" than the declining rate of profit is hidden in the decline itself. That something deeper is the fear that the bourgeois mode of production is not an absolute but a historically transitory mode of social production. Marx could not prove this to a bourgeois economist by lecturing to him on the historical development of labor. But because the same point was brought home to him "in a purely economic way, that is from a bourgeois point of view," he shows the first signs of understanding: confusion and worry.

Had Carter not used "the language of the capitalists,"¹⁷ he would have understood the quotation on page 1028 [p. 1022] and would have realized as well the scientific reason why Marx refused to analyze profits in Volume I where he analyzed "pure" capitalism, stripped of all its phenomenal and confusing forms:

"We shall show in Book III that the rate of profit is no mystery so soon as we know the laws of surplus value. If "we reverse the process we cannot comprehend either the one or the other."¹⁸

Com. Carter has reversed the process and hence has understood neither the one nor the other. He may, if he wishes, repeat that the scale of production is determined by what profit the capitalist thinks he may get (p. 15). However, I underlined for his benefit that Marx considers such language to be the "language of the capitalists." Carter's theorizing is a vulgarization of Marxism. Because we live in a bourgeois world and are bound by a thousand threads to bourgeois concepts, language which is "within the confines of capitalist understanding" is easy for the simple-minded to grasp. That is why pseudo-Marxism always "seems to make sense,"...



1. *Capital*, I, p. 128; p. 209.

2. *Archive of Marx-Engels*, p. 159 [*Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, "Alienated Labor," Russian edition].

3. *Capital*, I, p. 83, p. 165.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 41; p. 127.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 195; p. 280.

6. *Critique of Political Economy*, p. 288.

7. *Capital*, III, p. 38; p. 117.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 568; p. 615.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 468; p. 523.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 1022; 1017.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 1023; p. 1018.

12.-14. *Ibid.*, pp. 1028-9; p. 1022.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 304; p. 368.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 250; p. 320.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 303, my emphasis; p. 367.

18. *Capital*, I, p. 239, footnote; p.324.

Philosophic Dialogue Dialectics of revolution for the here and now

Editor's Note

As part of our effort to stimulate new discussion of dialectical philosophy, the last four issues of *News & Letters* presented a detailed commentary on Hegel's *Science of Logic* written in 1961 by Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism. These notes served as an anchor for a series of classes on "The Dialectic of Marx's *Capital* and Today's Global Crisis" held nationwide by News and Letters Committees, which have just concluded. To continue this discussion, we print below excerpts from presentations given in three of those classes and invite your response. We hope to present excerpts from other presentations in future issues.

From class 1: Marx's Re-creation of Hegel's Dialectic

In her majestic discussion of Marx's *Capital* in chapter 10 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, Raya Dunayevskaya wrote, "[Its] dialectic is totally new, totally internal, deeper than ever was the Hegelian dialectic which had dehumanized the self-development of humanity in the dialectic of consciousness, self-consciousness, and reason."

Before we rush to conclude that Marx therefore left Hegel behind with the completion of his greatest theoretical work, we should consider the next sentence, which says: "Marx could transcend the Hegelian dialectic not by denying that it was 'the source of all dialectic'; rather, it was precisely because he began with that source that he could make the leap to the live Subject" (p. 143).

Capital is Marx's full break with Hegel, since unlike the *Grundrisse* or *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* it fully integrates the human subject into his theoretic categories. Yet it isn't as if Marx caught the Subject and only afterwards was able to grasp the importance of Hegel. On the contrary, his deep rootedness in Hegel's dialectic enabled Marx "to make the leap to the live Subject."

TO HELP ELUCIDATE THIS, I'd like to note several ways in which Hegel's work directly impacted the writing of *Capital* (this list is by no means exhaustive!).

One is the concept of the unity of opposites. It is expressed in Hegel's notion that identity is the identity of identity and non-identity. This head-splitting notion underlies Marx's entire discussion of the dual nature of capitalist production. The commodity is the unity-in-difference of use-value/exchange-value; labor is the unity-in-difference of concrete labor/abstract labor; capital is the unity-in-difference of variable capital/constant capital, etc. These opposites do not lie side-by-side; they are mutually exclusive poles of the same relation. Without Hegel's *Logic*, it is impossible to fully grasp Marx's use of these categories.

Two is the notion of appearance as containing the necessity or show of essence. This is central to Hegel's *Logic*. Unlike Descartes, for whom appearance is peeled away to reveal the underlying essence, Hegel emphasizes the objectivity of appearance, i.e., **that essence too must appear**. This is central to Marx as well. He shows that value is abstract, has "absolutely no connection" with the physical properties of objects; and yet, value must show itself through a relation between these objects. It is impossible to fully unravel this relation of appearance and essence, which is central to chapter 1 of *Capital*, without Hegel's *Logic*.

Three is the notion of concrete existence as the mode of expression of the abstract universal. Marx was sharply critical of Hegel in his 1844 Manuscripts for treating the concrete as a mere vehicle for the abstract universal. Yet in *Capital* he utilizes this notion to express the nature of the value-form.

CONCRETE USE-VALUES, he shows, become mere modes of expression for the substance of value, abstract labor. Marx writes, "This inversion whereby the sensibly concrete counts only as appearance-form of the abstractly-universal, and it is not to the contrary that the abstractly-universal counts as property of the concrete—this inversion characterizes the value-expression. At the same time it renders difficult its comprehension."

Dunayevskaya made a point closely related to this in the first part of her "Rough Notes on Hegel's *Science of Logic*" [see *News & Letters*, Jan./Feb. 1999] in quoting Lenin's statement that "the general exists only in the singular and through the singular." This is what happens to the value-form of a product of labor under capitalism. The general, value, exists only through the singular, in the relation between particular use-values, just as these singular use-values "exist only in the connection that leads to the general" form of value.

Four, and most important, is the centrality of the notion, the realm of subjectivity and freedom, in delineating the logical categories. This is central to Hegel. The Doctrine of the Notion, the realm of subjectivity or freedom, is not simply the conclusion of his *Logic*; it is intimated in its very originating principle. As he put it in the *Phenomenology*, "Every beginning must be made with the Absolute, though it is Absolute only in its completion."

This is the approach Marx follows in *Capital*, by bringing in the realm of subjectivity or freedom—the notion of freely associated labor—right in chapter 1. This is no mere add-on or external addition. Envisioning the new

society is essential in order to see through the perverse nature of value production itself. In making the Doctrine of the Notion integral from its first chapter, *Capital* becomes no mere delineation of a logic of domination, but rather the expression of a philosophy of liberation.

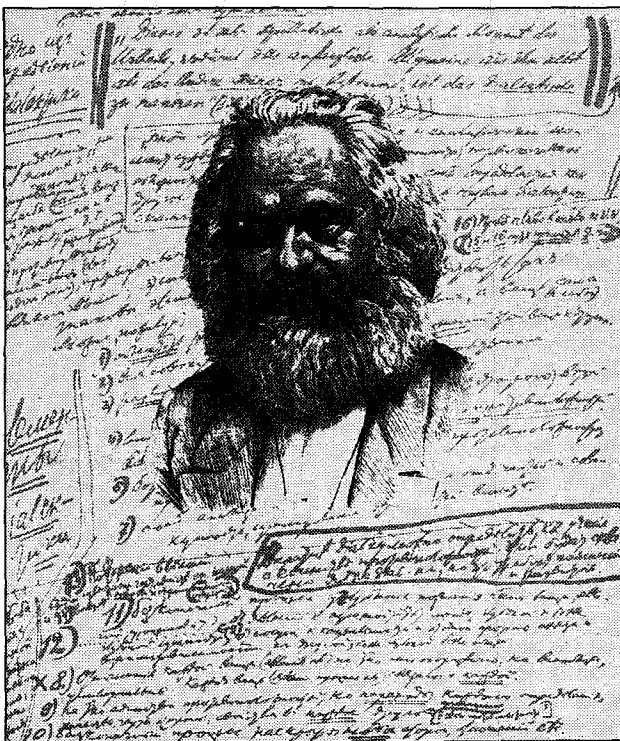
—Peter Hudis

From class 2: The Phenomenon of Capitalism: The Commodity-Form

In 1914, Lenin wrote that one could not understand *Capital* without studying the whole of Hegel's *Science of Logic*. Most post-Marx Marxists have at best looked at being and essence in *Capital*, but not at how the third book of Hegel's *Logic*, the subjective logic or the notion with its logic of freedom, relates to Marx.

Although the context was a letter trying to convince a youth to study the whole of Hegel, Engels probably started us down this road when he wrote: "If you compare development from commodity to capital in Marx with development from being to essence in Hegel you have a fairly good parallel" (letter of Nov. 1, 1891 to Conrad Schmidt).

AS POST-MARX MARXISM elaborated this, Marx in Vol. I of *Capital* supposedly discusses the surface level of the market in the first chapter, but then exposes it as false by pointing to the underlying production relations that are the true essence of capitalism, all developed in the rest



Karl Marx. Background: Sixteen points on the dialectic by V.I. Lenin from his philosophic notebooks.

of the book. However, this leaves out the subjective or notional side, the fact that the worker not only suffers, but also struggles to be free. This is the element that emerges forcefully already in chapter 1, in Marx's discussion of freely associated labor as the future in the present. Contra Engels, this is not only being and essence, but also notion.

In his preface to the most recent translation of Vol. I, the Trotskyist economist Ernest Mandel stumbles over this very point, reducing our goal to "capitalism's replacement by a classless society of associated producers" (p. 86). Raya Dunayevskaya catches him, writing that in refusing to write "freely associated" as had Marx, Mandel here "perverts the whole concept of freedom" (*Marx's 'Capital' and Today's Global Crisis*, p. 18). This is not unrelated to the fact that for Mandel, a collectivist totalitarian society like Stalinist Russia, with its associated but hardly free labor, was superior to private capitalism, while to a Marxist-Humanist such state-capitalism has no advantages over the other kind.

There's another reason not to rush to essence, however, which is that being or phenomenon, as Dunayevskaya warns us repeatedly in her notes on Hegel's *Science of Logic*, should not be dismissed. This is key because when human relations appear as relations between things, this is not a false appearance that hides the truth. Instead and more ominously, it is an appearance that reflects essence, for as Marx writes, that is what human relations under capitalism really are.

ONLY FREELY ASSOCIATED LABOR, he writes, can break that up and remove the veil and the oppression of the fetishism of commodities. Only then will human relationships be one of a free association while simultaneously becoming transparent and clear once again. The fetish imprisons even the theoretician who opposes capitalism, he implies.

Yet isn't Marx also implying here that he, a theoretician and not a worker, has penetrated the fetish, not by participating in an experiment in freely associated labor like a worker inside the Paris Commune, but through the power of abstraction, through his historical and dialectical analysis of capitalism?

And once Marx has published this in *Capital* cannot

others therefore gain those same insights by studying it, as we are doing? Through doing that, don't we begin to reach the point where, as Raya Dunayevskaya puts it, "thought molds experience" in a way that "determines" experience (*Philosophy and Revolution*, p. 13)? Doesn't this allow us to penetrate the fetish, since Marx's dialectical thought, once we embrace it, is now molding our experience in a new way? Won't that give direction to the activity not only of intellectuals and youth, but also of workers?

