

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Two-tier vote snares Teamsters



by John Marcotte

The lessons of the '80s have been learned. "When you vote on this contract, don't think of yourself. Think of those who will come after." Thus spoke the wisdom and class consciousness of fellow worker Wild Bill, faced with voting on a wage cut, give-back contract. Had we always thought of those who come after, we wouldn't have two-tier and three-tier contracts come back to haunt us.

We should always think of those coming after us when voting on a contract because the conditions we work under today, in unionized freight, were gained by those who came before us, and we should think hard before giving them up. Workers learned in the '80s that "What you give up you never get back."

So when the threats were in the air—the company will be closed, the company will be sold—from the owners of this freight trucking outfit, workers resisted this threatened violence to ourselves and our families: "We're the ones who move the freight. Without us this company would be nothing. So why not cut the fat at the top, the six-figure salaries of executives, the luxurious corporate headquarters, instead of squeezing more out of the poor?"

One lesson of the '80s was repeated over and over: "If they are going to close, no sense closing with a million dollars of our money in their pocket." That is the biggest argument against give-backs, learned from bitter experience: They don't save the company; they only enrich the owners.

Big Larry, another worker, spoke prophetic words: "If you think you are going to keep the company from being sold by cheapening your wages, think again. Cheaper wages will make the company more attractive to a

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Black World

Felix Martin, American revolutionary



by Lou Turner

On June 20, Peter Hudis, the Co-National Organizer of News and Letters Committees, and I had the honor of speaking at the grave site of Felix Martin, the labor editor of *News & Letters*, at the family cemetery of his childhood home in Hell For Certain, Ky. He passed away in April after battling chronic heart illness, and after a life filled with working class struggles in which he fought side-by-side with Black, white and Latino workers at the South Gate, California General Motors plant that he worked in for 20 years.

I had worked closely with Felix Martin in Southern California in the 1970s and early '80s, often at his kitchen table, on an autoworkers' newsletter we called the "Blue Sheet" and on his articles for this newspaper. Felix Martin was an extraordinary working class fighter from the hills of Kentucky who knew not only how to "speak truth to power," but how to speak to the white working class about the truth of its powerlessness against capital.

This is what he wrote in the October 1975 issue of *News & Letters* in an article titled "Anti-busing racism aims to divide workers on shop floor":

I was visiting Louisville, Ky. during the beginning of the school term when the busing demonstrations were taking place. I felt sad when I saw what many members of the white working class were doing. The Ford Motor Company assembly and truck plants were closed down because many workers went to the demonstrations against busing for integrated schools.

How have so many workers been poisoned so that their class militancy can be used in such a way? One answer I found in a church I visited in Jeffersonville, just outside of Louisville. The first thing I noticed was that the church was filled to 'standing room only' with white working class families. The sermon was about 'rights' that the government has supposedly taken from the people—prayers in school, neighborhood schools. In listening and watching the people, you could almost see the white sheets over their heads. It was almost like being at a KKK meeting.

A second answer is President Ford's Administration and local governments which are creating this turmoil to turn white, Black, poor and working people of all races into

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Movement against police brutality grows

by Kevin Michaels

The first weekend of June was an unseasonably warm one in Chicago and two terrible events which took place during it may anticipate a long, hot summer to come. Two young Black Chicagoans were fatally shot by police officers in circumstances so questionable that they provoked a new layer of response from a population wearily familiar with heavy-handed policing.

These killings and their impact on the organized expressions of resistance to both incidents of violence committed by the police and the everyday host of indignities inflicted upon youth and minorities make Chicago an important point of departure for examining the national movement, and its potential to both broaden and deepen. At a time when dramatic accounts of the aftermath of ethnic chauvinist violence committed by a paramilitary police force in Kosovo are making headlines, this examination is of the greatest importance.

On June 4, Chicago police pulled over a car in which LaTanya Haggerty, 26, was a passenger. She was shot after dropping a cell phone as she attempted to get out of the car with her hands raised. Police were pursuing the car because they had spotted it double-parked, despite having received an order from a dispatcher to break off the chase. Haggerty's death, following the shooting deaths of Tyisha Miller in Riverside, Cal. and Margaret Mitchell, a homeless woman in Los Angeles, makes it clear that Black women, not just Black men, are seriously at risk for becoming victims of police murder.