—Kevin Anderson

From class 3: The Essence of Capitalism: The Labor Process

It is only by descending into the production process that Marx is able to go beyond the reflection of the form of value as exchange value to the essence and form of value itself.

In the labor process, labor's twofold character presents itself first as a certain quality and the expenditure of a certain quantity of labor. By the expenditure of a certain quantity of labor, measured by the socially necessary labor time of the factory clock, a new amount of value is added to the products of labor; at the same time, by its qualitative property as a particular kind of labor, "the original values of the means of production are preserved in the product" (*Capital*, Vol. I, trans. Ben Fowkes, p. 309).

The powerful duality in this is that labor as **mediation** in the process of production between the objects of production and the products of production is also, or for that very reason, the key to establishing new social relations.

AS DUNAYEVSKAYA NOTED in a Feb. 25, 1949 letter to C.L.R. James on Hegel's category of law in the Doctrine of Essence: "law in the sense in which Marx uses 'absolute general law'... can only be abrogated by the mediation of the proletariat establishing different social relations" (*Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 1600).

It is essential to stress this dual aspect of labor, i.e., as what at once creates, transfers, and preserves value, and what, for that very reason, can abrogate the law of value and the general law of accumulation. Thus, it is not just that Marx split the category of labor, but that lodged within that duality is the revolutionary impulse to tear-up the value form by its roots. That is so whether the revolt is at the point of production, or is against the exploitative manifestations of the value form outside of production, as in the case of the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion.

Of Hegel's dialectic in the Doctrine of Essence, Raya says, "What a dialectician that Hegel was; nothing else can explain the sheer genius of that man's language which defines identity as 'unseparated difference and now as he enters Actuality and totality asserts that totality is found as **sundered completeness**'" (*RDC*, 1601). This speculative standpoint needed to hold contradictory determinations together as one is evident in the following formulation by Marx: "...the two properties of labor, by virtue of which it is enabled in one case to preserve value and in the other to create value, within the same indivisible process are different in their very essence" (*Capital*, p. 309).

PHILOSOPHICALLY SPEAKING, what is important is that while Hegel's concepts of identity and totality are found in the the Doctrine of Essence of his *Science of Logic*, his speculative grasp of them transfer's them to the Doctrine of the Notion. Likewise, we also see that insofar as Marx grasps the inseparability of value preserved and value added to the products of labor as directly proportional to each other, he has comprehended the unity of concrete and abstract labor, i.e., the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the labor process, and of the relation of subject to object that becomes perverted under the relentless regimen of the factory clock.

This, in embryo, is Marx's notion of surplus-value. When Marx's concept of surplus-value does appear full-blown in the production process, it is as the "Rate of Surplus Value" which is equally the "Degree of Exploitation of labor-power" (p. 320). In other words, surplus-value is from its first appearance in the production process a result achieved through the perversion of the labor process, that of the relationship of subject to object.

—Lou Turner

'the algebra of revolution'

Get the special supplement on dialectics—Raya Dunayevskaya's "Rough Notes of Hegel's *Science of Logic*"—with a subscription to

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KOSOVA IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

I appreciate your reporting of struggles around the world and putting events like the crisis in Kosova in a historical context, which is much needed to understand what's going on. Your emphasis on encouraging and reporting on movements that challenge capital rather than forming yet another "vanguard party" is refreshing. Perhaps there is a way out of the Left's endless sectarianism and cultism. I'd like a copy of your Constitution. **New reader Lancaster, PA**

* * *

The Lead in your April issue pointed out exactly that NATO's bombing of Serbia has only intensified Serbia's "ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo. Clinton and the other politicians of NATO are unbelievably stupid and unhuman.

**Narihiko Ito
Japan**

* * *

I xeroxed copies of your position paper on Kosova and sent it to several friends in Germany I've had discussions with who were so hell-bent on NATO that they missed the bigger picture.

**Gloria Joseph
Virgin Islands**

* * *

I appreciated Slavenka Drakulic's article in the May issue on who the real targets are in former Yugoslavia. At a number of anti-NATO demonstrations last month I ran into positions that ranged from concern with the suffering of the Kosovars to outright solidarity with Serbia. All are suffering from the collapse of the old bi-polar world. Their confusion is driven by the fear of a U.S.-led global market behemoth to such an extent that they can't see the Kosovars as subjects in revolt.

**John
California**

* * *

For ten years the U.S. didn't care about the Kosovars' fate. What made them change their minds now is what made NATO intervene in Bosnia—the threat that people struggling for a different future might win. That's what the State Department wants to prevent at any cost, whether to the Kosovars or Serbia.

**Urszula Wislanka
Oakland, CA**

* * *

There have been many demonstrations here against the war. Some Italian iron workers who are members of a self-organized trade union from the Alfa Romeo auto plant in Arese, near Milan, are taking money collected by Italian workers to the 38,000 Yugoslavian iron workers whose Zastava auto factory was destroyed by NATO.

**Alfio Massaro
Italy**

* * *

Now Regis Debray has become an apologist for Milosevic! Writing in the French press, he stated that he was able to travel freely to Kosova with his own translator, and decided it is not "as bad" as the media reports since you can still go to a coffee house and find Serbs and Albanians drinking coffee together in Pristina. Two replies were printed later. One said simply "Goodbye Regis Debray" and the other described him as a "bad reporter manipulated by Serbian lies."

**Observer
Prague**

* * *

There are a number of contradictions evident in three recent marches here concerning Kosova. An April 25 march in London consisted almost entirely of Kosovars and Albanians. There were placards saying "Thank you NATO" mixed with "Free Kosova" and "Victory for the KLA." A trade union rally on May Day was very different with lots of banners demanding "Stop the Bombing" and "No to NATO's war on Yugoslavia." Some Trotskyist and Stalinist groupscules had slogans like "Defend Serbia" and you heard such stupid remarks as that scenes of refugees streaming across the borders were faked by Western TV reporters! The May 5 rally was arranged as a Student Solidarity with Kosova meeting. The banner behind the platform called for "Independence for Kosova" and "No trust in NATO."

In the discussion one speaker proposed support for the Serbian opposition in its efforts to overthrow Milosevic, as an alternative to demanding independence for Kosova. He was answered by Isuf Berisha, a Kosovan writer recently arrived from Pristina, who pointed out that the main

tendencies in the Serbian opposition were as bad as Milosevic in regard to Kosova, and that many protesters had shouted at the riot police, "Go to Kosova!"

My own view is that I hope Milosevic will be overthrown within Serbia. But the Kosova Albanians are being killed, raped, burned out, and driven from their homeland at this very moment. They cannot wait for a Serbian revolution sometime in the future. They have an absolute right to defend themselves, and real internationalism surely requires us to support them.

**Richard Bunting
England**

* * *

The article in the May *N&L* entitled "Support the Kosovar Resistance," was so true. Kosova is being subjected to an overt campaign of ethnic genocide in front of the whole world while NATO conducts an ill-advised bombing campaign so they can force the Serbian dictator to secure the "peace." If the U.S. had not forced the KLA to discontinue its struggle at Rambouillet much of this tragedy thrust on the Kosovar people might have been avoided. The West is following the same counter-productive policies that allowed the Serbs to commit genocide in Bosnia earlier this decade.

Kelly

Louisiana

* * *

Signs at the anti-war demonstration here on May 22 demanded an end to both the NATO bombing and Milosevic's genocide. There were speakers from Pax Christi, News and Letters Committees, and the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center. Debate before the rally had settled some important questions. We would not associate this action with the national actions by the Workers World front group called "International Action Center" which offers apologetics for Serbian fascism. We would not reduce everything to the single point of being anti-NATO but strongly oppose the "ethnic cleansing" inflicted by Yugoslav forces against the Kosovars.

The main battle of ideas at the rally was between the Marxist-Humanist view that the liberation movement of the Kosovars should be supported and allowed to have arms, and the pacifist view that only a non-violent solution was acceptable. Marxist-Humanists warned that any deal between NATO and Yugoslavia would be a sellout that preserves the results of ethnic cleansing as the Dayton accords did in Bosnia and sets up the markers for future conflict.

**Participants
Memphis**



**POLICE
JUSTICE**

New Yorkers are stunned at developments in the trial of Justin Volpe and three other cops who participated in torturing Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant, in 1997. Volpe suddenly pleaded guilty May 25, in the middle of the trial, after four policemen testified against him. There was a complete reversal of the defendants' expectations when the trial began that they would be protected by the traditional "blue wall of silence." When Louima testified, the defense lawyers claimed his injuries from being sodomized with a stick were due to consensual homosexual sex. This provoked a backlash far beyond the gay community. Convictions against the cops who joined Volpe in the attack also seem certain. Volpe can be sentenced to as long as life in prison.

The feeling is that the "blue wall" crumbled in part because of the bad press the police department received this year over the murder of Amadou Diallo. The massive demonstrations we held for two and a half months have now stopped, although some anti-police brutality actions are continuing.

**Anne Jaclard
New York**

* * *

The Memphis police are getting a 4% raise from the City Council but are upset because they demand 6%. A lot of people in the Black community are outraged. Why should they get any raise at all for abusing us, falsely arresting, harassing and disrespecting people?

**Black minister
for justice
Memphis**

Readers' Views

COVERING UP NEO-FASCISM

The article on the Columbine High School massacre in the May issue was correct to point out the relationship between that murderous rampage on Hitler's birthday and the Oklahoma City bombing. When I saw the way the media depoliticized the actions of Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, I couldn't help comparing it to the Montreal Massacre of 1989 when a 25-year-old Marc Lepine walked into an engineering classroom at the University of Montreal, separated the women students from the men, screamed at them, "You're all a bunch of f--- feminists!" and killed them. Lepine murdered 14 women, and wounded nine others and four men before he finally killed himself. The Canadian press referred to him as a "troubled child," the clergy called the crime an "act of god," and everyone except Canadian feminists tried to cover up the misogynist nature of what he did. If you want to call Lepine, Harris and Klebold sick, you can't deny the neo-fascist direction that "sickness" takes.

**Terry Moon
Memphis**

MAY DAY 1999

I greatly appreciated the extensive analysis of Kosova in the May issue, as well as Lou Turner's treatment of Littleton. American racism has always depended on an assumption of apartheid—that poverty, drugs, violence, could be engendered and contained in the ghettos without affecting the white suburbs.

It was also timely that Terry Moon writes again of Marx's Marxism as more than economics. It was that aspect of Marx wherein Raya's work first seized my imagination: the idea that the relations of production do indeed influence and affect all human relationships, even the most apparently intimate. We see it everywhere today, in ordinary life, the contamination of the profit motive, and of purely economic competition.

**Adrienne Rich
California**

LABOR AND THE QUESTION TO BE ANSWERED

Dunayevskaya saw the question, "What kind of work should man do?" [See Lead article in May *N&L*] that emerged out of the meeting between herself and striking miners in an open exchange of ideas, as a philosophical one. In that historic meeting we can discern the dialectic of history that can give today's struggle its direction. It is akin to Marx embracing the workers' question "When does my day begin and when does it end?" as being greater than *The Rights of Man*, saving generations of workers and therefore of humanity. It was 50 years ago that the miners met up with Dunayevskaya's ideas and articulated a question that not only remains but demands to be answered.

**A.T.
Prague**

* * *

Readers who don't already know about the Campaign for Labor Rights may be interested to learn that our email service is used by 3,200 direct subscribers in more than 525 U.S. communities and 60 countries around the world. By means of this network, we have helped to mobilize local activists in many cities in support of campaigns for the rights of sweatshop workers. Some of the campaigns have already resulted in important victories.

**Trim Bissell
National Co-ordinator
clr@igc.org**

* * *

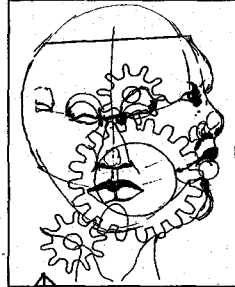
Readers might want to know how the Overnite fight with the Labor Relations Board turned out since it was reported in the March *N&L*. We were fighting to get rid of John Bowders, who refused to find any merit in our complaints ever, and actually called himself "Mr. Overnite" at a meeting we had with him. Through the aid of Congressman Harold Ford, Jr. and his staff we got him removed from handling Overnite cases. We've got more of an even playing field there now.

**Happy he's gone
Memphis**

TECHNOLOGICAL DEADEND

The May Black/Red column, "Technology no answer," was right on the mark in criticizing the view that racism and poverty can be resolved in the world of high-tech. The environmental movement has also long suffered from a temptation to look for a technological solution, one variant being to get rid of technology. But no technological approach gets at the problem of why human knowledge turns against human beings in destructive ways, especially workers, people of color and the poor. Only a human solution—that is, a social, revolutionary solution—can resolve that.

**Long-time environmentalist
Tennessee**



**HEGEL,
MARX
AND THE
DIALECTIC**

I have been discussing Raya Dunayevskaya's book on Luxemburg in a study group here but the others are not Hegel-minded. Their argument is that Dunayevskaya says Marx = Hegel. This is despite the fact that she says explicitly that Marx's dialectic in *Capital* is totally different from Hegel's dialectic. Their interpretation is more than a "bad reading" of Dunayevskaya. It is a prejudice. Here is their reasoning: Hegel is a bourgeois philosopher, a reactionary Prussian state-philosopher, so you cannot, as a Marxist, use Hegel. They forget what Marx was doing with Hegel, whose dialectic he never denied was the source of all dialectic.

**Worker
The Netherlands**

* * *

The articles you have been printing of Raya Dunayevskaya's commentary on Hegel have been very much appreciated. I don't understand the logic of the anti-Serbian belligerency in *N&L* editorials but here is my sub renewal for another year.

**Reader
New York**

* * *

There has been a lot of discussion of dialectics among politically-conscious prisoners, especially ever since George Jackson made that an important part of his work. But the four-part series of Notes you carried on Hegel's *Logic* was on a different level. That's real dialectics. We need more time to study and discuss it.

**Prisoner
Indiana**

* * *

Algebra der Revolution [the German edition of *Philosophy and Revolution*—ed.] is a very good introduction to dialectic and the main Ideas of Hegel. Here in Germany, Hegel is a so-called "Toter Hund" (a dead dog). That means that there are not many people who read his original texts. Most of the students of philosophy find his sentences too long.

**Reader
Germany**

BRITISH WELFARE RIGHTS

Inspired by the U.S., the British government of Tony Blair is planning a major reform of the system of welfare benefits. It amounts to a counter-revolution against the benefits of a system won by the labor movement in Britain. While union leaders are working in "partnership" with the government, the rank and file activists of our local want to appeal to trade unionists and others campaigning in defense of welfare rights in the U.S. for assistance in building a fight back against these appalling plans. Can you ask them to send us information on the effects of the new systems in your country?

**Chris Ford
Public and Commercial
Services Union,
Bromyard Ave., Acton Vale,
London W3 7HY**



Felix Martin, 1974

REMEMBERING AN EXTRAORDINARY AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY

I was deeply saddened to read of Felix Martin's death. I always read his columns with appreciation and trusted his voice. You sense the loss from the tributes to him: "a whole man, true to his class, true to his youth, true to his comrades and true to the next generation."

Adrienne Rich
California

Like Felix, I was also a radical in the military, which ended with a trip to the USDB in Leavenworth in 1974. The case was so lame I was reinstated back to active duty but was escorted off post by the MPs when I received my honorable discharge because my company CO feared I would retaliate against him for his racist attitudes towards Blacks in the unit. I wish I could have met Felix.

Prisoner
USA

I spent a whole day when I was in California talking with Felix Martin about his job in the auto plant and how similar it was to mine in the catfish plants. He expressed himself powerfully whether he was talking about Raya Dunayevskaya's ideas or just about the workplace.

Sarah Hamer
Mississippi

Felix Martin was the most enthusiastic supporter of the Memphis/Mississippi local, above all others in News and Letters Committees. We always wondered if he knew how much his support and advice and the power that other workers saw in him helped us.

N&L Committee members
Memphis

For a world change to take place, a change is needed in American labor. People like Felix Martin worked hard to make this happen. The ability to cross the divide of race, nationality and gender as he did is needed today more than ever.

Pat Duffy
England

The whole Marxist-Humanist concept of labor, which was apparent throughout the entire May issue, seemed to be projected very differently because of the many ways Felix Martin was present in the issue.

Mary Jo Grey
Chicago

Felix Martin was a major influence on my life. At the first national gathering of News and Letters Committees I attended in 1985 I was concerned about having my mind taken over by an organization, or being in an organization where everyone thinks the same. During a break in the proceedings, while we were talking, he told me that he was the same way, and wouldn't stand for anyone telling him what to think. His matter-of-fact manner made me recognize a kindred spirit. I knew I didn't have to worry about being "indoctrinated." I will miss him terribly.

A. Anielewicz
New York

The week we learned of Felix Martin's passing was the week we were holding our third class here on "Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis." It's the class that took up the "new passions and forces" Marx described that would arise to transform this dehumanized society. In any discussion of where those forces can be seen today, Felix Martin stands tall—first, as an instinctive revolutionary striving to preserve his humanity in his daily battles on the factory production line, and later as a highly conscious revolutionary whose actions and thought were given direction by the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. The legacy he represents for us is not one of things past, but of the needs of the present and the pull and promise of the future.

N&L Committee members
Detroit

Felix Martin's commitment to environmentalism came from both a love of nature and his experiences in the factories and coal mines, where he saw nature and human beings destroyed for capitalist profits. When he worked at the GM South Gate factory, he wrote of how "air pollution comes from grinding, from the smoke of

welding and soldering operations . . . you can look down through the plant and see all the filth in the air." That column he wrote in December 1973 was one of his favorites. He showed how speed-up compels you to breathe in more particulate matter and how the whole process is enforced by the foreman, who represents the inhuman relations at the point of production that "makes you so mad it makes you breathe more."

The fact that he could articulate this evil in the context of a philosophy of revolution made his writing a clarion call to uproot this entire rotten system.

Jennifer Pen
California

The loss of a brother, comrade and friend is always difficult but it is especially so in this critical time when we need him the most. The struggle continues.

Two comrades from
The Gambia

As a worker who was willing to grapple with the grandest philosophic concepts and relate them to his own experiences, Felix Martin provided us with an example of how the separation between worker and intellectual can be bridged. His colorful personality will be sadly missed.

Four comrades from
Britain

The loss of Felix Martin is a terrible blow to the revolutionary movement at this moment because the movement (meaning both workers and intellectuals who are opposed to capitalism) is in such disarray. So many former radicals have given up on the possibility of total social transformation and have settled for reform. They are giving up the idea that it is possible to overcome the separation between the practice of revolt and a philosophy of liberation. Felix Martin personified the overcoming of that gulf.

Like Charles Denby, he transformed himself, through the praxis of Marxist-Humanism, into a "new man" who united the "worker's way of knowing" with the study of philosophy and the practice of theory. He did this hard labor, not for his own edification, but because he saw the organizational consequences of making Marxist-Humanist philosophy the core of your life. I believe his way is the road to revolution, and the only road. How poor we are without him.

Anne Jaclard
New York



VOICES FROM THE GULAG

The scary thing about privatization of prisons is its lack of accountability. All you have to do is incorporate as a private prison, buy an old building, put bars in it, hire some "guards," quote a competitive price for housing prisoners, create an interesting prospectus, and you can become a member of the 51st state, the prison-industrial complex.

African American writing
from the Gulag
Tennessee

The abuses against prisoners are well-defined. The question is why those abuses are allowed to continue in a country which chastises other nations for their civil rights records. I do not look for pity, which lessens a person. I believe that if my peers and yours both act from the perspective of passion rather than pity, we can change this system for all times.

Prison writer
South USA

I share both my copy of *Voices* and each issue of *N&L* to foment discussion and inspire free-thinking in my fellow inmates. Many have been conditioned not to think. They are not stupid but made to think they are. Our brains need to be awakened. Your paper is informative, open, and honest—a pleasing change from the main-stream media purveyed as "news" to the near-comatose public.

Prisoner
Connecticut

READERS CAN YOU CONTRIBUTE

to our special fund to send copies of our pamphlet, *Voices from Within the Prison Walls*, as well as subscriptions to prisoners who request them but cannot pay for them? See our Appeal, page one.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

BOOKS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

- Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 until Today**
1988 edition. New author's introduction\$17.50
- Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**
1989 edition. New author's introduction\$14.95
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**
1991 edition. New author's introduction. Foreword by Adrienne Rich\$12.95
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** (1996 edition)\$15.95
- The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: Selected Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya**\$8.50
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya**
Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes."\$3 paperback, \$10 hardcover

By CHARLES DENBY

- Indignant Heart. A Black Worker's Journal**
1989 edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya\$14.95

By KEVIN ANDERSON

- Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study**
First full-length treatment of Lenin's studies of Hegel. \$15.95

PAMPHLETS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard**
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa" by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby\$2

- NEW! Voices from within the Prison Walls**
by D. A. Sheldon. Prisoners' views of (in)justice system and organizing from within\$8
For pamphlet plus donor copy for a prisoner\$16
- Harry McShane and the Scottish Roots of Marxist-Humanism** by Peter Hudis\$3
- Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western 'Civilization'** (Expanded edition)\$5
- Marx Capital and Today's Global Crisis**
Includes critiques of Ernest Mandel and Tony Cliff\$2
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism In the U.S.**
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya\$2
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism In the U.S.: A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments**
by Raya Dunayevskaya\$1.50
- Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II**
by Raya Dunayevskaya\$2
- Theory and Practice, by Rosa Luxemburg**
First English translation\$2
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions**
by Raya Dunayevskaya\$1.25
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought**
by Lou Turner and John Alan\$3
- Working Women for Freedom**
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan, and Mary Holmes\$2
- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya**\$2
- News and Letters Committees Constitution**
.....33¢ postage

- Marxist-Humanist Literature Catalog**
A full list of publications (includes many not listed here) available from News and Letters Committees....\$5¢ postage

ARCHIVES

- Guides to Collection and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of Its World Development**
Full description of 15,000-page microfilm collection...\$4.50
- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection-Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of Its World Development**
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Families protest criminal injustice system

Chicago—Two annual demonstrations against police brutality and the criminal injustice system have become magnets for family members of many, many young men and women harassed and beaten by police. One speaker at a demonstration held on May 19, Malcolm X's birthday, characterized the situation in Chicago as a "Black Kosovo." Underlying the conditions of ethnic cleansing Chicago-style were the stories of those family members.