Not long after the Haggerty shooting, in the early hours of June 5, Robert Russ, 22, was shot after a brief pursuit. Russ may have been attempting to drive to a stretch of road which would have provided some witnesses to the traffic pullover the police were attempting to make. The sense of shock and outrage that immediately emerged



Some 500 anti-police brutality protesters march on Chicago Police Department headquarters, June 17.

from the Black community and those hostile to police abuse was met by a stony silence on the part of the Chicago Police Department, an historically racist and fiercely unaccountable institution.

That Black police officers were involved in each event may show that any insight and sensitivity they have into conditions in the Black community are circumscribed by the authoritarianism of the department. Indeed the only solution to the problem Chicago Police Superintendent Terry Hillard has offered is to install video cameras in patrol cars for the purpose of recording traffic stops. The idea of addressing the issues of racism and rampant corruption in a force so savage that for years torture was employed as a routine method of coercing confessions, has not been put on the table. Ten men sit on Death Row in Illinois who suffered torture at the hands of Jon Burge, a former Chicago police commander.

These two killings have provided impetus to an already

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Editorial Aftermath of the war over Kosova

As Serb forces retreated from Kosova, ending ten years of apartheid-style rule over the 90%-strong ethnic Albanian majority, the country lay in ruins. Mass graves, looted and burned neighborhoods and villages, and landmines proliferated. In the capital, Pristina, retreating Serb engineers even destroyed the water purification system. Civilians showed reporters a downtown police station that had served as a torture center, complete with grisly instruments, bloodstained walls, and a rape room with bloodstained mattresses. The fact that the Kosovars are returning to such devastation shows the hollowness of NATO's claims of a great humanitarian victory.

SERBIAN GENOCIDE IN KOSOVA

During the war, while NATO planes did nothing to stop them, Serb paramilitaries, police, and soldiers expelled some 800,000 Albanians across the border. Another 500,000 Albanians hid for weeks in the mountains and forests inside Kosova, facing starvation and Serb attacks.

Even the most cautious estimates suggest that Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic's forces killed over 10,000 civilians after the NATO bombing began in March. With Kosova's population only 1.8 million, this is one out of every 180 people, something that would be comparable to 1.5 million killed in a country the size of the U.S.

Every village seems to have its mass gravesite, with many of the bodies cruelly dismembered. However, the full body count may never be known since in the final days Serb forces dug up bodies and may have incinerated a large number of them. There also remains the mystery of what happened to the tens of thousands of Albanian men separated from their families as Serbs rounded up civilians in villages and towns across Kosova.

As in the Bosnian war of 1991-95, in addition to physical elimination, rape, and expulsion, a fourth form of Serb genocide was cultural. Serb forces systematically destroyed Albanian, Ottoman, and Muslim cultural institutions and artifacts including mosques, libraries, bridges, and historic buildings. They also stripped hundreds of thousands of deportees of their identity papers and personal effects. The plan was to wipe out even the memory of the Albanian community in Kosova.

Today, Milosevic remains in power in Serbia. It is a scandal that his indictment as a war criminal had to wait until 1999 because NATO wanted to work with him and refused to turn over evidence to the International Bosnian War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. NATO has also allowed all of his forces to leave Kosova intact, including

the worst perpetrators of the genocide. When the Kosova Liberation Army (KLA) arrested a few of these war criminals, NATO quickly released them. In addition, NATO is giving Russia, which openly supports Milosevic, an unspecified role in Kosova. Most importantly, NATO has promised Milosevic not to allow an independent Kosova, the core demand of the Kosovars ever since 1991.

MILOSEVIC'S MISCALCULATIONS, THE KLA, AND NATO IMPERIALISM

Still, the war was a defeat for Milosevic, who made three big miscalculations. First, he assumed that NATO would offer him a generous partition plan after a few days of symbolic bombing. He was correct in his assumption that the NATO imperialists cared little for the Kosovar civilians. However, he underestimated the degree to which his open defiance, including the mass expulsions in view of the world media, would force a humiliated NATO to intensify rather than call off the bombing and even begin to plan a ground invasion. Milosevic forgot that no great imperialist power or alliance could, if it intends to remain one, allow a despot from a small country to defy it so openly.

Second, Milosevic underestimated the war weariness inside Serbia after nearly a decade of his wars. In the initial days of the bombing, patriotic fervor against NATO and an absolute denial of the genocide in Kosova and Bosnia by virtually the entire Serb population may have convinced him that his support was deeper than it was. Here, the Belgrade intellectuals created yet another sorry chapter as they rallied against NATO, without mentioning the ongoing genocide in Kosova or the past one in Bosnia.