One mother's son had been beaten on the arms and between the legs by police two weeks earlier. It was her schizophrenic son's habit of filling his pockets with trash that the officers considered the profile of a suspect. Another teenager's mother and sister came because police had beaten him after getting a description of a robbery suspect that could fit any of thousands of white youth. Police refused his mother's attempt to give him medicine for an epileptic condition.

And still another young man reported that he had stepped off a city bus and into the handcuffs of police who claimed he fit the profile of a robbery suspect—medium build and Black. When his wife intervened, police set upon her.

The stories of better known police abuse cases were told by speakers during the rally in Daley Plaza after a march. Perhaps symbolic is the case of Aaron Patterson, who like nine others on death row was tortured by police commander Jon Burge into confessing a capital crime he did not commit.

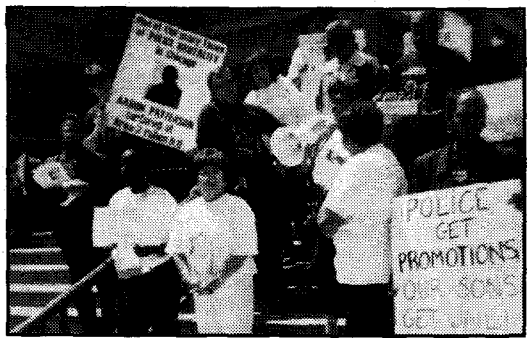
A Mother's Day rally and march at Cook County courthouse on May 9 likewise exposed cases of police brutality. It was organized by Susan Ester, founder of Mothers Against Injustice/Justice is Blind. Her son, Andre, was railroaded into prison for murder in a case built on false evidence and abetted by a biased public defender. Mothers, wives and friends told breathtaking stories of police seizures and abuse of loved ones, sometimes delivered with tears, often presented in the oratory of modern day Abolitionism.

DeVelmon Hannah's mother, Demel, declared that her son was coerced by police into signing a confession, and the defense attorney refused to put her on the stand to testify to her son's innocence. "They are building more

and more prisons and jails," she concluded. "Who are they going to fill them with? Your sons, your husbands, your daughters."

Susan Ester advised the mothers, "When you go into these courtrooms, don't be afraid. I'm tired of seeing state's attorneys lie, producing coerced statements. If you have to go to jail for contempt for speaking out, then go." It's time to name the names of the police responsible for ruining the lives of so many, Ester declared.

That may happen if the goal of the May 19 rally is achieved—a federal investigation of police abuse in Chicago. While the focus of the speakers held to such a goal, no one listening believed it would happen without the voices and ideas of the victims and their families making it so. —Jim Mills



Mother's Day rally in Chicago.

tion of police abuse in Chicago. While the focus of the speakers held to such a goal, no one listening believed it would happen without the voices and ideas of the victims and their families making it so. —Jim Mills

Organizing in/outside prison

Los Angeles—About 500 people came to Cal State-L.A. on May 15 for the Criminal Justice Consortium's conference, "Seeking Justice for the Imprisoned '99." The focus of the conference of families, advocates and activists, many from the movements of the '60s and '70s, was "Build Communities, Not Prisons. Educate, Don't Incarcerate." In the many workshops we talked about the history of the California prison movement, health issues for women prisoners, children of parents in prison, criminalization of youth, prisoners helping prisoners, the three strikes law, the war on drugs, prison privatization and many, many other topics.

At the Youth Organizing workshop we heard from high school students in South Central Youth Empowerment Action (SCYEA). They started seven years ago and found that youth were interested in working against propositions 184, 187 and 209. When L.A. passed a \$2.4 billion bond to improve the schools, SCYEA questioned why so little money went to schools that need the most help. Their activity resulted in the board increasing the money for South Central schools from \$300,000 for installing bars on the windows, to \$153 million for fixing broken toilets and leaky roofs as first priorities.

The most popular workshop was a three-hour session on "Organizing/In/Outside." The panelists included Luis Talamantez, Geronimo ji jaga Pratt, Ida Robinson, Jitu Sadaki and Gene Ford. The organizers intended this panel to come up with concrete proposals for action. They first suggested that participants break up into racial groups to strategize how to work in "their own" communities. When many objected, they wanted to divide into organizing inside and organizing outside. The body wanted all to participate in all questions, and thus we heard a short presentation from each speaker and had a long discussion.

The former prisoners spoke on the importance of letting people inside know that this is happening to help overcome the isolation experienced in prison. Many wanted prisoners to have input on the direction our actions would take. Gene Ford, speaking about *Voices from within the Prison Walls*, stressed that the ideas developed inside and outside are important. He spoke of the way George Jackson's *Blood in My Eye* opened his mind in the '70s and how this opening led him to become a revolutionary. A young Black man from L.A. working on the gang truce followed up by asking how did the movements of the '60s and '70s deal with the shortcomings of their own members. He wanted to know how to deal with problems within the movement today.

Many ideas for actions were generated during this lively discussion. We came away with a suggestion made by a young woman prison activist to stop the construction of a new maximum security prison in Delano. We started planning demonstrations, civil disobedience and other actions. Geronimo ji jaga Pratt showed both his total hatred of the prison system and his commitment to the movement by calling on us to stop this prison by any means necessary. —Urszula Wislanka

London bomb attacks

Oxford, England—Recent, troubled weeks have seen a series of murderous, neo-Nazi bomb attacks in London, coinciding in time with the Columbine High School massacre in Colorado, as well as the agony of Kosovo. Although not directly linked, and vastly different in scale, all are manifestations of the politics of ethnic hatred and violent domination, "Hitler's visage" still haunting today's world.

Three "crude but effective" nail bombs blasted Brixton market, Brick Lane and the Admiral Duncan pub in Soho, places strongly associated with the Black community, the Bangladeshi community and the London gay scene. Three people died and over a hundred were injured.

A group called the White Wolves claimed responsibility. The police have arrested a suspect, a 22-year-old man named David Copeland. Whether that will put a stop to this campaign of terror remains to be seen. The bombings were clearly meant as a declaration of war against the idea, and gradual emergence in practice, of a society that is multiethnic and multicultural and accepts the validity of different sexualities. —Richard Bunting

Editorial

Cracks in the blue wall

New York City police officer Justin Volpe's guilty plea, in the torture case of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima, can be seen as one victory for the mass movement against police abuse that has been filling that city's streets. The "blue wall" of police silence wasn't breached by conscience, but by mass pressure and struggle.

What festers within that silence is the racism of the New York police, but it isn't their own invention; rather, it is the unspoken totalitarianism which was carried between the lines of the very Declaration of Independence and U.S. Constitution. The original crime and the original silence was the acceptance of slavery as a part of American civilization and the marking out of Black people as less than human. American history is measured and defined by the struggle for freedom as against this dehumanization and by the new language of freedom created, for example, by the Abolitionists.

NEW EMERGING STRUGGLES

Today, all across the country, this kind of struggle is arising once again, building upon the legacy of the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion and gathering momentum:

- New York City has seen the most sustained series of mass demonstrations in years over the vicious police murder of African immigrant Amadou Diallo, culminating for now in the march of 10,000 people on April 15.

- Across the continent, in Riverside, Cal., there is a movement for justice in the brutal police murder of Tyisha Miller, a 19-year-old Black woman shot 23 times. Her family had dialed 911 for emergency help after she had been stranded and fallen asleep in her car, telling authorities that she had a gun for protection. Both police and paramedics arrived, but as soon as Miller awoke and moved, the police killed her. Thousands demonstrated outside the Riverside police station on May 11.

- There are many less publicized cases around the country as well, for instance, in Detroit where hundreds have protested the murder of Kalvin Porter, a Black man who was beaten to death in front of his four children by two Arab gas station clerks.

- Again, in Chicago, there have been demonstrations of hundreds of Black youths and other residents of Cabrini-Green housing project in response to the police murder of Brennan King, a young man involved in protesting police abuse in that community. Friends said that he had been threatened and targeted by police.

- In Millington, Tenn., a working-class suburb of Memphis, the police officer who murdered 17-year-old Rodie Gossett was convicted only of negligent homicide and released with no time served. While there have been no street protests, it is clearly on the Black community's mind. In truth, all these incidents can be viewed as just extreme consequences of the kind of "racial profiling" typically practiced by police departments.

COMBATING ETHNIC CLEANSING

The nationwide fightback against racist brutality is a most significant development and shouldn't be seen in isolation. It has a vital connection to the movement to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and the tens of thousands who demonstrated in his support April 24 in Philadelphia and San Francisco.

Further, the preponderance of incidents of police abuse points to the visible, tangible, institutionalized heart of this racist capitalist culture today—the prison-industrial complex. It is the whirlpool that threatens beneath the everyday attacks on welfare benefits, public housing, affirmative action and other social policies presented as benefiting or creating a "criminal underclass." It is the silence between the lines of the booming stock market reports.

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's stated desire to "clean up the streets" by targeting Blacks and Latinos shows, beyond the unhappy coincidence of language, the profound similarity between historic American racism and the "ethnic cleansing" practiced today by Milosevic's Serbia. The murders of James Byrd and Matthew Shepard, as well as the Columbine High School shootings, show the kind of violence that oozes naturally from the pores of an American society that is corrupted to its very heart by this racism.

In order to grasp its great potential for transforming this society, today's movement needs to see itself in the broadest and deepest historic and philosophic context. This only becomes more urgent in a world which has seen outright genocide perpetrated in this decade in Bosnia and Rwanda, as well as the current attempt to "ethnically cleanse" Kosovo.

The problem remains the need to articulate a new, revolutionary humanism that can allow today's many struggles to speak to each other and bring out their inherent universalism, the way Raya Dunayevskaya did in *Marxism and Freedom*, in which her rediscovery of Marx's humanism allowed her to both trace the American roots of Marxism in the Abolitionist movement, and draw out the affinity between the Civil Rights Movement and the Hungarian Revolution.

Dunayevskaya pointed to this need in *American Civilization On Trial*: "The elements of the new society, submerged the world over by the might of capital, are emerging in all sorts of unexpected and unrelated places. What is missing is the unity of these movements from practice with the movement from theory into an overall philosophy that can form the foundation of a totally new social order." We invite everyone to help in working out this unity.

Black World

(Continued from page 1)

were responsible, and that Blacks armed for self-defense were the cause of the riot. Black memory recalls a very different history. It is one of Black Tulsa's prosperous business district along Greenwood Ave. being the object of white envy before the riot and the object of an attempted land grab by the white elite in the aftermath of the riot. It is a memory of Black Tulsa being aerial bombed World War I fashion, and a memory of eyewitness accounts of dead bodies "stacked like cordwood" against a fence, or laden in wagons being driven out of town.

Now, some 78 years later, America is forced to return to the scene of the crime. The question is whether "all the usual suspects," politicians and civic leaders, historians and Chamber of Commerce boosters, Tulsa's white citizenry and its newspapers, will try to bury the past with threadbare rationales for America's ethnic cleansings.

A popular one, Ellsworth critically recounts in his book, is that white Tulsa, embarrassed by what happened in 1921 immediately and voluntarily provided aid to Black Tulsans and rebuilt their community. In fact, except for the work of the Red Cross, white Tulsa's leaders tried to prevent the rebuilding of the prosperous community of Black Tulsa because their plans for the devastated land was to turn it over to powerful railroad interests. Moreover, Ellsworth writes, "while the officials of the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce were telling the nation's press that reparation and restitution would be made, they charted a directly opposite course, even to the point of refusing offers of aid for people whom they hardly represented."

Of course, confronting Tulsa's and America's racist past is not reducible to excavating mass graves, as important as that is, but means facing the past embedded in the present conditions and consciousness of African-American communities today. The eminent Black historian John Hope Franklin grew up in Tulsa and his father was one of the lawyers that successfully defended Black Tulsa against the white elite's economic cleansing of the Black community. Franklin told Ellsworth that "There are two ways whites destroy a black community. One is by building a freeway through it, the other is by changing the zoning laws." By 1978, a freeway had cut through Greenwood Ave., doing what the 1921 ethnic cleansing and the attempted economic cleansing by the white elite couldn't.

Lost was more than property and a community. We stand to lose the memory of Black resistance, which even included the radical African Blood Brotherhood, and the memory of Black self-determination which rebuilt from the ashes a community that had endured one of America's most genocidal ethnic cleansings. By the end of the 1970s, Black Tulsa had undergone the economic dislocations that almost every Black urban community had. That too is a legacy of America's ethnic cleansings. The challenge—the most difficult African-American communities have ever faced—is: Will we find the revolutionary means to fight it?

A voice of the Kosova resistance

*Editor's note: The following interview with Pleurat Sejdiu, diplomatic representative of the Kosova Liberation Army (KLA) and member of the Kosovan interim government, took place on April 29 in London by Christopher Ford and David Black of **Hobgoblin**, the English Marxist-Humanist journal. Sejdiu is a medical doctor who joined the movement in 1985. He says he was inspired in his youth by Che Guevara, another physician-turned-guerrilla.*

By the late 1990s the ethnic Albanian majority, living under a system of creeping apartheid and the threat of genocide, rejected the compromise program of Ibrahim Rugova, which was totally reliant on Western support but could not win any compromises from Serb nationalists. The challenge to Rugova's party was cemented in 1996 by Adem Demaqi and his Kosova Parliamentary Party. Demaqi argued that rather than try and compromise with those committed to a "Greater Serbia," the movement should direct its dialogue to Serbs in Kosova who opposed ethnic nationalism. This strategy also envisioned a full military struggle for a multiethnic Republic of Kosova which, on gaining self-determination, could enter into a new and equal federation with Serbia and Montenegro, called "Balkanija." By mid-1998, Demaqi's party had become the most influential force in the leadership of the KLA and Peoples Movement for Kosova (LPK).

The KLA was formed in 1993 at the third meeting of the general council of the LPK. The KLA formed as the military wing of the LPK, but in a very short time a decision was made that the KLA must be built up on its own so it could be independent. That was because most of the political parties who had been in so-called power during 1990-93 were pacifists such as the Rugova party, who had stolen the ideas and methods that had been in the program of the LPK.

In our program we say we will use all means for the liberation of Kosova, whether democratic or military. But with democratic means proving nothing and being useless, we thought that by becoming an independent military organization we would attract other political parties. But that didn't happen.

With the creation of the KLA, the LDK, especially Rugova, started accusing the KLA of being linked to the Serbian state security. Rugova was saying that Serbia had an interest in destabilizing us all. That was pure demagoguery. So we have had actually to fight on two fronts. As well as the military campaign, we had to fight politically against the LDK as the main force opposed to any methods other than peaceful means, while all the time they only sat in their offices, having meetings and press conferences. They have even been against the students, organizations having mass demonstrations.

But oppression in Kosova went on all the time, growing day by day and the ranks of KLA began to grow from those with the idea that the only way to get our independence was by armed struggle.

The big rise of the KLA was in 1997. In early 1998 the first frontal confrontation with Serb forces happened in Drenica. During 1993-98 most Albanians thought it was Serbs killing their own to destabilize Kosova. But in February and March 1998 for the first time the KLA came without masks and people saw they were their own sons and brothers.

After this confrontation, the people started thinking that there was a plus in having a military wing. After this first attack, the Serbs decided to destroy the compound of one of our leaders, killing 47. The whole family was killed, including the smallest one who was three months old. They thought that would destroy the KLA, but that didn't happen. That big massacre actually boosted the ranks of the KLA from a couple of hundred guerrillas into thousands and thousands of fighters.

Now we came to the position of having a real structure. Until now we have had a political directorate which was the leading force of the KLA command force, but now we have come to the stage where the KLA has been given a right by people from all political parties to form a government which will bring them free elections.

Rallies support Kosova

New York—Kosovar and Albanian-Americans held vigils for the victims of ethnic cleansing May 7 and 16. At the May 7 vigil, called by the Albanian-American Women's Organization "Motrat Qiriazhi," women and girls struggled to keep their candles lit in pouring rain, as they expressed their fears for their relatives in Kosova.

On May 16, mostly young men demonstrated, joined by supporters from Jews Against Genocide and News and Letters Committees. We discussed not only the histories of the demonstrators and their relatives, but also their views on the war and the possibility of gaining independence and a just society.

One man's sister recently returned to Kosova at age 16 to fight. He said, "The KLA started a few years ago by defending people against slaughter. I saw people getting killed and the KLA protected them. We were called terrorists for defending ourselves from massacre."

Some people thought that arming the KLA would enable it to win Kosova's independence. Others thought it is too late now for the KLA to succeed. Even those who supported U.S./NATO intervention were friendly to us in spite of our opposition, because we showed we are for their freedom and self-determination. The Kosovars and Marxist-Humanists at the demonstrations appreciated each others' humanism and class consciousness.

—N.Y. News and Letters participants

Under the Serbian regime any suspicion of being in the KLA, even the LPK, meant you got five years at least in prison. This strictly underground war caused many dilemmas and gave a lot of space to Rugova to play the game of state power.

The first to accuse the KLA of being a terrorist organization were Serbs. Even the Americans had never gone so far as to put the KLA on the terrorist list. The first diplomat who openly said the KLA was a terrorist organization was Gelband from the U.S. But then he was the first one who denied it, because he was the first one to meet people from the directorate of the KLA. When the first question of the journalists was "why the change of mind?" he said yes, he was the one who said they were terrorist/Marxist-Leninists, but added that all this information had come from the Kosovan political parties he had spoken to—Rugova again!

After the Western diplomats met us—and a lot of us are intellectuals who have been living abroad and we know well the difference between what is an act of terrorism and what is the fight for freedom—they started contacting us more often, coming to our compounds, garrisons and barracks and so on.

During this period there's been a lot of accusations—they have been first of all launched from the Serb side—that we are an Islamic terrorist group. Well, we are born Muslim, but of course we have nothing to do with any such thing. And now the latest one is that we are running a network of drug dealers! But it's clear the KLA is a freedom movement and that nothing can stop us.

Most illegal groups in post-war Yugoslavia have been basically nationalist groups, but to have the support of the Albanian state they had to have as an ideology Marxism, because Albania was a Marxist regime. But when Communism collapsed, the LDK changed as well, so now we are without ideology.

We are not ashamed of our past, because we have been part of the leftist movements. But what everyone must have in mind is that Albania suffered most from so-called Communism. We have leftists in our movement who really believe in various ideas of Marx, and we also have the extreme Right, but our ideology is that the time of democracy will come, and everyone will have the right to think for themselves.

NATO—SAVIOR OR ALBATROSS?

The first draft which was presented to us at Rambouillet was acceptable as an interim agreement, but what happened in the last three days was by all means a coup d'etat against the Kosova Albanians. For ten days our delegation fought very hard on that draft. But after the American negotiator went to Belgrade we found ourselves with a new draft which was less than what Milosevic was ready to give us in 1989. So that was the point at which we refused and only after the intervention of the Americans through Albright and James Rubin did we come back to the previous accord.

Some people in the West thought the KLA would split but they were wrong. We didn't want Thaci, the head of the KLA delegation, to become a new Gerry Adams if there was going to be a split and a new "IRA," to draw a comparison. I was the first to point this out on CNN at Rambouillet.

At Rambouillet, Demaqi resigned from the KLA delegation because he did not trust NATO. Demaqi wanted a statement on the right to a referendum to be held on independence. But it was not a split in the KLA between the political and military sections. We consulted every field commander—even if their opinion was unfavorable to us—and then signed an interim agreement.

The proposal at Rambouillet that the KLA disband was a hot point for us. It was stated that there would be a process of transformation for the KLA, but that the KLA would not disappear.

Milosevic is unpredictable but he is not clever. He thought he could save his nation from destruction but he didn't. Now we have the so-called opposition of Draskovic, but he is a clown. They know Kosova is lost. The Serbian people know it, but they won't admit it—as was the case in Germany during World War II. Even when the Serb opposition said they had different ideas, it was not on Kosova.

The ethnic cleansing is no surprise. We thought NATO would utilize the KLA by arming them and assisting their position. The KLA has changed a lot from last year. We've had so many volunteers we couldn't handle it. We've changed from the guerrilla structure and we now have lot of former officers, many from Bosnia or formerly of the Yugoslav army.

Because we face an offensive against the civilian population, we have to fight on two fronts, one in fighting the Serbs and two in saving the civilians. After the big offensive on the 31st of March, we entered a new phase. We have survived the Serb attacks. The KLA General Command ordered a general mobilization of our people in Albania, Kosova and abroad. Since then, we have 20,000 training in northern Albania and moving into Kosova, and another 20,000 young men and women have gone to

KLA-held territory rather than stay in areas where they will be executed. The liberated areas—we control about a third of the country—are being stabilized, we have started gaining ground in the border areas and we intend to establish a corridor from the Albanian border to Drenica.

ARM THE KLA!

We are ready to fight. We have no need for British and Americans to die. In Croatia the Serbs had tanks and artillery, yet when faced with an armed force as strong as them, Krajina fell in 24 hours. Serb morale is low; they avoid real fighting.

The West doesn't arm the KLA because they say that the arms embargo applies to all of the regions of old Yugoslavia, although that hasn't stopped the Russians from supplying arms to Belgrade! The Western powers are fearful about the situation in Macedonia, but Macedonia doesn't have a real army. If the KLA is armed it will be the strongest in the Balkans. Even with an interim agreement moving towards self-determination within five years, the struggle will be protracted.

A map of a proposed partition has been published

which would leave Pristina and the Trepca mines in Serbian hands. This is Milosevic's plan. In case of not having all of Kosova, they would take this. But we have a very strong force in the north of Kosova. It is the area I am from, so they joke about us—we are like Braveheart!

To partition, we say No! The KLA will be united. There can be no partition. Albanians have lost enough land since our nation existed.

In history I have been inspired by Michael

Collins and Che Guevara. I'm studying the Irish movement and we didn't want to sign anything that would split us as in 1921 in Ireland. We don't want the death of another Michael Collins. And look what happened to the PLO with bombings and terrorism.