Soon, however, Serbia began to experience something not seen before under Milosevic, a war in which its soldiers and civilians, and not only Albanian, Bosnian, or Croat civilians, could also be killed in significant numbers. As the demonstrations by parents of soldiers in the final

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New generation of Black feminists discusses women's liberation

by Maya Jhansi

On June 9th, I attended an important conference of Black feminist scholars and activists at the University of Illinois at Chicago. The conference, titled "Exploring the Frontiers of Black Feminism: Critical Conversations on Race, Gender, Sexuality, and the African-American Experience," covered a wide array of topics such as welfare rights, transnational Black feminism, queer theory and politics, and violence against women.

Woman as Reason

For me what was noteworthy was that a new generation of feminists was taking responsibility for the idea of Black feminism, by looking at the legacy of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, and by confronting the realities of today. One young Black woman told me she was "impressed by the obvious dedication the speakers had to Black feminism, and that they were open to questions and criticisms of Black feminism, which is hard because of how many want to invalidate it." She also appreciated the inclusiveness of the conference—that a non-African woman, Premilla Nadasen, as well as a man were speakers, and that sexuality was discussed and not just as a token gesture.

The day-long discussion began with a panel called "Digging up the Root: Patterns of Resistance in Black Women's History," which raised very profound questions about the global dimensions of Black feminism and on the role of Black women in the social movements of the 1960s. All of the speakers were young women trying to assess the legacy of past social movements for Black feminist perspectives today. Tracey Matthews, a young scholar and activist, spoke about the invisibility of Black women's history, and the fact that there was not just one gender experience for Black women involved in social movements of the 1960s. Premilla Nadasen, a professor of history at Queens College, spoke about the Welfare Rights Movement of the 1960s, a movement organized and led by Black and minority women, while Lynette Jackson, a feminist scholar from Barnard College in New York, talked about women's struggles in Zimbabwe.

In looking back into the history of Black struggles in the U.S. and globally, this panel challenged the audience to rethink, broaden and deepen our idea of what feminism means. Premilla Nadasen, for example, asked whether the welfare rights movement could be considered a feminist movement though it didn't identify itself as such. Doing so would require, she argued, deepening our often limited idea of feminism.

This challenge was reiterated by other speakers in different contexts as well. For example, Dorothy Roberts, author of the important book *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*, spoke about the incomplete concept of reproductive rights that dominates the feminist movement, while Cathy Cohen, author of *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*, challenged the static notions of sexuality that limit even the most progressive Black feminist thinking.

Although many important speakers and participants made the conference one of the most engaging and serious ones I have been to in a while, I did miss hearing the voices of non-academic, grassroots women organizers and activists, a fact which highlighted the persistent gap between analysis and movement, between intellectuals and working-class Black women that many of the speakers and the audience spoke about.

If any one theme emerged out of the conference, it was the need for a total outlook, informed by the multiple realities of class, race, sexuality, and gender that shape Black women's lives. It is precisely this total outlook that makes Black feminism so indispensable for creating a revolution-

ary alternative today, something implicit throughout the day's discussion, but never explicitly stated.

At the end of the conference, Urvashi Vaid, author of the book *Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay and Lesbian Liberation*, raised a question that related to this when she observed the gap between Black feminist scholarship/activism and the mainstream Black movement which continues to ignore or sometimes to reject Black feminism as integral to Black politics. Noting the hostility that Black feminism has inspired even within the Black Radical Congress, Vaid asked

why this gap persists.

One thing that characterized the conference was that an explicitly anti-capitalist perspective was not discussed (though many talked about economic injustice). Where is the idea of total social transformation? What happened to the idea that we can create a whole new society? It is certainly implicit in the depth and total outlook of the Black feminist perspective, but it is something that needs explicit articulation, by Black feminists and others interested in putting revolution back on the political agenda. Until such an Idea becomes the driving force of the movement, the gap between Black feminism and mainstream politics, between intellectuals and working class women, between theory and practice will continue to divide and thwart those of us who want a new human society.

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

Abortion rights supporters protested a parental notification bill in Trenton, N.J., June 14, just hours before the State Senate Health Committee voted to send it to the Senate floor, and just four days after the State Assembly had passed it. The bill was supported by supposed pro-choice Republican Governor Christine Todd Whitman who has said she is running for the U.S. Senate next year. New Jersey once had the most unrestricted abortion laws in the country.