In Yugoslavia real socialism didn't exist. Tito did not solve the national question and in many ways he made things worse. We are a poor country, and socialism would be the best way for us, but it will be up to the people to decide after freedom is won.

The French Left and Kosova

Because of the size and variety of its political parties, unions, and intellectual currents, the response in France to the bombing of Serbia offers a good window through which to view the contradictions of the Left. From the first days of the NATO bombing, Communists, Trotskyists, and Greens demonstrated against the war, but allowed Serb chauvinists also to attend their rallies, even though some of the Trotskyist slogans also condemned "ethnic cleansing."

A not too different position emerged in statements by the noted sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and the famous historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet, as well as the sociologists Pierre and Ariane Lantz, the economist Suzanne de Brunhoff, the Balkans analyst Catherine Samary, and the Trotskyist theoretician Daniel Bensaid. They called for "defense of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination" and also pointed out, correctly, that it was "a total illusion" to think that NATO bombs were aimed at independence for Kosova (*Le Monde*, March 31, 1999). However, while they condemned in general terms "Serb ultranationalism," they failed specifically to support self-determination for Kosova.

The strongest anti-Milosevic position was articulated by two leaders of the Sarajevo Committee, Faik Dizdarevic, a former Yugoslav diplomat, and Francis Jeanson, who in the 1960s distinguished himself as one of the most courageous French supporters of Algerian national liberation.

In an article entitled "What Are the Lessons of Bosnia and Rwanda?" Dizdarevic and Jeanson noted that most of those "who condemn the air strikes were little moved by the successive wars by Milosevic and his regime that have caused untold destruction" (*Le Monde*, April 4, 1999). With regard to the charge that the NATO bombing touched off the ethnic cleansing, they reminded us that all observers had predicted a ferocious offensive by Milosevic's forces this spring. They added: "Making the NATO intervention the cause of 'ethnic cleansing' in Kosova would be like arguing that the genocide against the Jews was provoked by the Allied declaration of war against Germany or the genocide against the Rwandan Tutsis by the attack on President Habyarimana's plane."

Dizdarevic and Jeanson also pointed out that the Serbian democratic opposition has, with very few exceptions, "never posed the question of the consequences of the wars of aggression carried out by Milosevic." However, even these supporters of Bosnia and Kosova ended by calling for a firmer NATO response and for the "stationing of international forces" numerous enough to "guarantee the territorial integrity of the country and self-government for the Kosovars." As if NATO would or could liberate Kosova and as if anything less than independence from Serbian rule could be acceptable after March and April 1999!

—Kevin Anderson



KLA volunteers in Germany.

China's rulers play nationalist card as mass unrest grows

tionship" with China, since then cracks in their relationship have become crevasses. Campaign fund investigations, failure so far to usher China into the World Trade Organization, accusations of nuclear espionage and even expanding military exports to Taiwan are being perceived in China as the sole world power treating what it regards as its "junior partner" with contempt.

STATE-CAPITALISM IN CHINA

Foreign policy is always for internal consumption, and there are reasons for the rulers to play the card of nationalism. Even the symbolic end of colonial dismemberment of China with the return of Hong Kong after a century and a half in 1997, and Macao at the end of this year, does not change that.

A border remains between Hong Kong and the rest of China to stop the flow of people, but not the free flow of capital. And enforcing barracks-style labor discipline on workers in the coastal export industries for the benefit of foreign and native capitalists alike smells like the extraterritorial rights that colonial powers enjoyed in 1919.

The year 1989, and the precariousness of power that Tiananmen Square exposed, still threaten China's rulers. Jiang Zemin arrived from Shanghai after the June 4, 1989 massacres to assume the top titles of army, party and state as designated successor to Deng and actually did succeed him. Previous designated successors Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang were removed following 1986-87 marches and the 1989 Tiananmen Square movement, respectively.

Jiang could personally distance himself from the decision to crush demonstrators on Tiananmen Square if one ignores the wave of executions of worker-activists in Shanghai in the aftermath of June 4, and in his 1997 visit to the U.S. he hinted at mistakes made then. But continued imprisonments of opponents or even journalists, and the policy of expulsion in hopes of marginalizing voices of opposition, spell out official policy.

Jiang simultaneously presided over the "economic miracle," the explosion of export industry while proceeding with the dismantling and privatizing of heavy state industry. China's exports to the U.S. last year exceeded \$70 billion, up from less than \$10 billion in 1988. For capitalists in the U.S. who think human rights equals property rights and can be measured in production output, that spells success.

China even avoided being swept into the 1997-98 Asian economic meltdown, exporting its way out by taking a share from other below-subsistence producers like Thailand and Indonesia and increasing exports to the U.S. by 12%. Little wonder that Wall Street gratefully embraced Premier Zhu Rongji on his U.S. visit, in return for unbroken access to the pool of labor that produced much wealth for foreign capitalists, including the U.S.

While adding a provision on the status of capitalists to China's constitution may have seemed long overdue to Wall Street, all it had to do is look at the original

1956 constitution that declared China state-capitalist. Not only would state ownership prove to change nothing at the point of production, in fact managers of many state enterprises after 1949 were the former owners still collecting on bonds exchanged for their factories.

It is questionable whether exports can continue to bail out the economy. China already produces half the shoes and garments sold in the U.S. Production growth has fallen from the spectacular 13% of the mid-'90s to 5%. That is part of the impetus for now-stalled negotiations to lower barriers to imports and bring China into the World Trade Organization, which has been encouraged by Clinton and by exporters of hi-tech goods and farm products regardless of draconian attacks on dissent and even the free flow of news.

REPRESSION AND REVOLT

In the last year prison sentences for activists attempting to register the China Democracy Party ranged as high as 13 years for Xu Wenli. Xu's prior imprisonment extends to the Democracy Wall period of 1979-80 when activists of the Red Guard generation tested Deng's return to power with a burst of publications on free speech and labor and peasants' rights.

Maybe even more revealing was the ten-year sentence given Zhang Shanguang for telling a reporter about farm revolts within Hunan province. He was accused of "providing intelligence to foreign organizations." Well over 100 million people have been forced by economics to leave the land and join the ever-growing "floating workforce" in the cities. Excess taxation and inventive new fees from local officials, and further confiscation of land for new factories to benefit well-connected cadres have repeatedly led to resistance and bloody suppression.

So widespread are the exactions of local officials that farmers in Hunan and Guangdong have mounted Whisky Rebellion-style resistance even to "legal" fees and police authority. If some welcomed plans to prune four million state cadres as reducing the number of leeches, in the opening stages the number of administrators has actually risen, with most cuts affecting the working class.

Layoffs from state bureaus and dismantled state enterprises mainly affect women workers. Less than 40% of the workforce, they number over 60% of the officially unemployed, even after many are directed toward domestic service for the newly rich.

Women concentrate at all levels the experience of the working class. In the coastal export zones, it is women in their mid-teens whose sweated labor propels China's economy, and who use up their working life by their mid-twenties. The permanent unemployment of many veteran workers—especially women who once had an "iron rice bowl," that is, a guaranteed job, and now have a temporary stipend or nothing at all—is what China's miracle, two-tier economy cannot forever cover up.

Under such circumstances it is predictable for a

class society to disguise class differences, and nationalism is one card to play. Hence China's solidarizing with Milosevic. This is the very opposite of the nationalism of the May Fourth Movement. The authority of old Chinese maps, not national self-determination, rules government policy in nominally autonomous areas. Yet some brave journalists raised the question of supporting Kosova even after the embassy bombing and brought up the danger of playing the nationalist card.

WHITHER CHINA?

Recent reports of Chinese nuclear espionage through two decades and four administrations were, of course, filtered through the U.S. spy establishment. Whatever the merit of the charges, spy vs. spy games are what governments do, even "friendly" ones. But the controversy serves to focus attention on the military in China.

We have seen in 1989 at Tiananmen Square that control of the army, not the party, ruled the decision to crush demonstrators. Twenty years earlier the army completed Mao Zedong's preventive counter-revolution which he called the Cultural Revolution by entering the factories. But the standing of the army within China has depended upon a nuclear-armed military.

October 1 will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the official foundation of the People's Republic of China. As the People's Liberation Army approached Beijing, Mao had instructed workers not to go on general strike, but to stay at their workbenches and get out production. Time will tell how long the Chinese workers, and their own army of the unemployed, remain at their benches.

Struggles inside Iran

Tehran—On Iranian streets there are no individual freedoms. They may stop you for having long hair, then accuse you of having alcohol on your breath, then search your car, then your home and question your companions. Step by step they ensnare you in their web of accusations. It is a common feeling that the government forces you to live in humiliation.

Economic deterioration is visible everywhere. Capital does not circulate; buildings are left unfinished everywhere. The core of the Iranian economy, the Bazaar, is in a depression. Food prices have skyrocketed and people have lost buying power. They have no hope for the future. Government policies to attract capital investments have increased people's impoverishment.

For example, in Farahzad area, homesteaders are being forced to pay to former landlords or be removed. Most people are against the regime, but have no alternative. A pharmaceutical worker told me: "Both this and the previous regimes were filling their own pockets. We don't want to replace them with a new pack of hungry thieves."

Khatami's promises to improve living conditions have not resolved economic problems. In fact things have been getting worse in the last two years. An 80-year-old woman told me: "I voted for Khatami but wrote on my ballot 'Only if he keeps his promises.'" Khatami's recent support for firing upon mass protests by Kurds in Sanandaj has cleared up some illusions about him. Assassinations and disappearances continue unabated.

It is clear that Khatami's reforms are not going to save the Islamic government from collapsing. There is a serious danger of a coup to arrest the movement for freedom inside Iran. Those who support these movements need to raise an independent banner that does not tailend Khatami or anyone else who limits freedom to political democracy. —A. Ardebili

Israeli vote: how long will rejoicing last?

Jerusalem—First the rejoicing: Netanyahu has been soundly trounced, losing 44% to 56% to Ehud Barak. Even more than savoring victory, we feel enormous relief that this corrupt, deceitful and hate-mongering politician is no longer prime minister of Israel. To quote Ya'akov, the baker near me, "I woke up this morning feeling that I had just been released from prison." That's how many people feel.

DANCING IN THE STREETS

In a spontaneous outburst that began late at night when the polling booths closed and the exit polls showed a landslide victory, tens of thousands of Tel-Aviv residents gathered at the plaza where Yitzhak Rabin had been assassinated over two years ago and sang, danced, kissed, wept with joy. "Peace, peace, peace!" they chanted to every peace song they had ever come to believe in.

It was not surprising that amid the sea of Israeli flags, the rainbow flags of the gay movement waved prominently, symbolizing hopes for an end to despised religious coercion in every area of life in Israel. It did not just feel like a victory of one politician over another.

That was the best part of the elections. And now for more sobering aspects. This election had three main axes:

(1) **A vote against the character of Netanyahu.**
(2) **A vote against the oppressive religious coercion** in which the ultra-Orthodox parties have engaged with the collusion of all previous governments of Israel, not just Netanyahu. This theme was successfully played by the Meretz Party (just left of Labor) and the brand new Shinui Party, which brought religious-legislation bashing to high art. But these efforts were more than offset by the third axis:

(3) **The growth of the ultra-Orthodox parties, particularly Shas** which increased its power by 70% in the Knesset and became the third largest party (17 seats), just a whisker behind Likud, which dropped 13 seats (and now stands at 19).

SHADOW OF SHAS LOOMS LARGE

Shas, supported primarily by lower income Moroccan Jews, was swept in on a tide of fury over the conviction of

party leader Aryeh Deri on charges of fraud and bribe taking at the height of the election campaign. But voting for Shas was more than protest over an allegedly unjust conviction; it expressed rejection of the hegemony of Ashkenazi (European-Jewish) culture in Israel with its concomitant discrimination against and disdain for Mizrahi culture brought by Jews from Muslim countries.

Now add to Shas the other parties in support of religious legislation (United Torah Judaism and the National Religious Party), and you have a pro-theocracy bloc that has grown 17% (from 23 to 27 seats).

The extreme right-wing—those who refuse territorial compromise with Arabs—has maintained its power if you consider that the openly right-wing parties (National Religious Party and United Nationalist Party) will be buttressed by the Russian-immigrant party led by fascist Avigdor Lieberman.

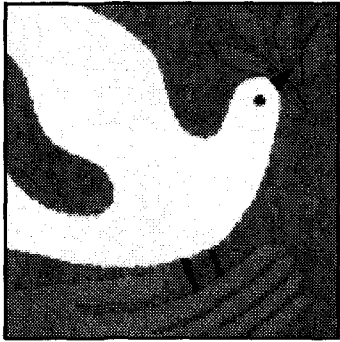
WHAT NEXT?

The stark question now remains: With whom will Barak form a coalition? He does not want to repeat the Red-Green format of Germany. Barak is himself a "centrist" and he wants as large an alliance as possible; for this he will probably be willing to sacrifice the purity of those on his left. He will surely bring in Sharansky's immigrant party, which held its own, and the Centrists, led by Yitzhak Mordechai, whose leaving of the Likud turned a leak into a hemorrhage.

Neither of these parties represents a yearning for a just peace with the Palestinians, just a desire to rid Israel of the problem. Barak will also want to bring in either the Shas or Likud party, both of which have been less than peace-oriented.

Toppling Netanyahu has really been a release from prison. More than the result of partisan efforts, it was also the result of a widespread grassroots mobilization, from the "Women Vote Peace" campaign of Bat Shalom to the thousands of volunteers who staffed polling booths, preventing the widespread fraud that had taken place last election day, to the thousands of Israelis abroad who returned to Israel to vote.

—Gila Svirsky



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Youth

Mumia's voice to be heard at commencement

Olympia, Wash.—On June 11, the 1999 graduation ceremony at The Evergreen State College (TESC) will include a unique commencement address—a 13-minute audio-recorded speech taped on death row by Mumia Abu-Jamal. Abu-Jamal's presence at this event has provoked a nationwide debate due to the controversial nature of his case. A renowned journalist and author, Abu-Jamal was convicted of murdering a Philadelphia police officer in 1982 by what his supporters believe to have been a flagrant example of a flawed judicial system. Abu-Jamal's presence at this graduation ceremony indicates a conscious movement across the nation to recognize Mumia as a political prisoner.

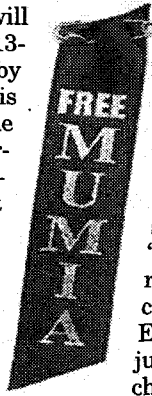
Abu-Jamal was chosen to speak at TESC's graduation ceremony in January, after the school's administration mistakenly announced that the first choice for commencement speaker,

Washington governor Gary Locke, would be unable to attend. The mistake was discovered, and the school found itself with two commencement speakers—a pro-death penalty politician and a man whose death warrant could be signed any day. Locke eventually bowed to pressure from the state police, declining to speak at commencement.

Many graduating students welcome the opportunity to hear Mumia speak as well as to make a strong statement of opposition to an unjust trial. "What does it mean, when he can sit there on death row for 17 years, while more and more evidence of corruption keeps coming up?" asked graduating Evergreen senior Megan Davis. "If this is what our justice system has come to, then something has got to change."

Evergreen promoters of Mumia Abu-Jamal as commencement speaker put forward several reasons for

inviting him to speak. Students and faculty have worked to increase public awareness of his case as well as the broader prison crisis in the U.S. where two million people are imprisoned, most of whom are, disproportionately, people of color. First, Mumia speaking is an opportunity for TESC to set a precedent among colleges. "It is easier to see injustice in the past than in the present," explained TESC professor Peter Bohmer. "This is a chance for Evergreen to stand up for justice." Second, they view this event as a chance to combat the silence imposed upon the escalating prison population in this country. Abu-Jamal has come to represent, for millions, one person's ability to struggle and maintain strength in the face of injustice. Graduating senior Stephanie Guilloud states, "Selecting Mumia Abu-Jamal as the graduation speaker is an historic opportunity that will reverberate beyond the walls of this particular institution." —Concerned Students, Faculty, and Staff



Immigrant worker's view of ethnic cleansing

Oakland, Cal.—I am a Southeast Asian immigrant who has experienced my own form of ethnic cleansing. My family was forced to leave my birth country, Burma, under General Ne Win. Burma at the time was under the throes of a racist paranoia, narrow nationalism and xenophobia. During the hysteria of the late '60s, we were called "foreigners" even though we were born there and spoke nothing but Burmese. Therefore, the Kosovars have my unwavering support and solidarity in their struggle for self-determination.

It is depressing to see the reactions of so-called socialists here in the U.S., whose vanguardism does not allow them to see beyond anything but their narrow opposition to U.S./NATO and the narrow banner of their version of "class struggle."

These professional vanguards are behaving as apologists for Milosevic, by saying either the current ethnic-cleansing was "caused by" NATO's bombing or that reports of ethnic-cleansing are media fabrications!

From what I have seen, the Black, Jewish, and immigrant communities in this country have an opposite view about the conflict from these "leftists." Having experienced being relegated to the margins of society, they do not turn away with indifference, nor scorn the very real and concrete plight the Kosovar Albanians are suffering at the hands of racist, chauvinist, genocidal fascists, the same kind of atrocities suffered by the Bosnians in their own struggle for self-determination.

It is critically important for those dimensions which have had a history of being treated as the Other to speak out against those tail-ending this kind of red-brown alliance.

One leaflet passed out by a Serb nationalist at an

anti-bombing rally compared the Kosovars with "hordes of Mexicans coming to California" or "hordes of Algerians coming to France" and "then declaring independence and expecting NATO to bomb California or France for their cause!" This kind of racist trash was allowed by the vanguard left organizers of the march!

What the current events prove is what was written in the Jan.-Feb. 1993 editorial in *News & Letters*, reprinted in *Bosnia: Achilles' Heel of Western 'Civilization'* (p.23): "Like Stalin, who stood outside the gates of Warsaw in 1944 while Hitler slaughtered a mass Polish uprising, U.S. imperialism manages to come to the 'aid' of suffering peoples only after they have been decimated by the forces arrayed against them. The 'benign imperialism' offers humanity its 'freedom' only on the day of its burial." With Kosova this time, NATO is actually providing the coffin with which it offers the Albanian refugees a surreal "peace" through war.

Unless and until one appreciates the crucial fundamental philosophic points being made in the Bosnia pamphlet, we in the Left will continue to miss that narrow nationalism and global capitalism have always co-existed happily, while posing as opposites. Our world is full of false dichotomies. Old dualities imposed on new realities. Idealism vs. Materialism. Capitalism vs. Communism.

Bosnia is the Achilles heel of Western civilization precisely because racism and ethnic divisions are the Achilles heel of the world, which has always given the lie to the claims of "socialism" in the East or "democracy" in the West. The fight for self-determination on the part of Bosnians and Kosovars is not just for their sake, but for our own.

—Htun Lin

Lessons in ethnic studies at Cal

Berkeley, Cal.—On Friday, May 7 six hunger strikers ended their week-long fast at UC Berkeley in front of a cheering crowd of several hundred students from Berkeley, other area colleges and high schools and community supporters. They announced a tentative agreement with the university administration to secure funding for more faculty positions for the Ethnic Studies department, a promise of no future cuts, a multi-cultural student center, and finally a task force that would review the department's progress every six months.

They won despite the chancellor's initial refusal to negotiate with the students. Instead he sent in the university police to arrest nonviolent student protesters. After the arrested students returned to continue their fast, they were greeted with an even greater show of support from faculty and students from other departments and other campuses. The students also received the scorn of conservative academics who insisted that Ethnic Studies should be subsumed under their traditional disciplines, rather than seek a separate entity as an autonomous department.

The Ethnic Studies department, already the least funded in the College of Letters and Sciences, had one-third of their budget cut, which meant cancelling classes in Asian, Latino, Gay/Lesbian, and Women's Studies. The department had already lost five faculty members that the university had not replaced. Currently, there are no full-time tenured professors in Native American Studies.

Jenny, an Asian-American student from Berkeley High, was especially thrilled because she was looking forward to studying at Berkeley's Ethnic Studies department. She said she wants to learn the specific history of ethnic groups in the U.S. as a window on overall history. She said, "This country was built on race. We can't forget about our real past. You won't know where you're going unless you know where you came from."

One of the hunger strikers, Allison Harrington, called the strike itself "the best class I've ever taken at Cal." She said that she didn't view the struggle as merely identity politics, but rather "a way to coalesce with other groups." Despite the charges made by conservative academics, she said she's fighting for the opposite of "balkanization."

Regarding the struggle of the Kosovar Albanians, she said, "Links can be made. In Kosovo, it started with student protests and one of their first demands was education and they wanted to be taught in their own language." She also related "ethnic cleansing" to California's anti-affirmative action initiative Prop. 209 and the way people of color are being pushed into the prison-industrial-complex.

—Participant

No justice in Tyisha Miller case

Riverside, Cal.—Twenty-five hundred people attended an energetic rally on Monday, May 10, at Riverside City Hall, to protest the slaying of Tyisha Miller, a 19-year-old Black woman, by four white police officers of the Riverside Police Department last December and the subsequent decision by the county district attorney not to prosecute them. Tyisha was shot 12 times (all said to have come from the back as she sat in her car).

"How can you justify shooting a sick unconscious person in the back of the head and not even bring it in front of a grand jury, today? The police are still on the payroll. There's something sick, immoral, wicked and evil about it," declared Rev. Al Sharpton.

Other prominent speakers included Dick Gregory and Martin Luther King III. Nonviolence was emphasized with warnings not to respond to agent-provocateurs. The demonstrators peacefully marched with determination to the nearby D.A.'s office, where more speeches added energy to the civil disobedience where 46 people were arrested.

That evening at a local church, 450 people attended a public hearing on police brutality, sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, where there were more speeches. Testimonies by the victims (some 10 or 15 people) came at the end of the program. As one witness said, southern California is becoming a police state.