* * *

The East Timor Human Rights Center is seeking worldwide support for the release of 12 East Timorese women arrested in May by the Indonesian Armed Forces-backed militia group, Besi Merah Putih (BMP), because their husbands were accused of joining the East Timorese resistance movement. The women have been subjected to continuous forced labor and sexual abuse, as well as threatened with death if their husbands don't turn themselves over to the BMP. Reports state that the women's 24 children might also be held hostage.

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Zimbabwean feminists question 'customary law'

When Venia Magaya lost her battle to keep her father's house after his death, she did not know that her struggle would raise a debate about the ability of the Supreme Court in Zimbabwe to interpret "customary law." Her case highlights the continuing struggle between those who would use culture to "keep women in their place," and women's liberationists fighting for a new Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe has customary law for Africans, general for settlers and for international dealings. Customary law is seen as protecting a patriarchal, agrarian society. But recent research has called this into question pointing out that though women also utilized customary law in their daily lives, it was white male colonial lawyers who wrote down the laws after talking to only African male chiefs. Customary law is also proving to be more flexible than the written-down laws indicate, depending on the best interests of a family, even going so far as to say that all children should share in the father's estate.

In fact, it was a Zimbabwe community court that first granted Ms. Magaya her father's home. But when her half-brother appealed the ruling, on the grounds that Magaya is a woman, the Magistrate Court agreed. "They came when I was away and removed my property from the house and my grandchildren were thrown out." Magaya then appealed to the Supreme Court where the five judges sided with her brother. They ruled that "Venia is a lady and therefore cannot be appointed to (her) father's estate when there is a son."

A few days after this judgment came down in May, a coalition of women's groups took to the streets. Over 100

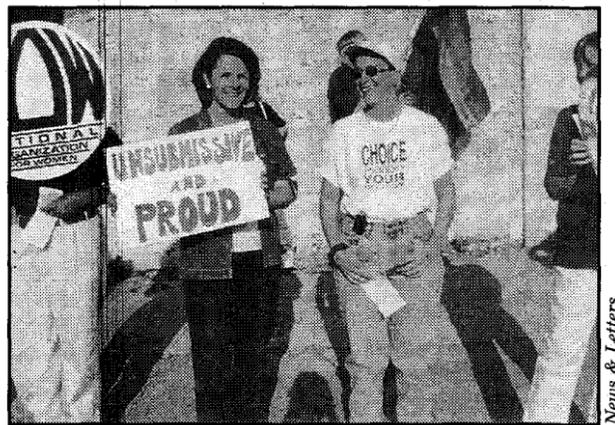
women expressed their "distress and deepest concern" at the judgment. Lydia Zigomo-Nyatsanza, president of the Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association, stated that the coalition "is going to be lobbying and monitoring the constitutional reform process very carefully to ensure that women's rights issues are incorporated."

Women charged that not only was customary law superseded by the 1982 Legal Age of Majority Act (LAMA) that states that an 18-year-old Zimbabwean woman is completely emancipated, they also argued that the Supreme Court judgment "prevents the growth of customary law which has always changed for the benefit of people and in line with their changing needs."

Seven women's groups wrote to the court saying: "The Supreme Court's interpretation leaves us wondering what rights women have gained through the LAMA. What alarms us is that the Supreme Court reinstates the disadvantages and disabilities women suffered under customary law, which the legislature clearly intended to remove through the LAMA. We believe that an African woman cannot be a major and simultaneously remain a minor at customary law."

Unable to deal with the women's criticism, the Supreme Court struck back, sending each women's group a letter threatening that if they continued to "indulge in gratuitous and unfounded insults to the judiciary, and in public demonstrations, [they] will be dealt with under laws of contempt of court." It is doubtful that these threats will silence the Zimbabwean women. Meanwhile Venia Magaya is living in a shack with her grandchildren. —T.M.

Promise Keepers lose ground



Memphis—"We won't surrender! We've taken back our heads! We won't go backwards! We will not be led!" This was the chant that greeted participants of the first meeting of the right-wing theocratic all-male Promise Keepers (PK) 1999 national tour as 16,000 mostly white men filed into the downtown convention hall here called "The Pyramid" last month.

This first mass meeting of PK in Memphis since 1996 was, in every way, a defeat for them. Then they almost filled a football stadium here with up to 60,000, charging \$60 a seat. This year, they could not even fill a convention hall when the event was free. Even the rabidly heterosexual founder, Bill McCartney, admitted to the press that his "heart has been grieving... [because] there are very few men from Memphis here." That few African-American men fell for the 1996 PK conference theme "Racial Reconciliation" was clear from the almost total lack of Black men in attendance.