—John Basho

Insurgent voice from Chiapas war zone

Laura Hernandez, an indigenous Chol woman, spoke at Hunter College in New York on May 15 as part of a national tour to inform people in the U.S. about conditions in Chiapas, Mexico. She is an elected representative of displaced persons from the Northern Zone of Chiapas who have been driven out of their homes by paramilitary forces. The repression of the indigenous population is a response to the Zapatista rebellion of 1994. Ms. Hernandez told this story:

Since 1996, many communities have been displaced. I'm familiar with four: Tila, Tumbala, Salta de Agua and Sabanilla. We were forced to leave our community in the middle of the night, including the children and elderly. We all had to run through the mountains for four hours to safety. Armed members of the paramilitary group "Peace and Justice" surrounded us, forced us out, followed us and burnt down our houses. We were so cut off from the rest of the country that human rights investigators could not get there.

We left our homes with nothing, no belongings or money at all. We are living as guests in other communities, without homes or land to farm, without food, schools, or clinics. We are forgotten people.

We are persecuted by the paramilitary groups and the federal troops. The "federales" never even came to our area before 1994; now they have encampments there. They have brought illnesses, drugs and prostitution, things we never had before. We are used to farm work, but as displaced persons we have no land to work. Young women are forced to enter prostitution in order to support their families.

The government says those in organized civil society are bad people, so they had to send in troops. We can no

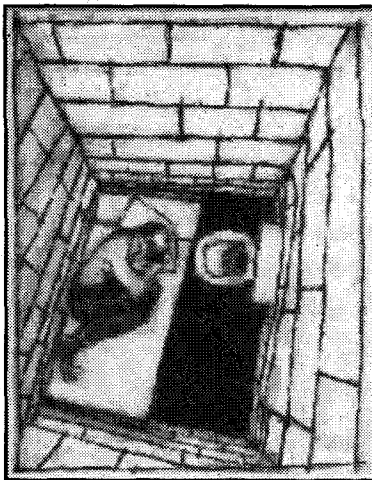
longer enjoy our way of life. The troops restrict our ability to travel and to work. The government wants to do away with our cultures. It says we have no right to fight for our rights or for land, but we are struggling for peace and equality.

In 1995 the troops and paramilitaries began to ambush and kill people; in 1996 they killed many people who were in community organizations and many students. People were kidnapped and disappeared from the streets. Now there are 105 political prisoners in cities in Chiapas. They are accused of killing, stealing, etc.—things that were really done by the paramilitaries. The people who committed the crimes are now peacefully farming our land!

In 1997 we organized 400 compañeros to hold an 87-day

sit-in demonstration at the Tuxtla Gutierrez government palace. We demanded freedom for the political prisoners, but the government refused. In 1998 we had another sit-in there by 300 wives, daughters and family members of the prisoners. They brought their machetes and it was called "the strike of the machetes," because the machetes are idle while the men are in prison. The women work the corn fields alongside the men, but they cannot perform sufficient work to feed their families.

Forty-five compañeros were massacred in Acteal in the highlands on Dec. 22, 1997, while they were praying for peace. We want to live in peace, without the children dying of hunger. For displaced people, the children die first.



Get a unique perspective on the growing prisoner solidarity movement... read **Voices from within the Prison Walls**

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Our Life and Times

Serb genocide, NATO bombing intensify

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

During two months of NATO bombing, Serbia's dictator, Slobodan Milosevic, has turned Kosova into a giant killing field, brutally deporting nearly one million ethnic Albanians, holding tens of thousands more as hostages, and raping, torturing, and murdering untold numbers. Flying from 15,000 feet or higher, NATO pilots have not been able to see, let alone attack, the Serb forces carrying out the genocide. This is not accidental.

NATO does not aim to protect, let alone liberate, the Kosovars, who have suffered under Milosevic's apartheid-like regime since 1989. Instead, NATO's aims have more to do with pressuring the man they still refer to politely as "President Milosevic" into some type of rotten compromise they will call peace, just as they did in Bosnia in 1995.

That is why the mass-supported Kosova Liberation Army (KLA) is still hemmed in by an international arms embargo. That is why NATO refuses to risk planes being shot down even to drop food supplies to starving refugees inside Kosova, let alone military supplies to the KLA's 15,000 fighters. The latter are the only ones directly engaging the perpetrators of the genocide on the ground.

A wide variety of Albanian voices has consistently opposed partition: "What shocks me is the idea of a partition of Kosova. This is a dangerous idea for a region where most of the states are multiethnic. The most important thing is to encourage multiethnic societies," stated President Rexhap Mejdani of Albania in a recent interview (*Le Monde*, April 29, 1999).

While NATO's policies are rife with contradictions, Milosevic has been, in the words of Balkans analyst Michael Ignatieff, "tenaciously consistent": "From 1990, Milosevic followed one simple principle. In any country

[of the former Yugoslavia] where there was a Serb minority substantial enough for him to arm, he armed it, and fought. The deaths of a quarter million people and the creation of two million refugees [in the Bosnian war] are a result of his unwavering application of this principle" (*The New Yorker*, May 10, 1999).

Some on the Left and in the peace movement have fallen into a narrow type of focus on NATO imperialism that ignores both the ongoing genocide and the history of Milosevic's regime since 1989. *The Nation*, for example, which published an editorial on Feb. 22 entitled "Independence for Kosovo," has forgotten about that today, concentrating instead on pacifist sloganeering.

Free East Timor!



Hundreds of East Timor protesters supporting independence from Indonesia demonstrated for several days in May in East Timor's capital, Dili. They were demanding the pullout of Indonesian army troops.

Paraguay demonstrations

The assassination of Paraguay's Vice President Luis Argana in late March triggered mass demonstrations which continue two months later. Argana was killed by gunmen after legislators began an impeachment action against the president, Raul Cubas, for releasing his political mentor Lino Oviedo, former head of the Army, from serving a ten-year sentence for an attempted coup in 1996.

Oviedo and Cubas were forced to flee Paraguay for Argentina and Brazil, respectively, when street battles erupted in Asunción after Argana's murder. At least six demonstrators were killed during the protests. Now the new president, Gonzalez Macchi, has to answer to demands that corrupt officials be dismissed.

Youth have been in the forefront of demonstrations, which have also included workers and peasants. Over 1,200 families from one group of landless peasants refused to obey an eviction order to leave the land they have occupied outside Asunción. Peasants have also set up roadblocks on Paraguay's central highway and on the main bridge connecting to Brazil.

Argentina youth protests

Students in Argentina forced the government of President Carlos Menem to reinstate \$280 million which had been gutted from the education budget. The cuts were part of a series of reductions in government spending for social programs, including health, housing and other areas, mandated by the IMF to reduce Argentina's deficit.

Students from public universities across the country held marches and demonstrations, and the public school system also shut down. Menem was pressured additionally to reverse the cuts by his own party, as well as political enemies, who don't want to look bad during the campaign for a new president this year.

BJP's fall in India

The recent and fortuitous fall of the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)-led coalition government in India has left a sundry of opportunistic politicians scrambling to fill the vacuum. The bankruptcy and corruption of India's main "secular" party, the Congress Party, and the left parties is what paved the way for the BJP to come to power in the first place just over a year ago.

Although at that time the BJP had clearly won a majority of the parliamentary seats in the national elections, its hold on power had rested on underhanded wheeling and dealing with corrupt regional parties. Now, in its wake, no single party has enough power to create an alternative government, and thus a new national election to decide India's sixth government in three years has been scheduled for mid-July.

Today, the Congress Party, thought to be rejuvenated by the leadership of Sonia Gandhi, the Italian-born widow of Rajeev Gandhi, is churning with the narrow nationalist antics and cartwheels of its own members, who have revolted against Sonia Gandhi's candidacy as prime minister on the grounds that she is a foreign-born Indian citizen. These "rebels" have been expelled from the Congress Party and are now in the process of forming yet another party more "purely" based on the principles of Gandhi and Nehru.

Far from using the opening caused by the fall of the BJP to secure a truly secular alternative to the fascistic and fundamentalist ideology that has dominated Indian politics for the last couple of years, the Congress Party is caught in its own mire of jingoism. Meanwhile, mass protests and marches on the one-year anniversary of the BJP's nuclear testing, as well as ongoing tribal, dalit, women's and peasant movements show that the Indian masses have more on their minds than where Sonia Gandhi was born.

—Maya Jhansi

This type of attitude was given a fitting answer recently by the German leftist Hans Magnus Enzensberger, whose writings have been so important ever since the 1960s: "I have never been a pacifist because I owe my life to the victors of the Second World War. Instead of sending ground troops, one should arm the Kosovars. They know how to wage partisan warfare" (*Le Monde*, May 8, 1999).

Even more troubling than the attitude of some on the Left is the specter of a new form of Pan-Slavism. Not only in Serbia but also in Russia, a Red-Brown alliance has emerged, uniting nationalists, fascists, reactionary members of the Eastern Orthodox clergy, and Stalinists, all of whom claim that Slavs are being targeted for attack by global capitalism as well as by national minorities of Muslim or Jewish origin.

We need to recall that Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky each condemned Pan-Slavism as an extremely reactionary and dangerous force in world politics. Trotsky, for example, wrote in 1913 with regard to a previous war over Kosova that had Pan-Slavist dimensions: "The Serbs...in their endeavor to correct data in the ethnological statistics that are not quite favorable to them are engaged quite simply in the extermination of the Muslim population."

Far Right rises in Russia

Krasnodor, Russia—The far Right here is only a tendency today, and there is not an immediate threat of them taking power. But things are developing in the same direction as in pre-World War II Germany. The extreme right nationalist party—the so-called "Russian National Unity Party" (RVU) with Alexander Barkashov at the head—has by now reached more than 80,000 young trained members.

In Germany of the late 1920s and early 1930s there was at least an opposition to the Hitlerites in the Communists, Social-Democrats, and other anti-fascists, despite all their shortcomings. Yet in Russia today there is no political force that can counteract the far Right. Though their activity is prohibited by law and the Constitution, the Barkashovites act quite openly and their numbers are swiftly growing.

These are men and women who view themselves as "true Aryan Russians." Their ranks include many ex-soldiers and officers and jobless people. They've got plenty of financing, arms and intellectual support. (Anti-Semitism is very strong here among intellectuals too.) They patrol the streets dressed in their uniforms, and local authorities regard them with favor in many towns.

When you hear about the so-called Red-Brown alliance it is not a joke! For the most part the rank-and-file members of the so-called "Communist" parties are poisoned by xenophobia, superpowerism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism. Many of these are older people. There should be no surprise that so many of their grandchildren are "national socialists" or simply "Russian nationalists."

As for internationalists, there is almost nothing to speak of. Here lies the heritage of Stalinist "state socialism" in Russia!

The people on the far Right know exactly what they're after. Talk to them and you'll hear reasoning like: "Hitler was right in many things: he rightly delivered Germany and Europe from Hebrews, gypsies, gays and other riffraff. He was justified in unleashing war against French and Anglo-American Zionist plutocracy as well as against the Stalinist Jew-Masonic Bolshevik regime.

"But he made many mistakes—instead of reuniting two healthy branches of one and the same mighty Aryan tree, Germans and Russian Slavdom, he declared Russians 'untermenschen.'" They will also tell you that "we do not cry 'Heil Hitler' because the cult of personality is alien to us, instead we cry 'Glory to Russia.'"

—Independent trade union activist

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.