Every news station carried a story of how the PK meeting was opposed by a group of 60 women and men from 13 organizations, spearheaded by the National Organization for Women (See June N&L). Our demonstration included church, lesbian and gay groups, News and Letters Committees, a gay youth group, and the Women's Action Coalition's Radical Cheerleaders, who helped keep us chanting and yelling in the 90-plus degree heat.

Our lively and effective demonstration made it clear that we have a different vision of what America is and should become. To some there, it could be summed up as equality between men and women. But others of us were there to say that we want a totally different society built on completely new human relations.

—Terry Moon

Women prisoners voice issues to 'Long Termers'

Oakland, Cal.—On June 4, California Coalition for Women Prisoners (CCWP) was invited to participate in a meeting of the Long-Termers' Organization (LTO) at California Institution for Women (CIW) in Frontera, Cal.

Gloria Killian, one of the organizers, told us that LTO was formed to help women inside take a measure of control. LTO has invited lawyers, for example, to speak on how to file writs, what you need to do to increase your chances of getting granted a parole date, and so on. There are about 80 regular participants in the meetings now and the organizers hope their numbers will grow.

We found out that as a result of the Shumate suit settlement—the law suit women brought against systematic medical neglect and abuse (see "Prisoners find courage to speak out" in the June N&L)—which is in its monitoring stage now, the administration is very busy creating paperwork. They offered a "health fair" in March, where women were able to sign up for basic tests, such as a pap smear and a mammogram. Some women, who did sign up for such services, are yet to get them, though they were subjected to various other tests they did not request.

Women are befuddled when told they have hepatitis-C, full blown AIDS, and other diseases, with no treatment being prescribed, nor any explanation of how they could have contracted those diseases in prison. Many times a visit with a doctor is scheduled only to be canceled at the last moment.

But it is not only their health care stories that the women wanted to share with us. We talked about many issues: 1) the Family Living Unit visits, which lifers cannot have and thus women are deprived of very precious time with their children; 2) the media ban, which prevents the press from getting prisoners' stories; 3) clemency petitions for battered women who attempted to defend themselves; 4) programs available for women leaving prison.

Of special concern to women inside is California's Senate Bill 128, which would reform the Board of Prison Terms (BPT) rules. BPT would be obliged to design a plan specifically for each prisoner. When the prisoner met all conditions of the plan, she would be given a parole date. Gloria Killian wrote to *The Fire Inside*: "We are not powerless and it is time to stop acting as if we are helpless. At CIW we have initiated a massive letter writing campaign in support of SB 128 and it is creating an impact."

It is clear that these women are doing a lot of organizing inside and what they need and are desperately seeking is contact with organizations on the outside.

Unions only part of workers' control

Atlanta—I can agree with the frustration of workers who demonstrated in New York City May 12 (See June News & Letters). The workers here in the Delta, like the ones in New York, are at a breaking point of finally stepping up to the plate and demanding answers from the people who are holding the whip. We want to control our destiny, both politically and through union elections. I believe that the outburst that happened in New York is going to happen here. It's just a matter of time.

What helped make me feel this way is a meeting I attended last month in Atlanta, a planning meeting for the Second Annual Workers' School. The conference was held at Morehouse College, sponsored by the Brisbane Institute. The "Black Workers for Justice" organization put it together.

There were about 20 people there, mostly Blacks but including three whites. People came from South Carolina, North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia. They included rank-and-filers as well as educators from Morehouse College and people from the Workers' Rights Center.

At that meeting we were discussing what we could do as working people to take charge and get our unions in the right direction. We discussed the curriculum for the Workers' School, including building a rank-and-file movement among union and non-union workers, fighting discrimination in the workplace and organizing the unorganized. We talked about national and international solidarity, women workers in the private sector, trade union strategies, and many other topics.

Some of the things that we workers brought up were things that would be good for our areas like what's going on with workfare. I brought up the difficulty of organizing some portions of the Delta and asked how we can get the community working with us and aware of what is going on in these workplaces. We also got deep into how

the unions are not playing their roles in terms of what concerns workers. That was everywhere at this meeting.

The people at the conference believed that the unions were the whole answer. I have a problem with that viewpoint. I told them about our struggle in the Delta and how what is needed is a mental awareness—a change in the mind. They talked about the 1960s and what they represented and asked why aren't our young people more connected to the 1960s and taking charge. I said that, yes, we made a lot of changes but the chains aren't just around the ankles, there are mental chains, and that's what needs breaking.

That's why I spoke about who we are as women workers in the Delta and the changes that we needed. So many were talking about how their union officials took charge away from the workers and did things that didn't help workers that much. I see that frustration right here in the Delta.

The Workers' School people see that it is all about unionism, but I think it goes deeper. One asked how do we get the older women and men to see that things can be changed, that they don't have to go with what the employers say? One guy said, some people are just set in their ways, because they lived their life of slavery and will never be able to see because it is a mind thing for them. Another guy said, what about the younger people? It's a mind thing with them too.

Then I jumped in and said, it's changing the mind and those perceptions that's key to showing a way out. A lot agreed with that, but the focus was still only on educating people about the union and taking charge of that.

You could see that people want this society to change; they want the workplace to change, but they don't know what they need, or how to go about it. Because unionism is an important part of making changes, they see it needs to be improved, it needs to be taught, and the political structure needs to be changed. But it wasn't connected to anything else.

When they talked about revolution, it was about the 1960s, not today. We talked about why it died out, and didn't stick to our children. They asked how do we get back to that to change our society, not just as a Black race, but as a whole. I think we need to look more at changing the mind, and not just stopping at changing the unions.

—S. Hamer

Behind Coastal Berry loss

What follows is an excerpt of an interview with Jose Rojas, a strawberry picker who has been fighting for three and a half years for the United Farmworkers at Coastal Berry, the world's largest strawberry grower. In the battle to represent the workers, the UFW lost in June to the Coastal Berry Farm Workers' Committee, 688 to 598.—Ed.

Watsonville, Cal.—The central reason why [the vote] was lost is because the foremen go into the fields every day with the intention of intimidating the workers. Many who have spoken up for the union have been fired. They come up with new rules when they please, things nobody has heard of before, just to have a reason to get rid of those they don't want around. I myself have received death threats.

They tell everyone the company will have to close if the UFW wins. They threaten to check everyone's documents, and tell us those who have a problem will be deported by the INS. They reward their family, and those who are weak, with the few better jobs, such as drivers. Then they use these people to spread these lies.

We have made complaints to the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, but they go nowhere because those people were appointed when Wilson was governor. This is the kind of suffering Blacks experienced when there was slavery, not what you would expect near the year 2000.

It's a phantom thing, the Workers' Committee, it doesn't even really exist. They hold no meetings except for those who are against the union. A few pro-company workers got it on the ballot, even though they make no demands for better conditions. We even have a video of them explaining to the workers that they would charge \$8 a week in dues plus a \$300 initiation fee. Who can pay that? The committee is unknown, whereas the UFW has a history, and workers know this history. They know what Cesar Chavez stood for.

We have shown that we can win benefits; last year the pay was raised to \$6.50 an hour before the picking begins. For the past 10 years it's been \$5.75. We have health benefits now, not much, but better than nothing. And we have good water to drink now. Before we had to drink the stuff they water the berries with.

The struggle is going to continue, and I'm confident that we will win. I don't think the committee will even be certified. I have this confidence because we have no choice; in the last ten years our lives have gotten much harder. Our checks are smaller than they were, and everything is more expensive.

This is the case even though the machinery they use is much bigger; the berries are nearly the size of apples now (though they aren't as sweet as they used to be), and they're using more pesticides. So they invest a lot of money, and the land is very rich too, but our share is less.

Regaining Overnite jobs

Memphis, Tenn.—I got my job back a few weeks ago. Overnite Transportation fired eight of us for supposedly lying on our applications about our prison records (See May News & Letters). I proved to them that they got a tax break for hiring me. They haven't hired back any of the other workers they fired. We will have to fight for each one.

One guy who had drawn too much unemployment compensation said "no" on the application to the question "have you ever been convicted of a felony." His papers and the probationary department showed it as a misdemeanor. But because it's in the computer downtown as a felony, the company is holding it against him. He was fired because supposedly he lied on the application, and he didn't lie. He is a good guy, a union activist. This is just another Overnite tactic to try to get rid of us.

Another good union man who was fired was on probation when he was hired, so his probation officer had to contact Overnite monthly to verify his employment. Overnite says they didn't know he had a record. They want to know who had the probation office been talking to. But, conveniently for Overnite, the probation officer died!

They are playing down the fact that they had to take me back. The reason it's played down so easily is because none of the top officials who were at the terminal when I left are there now. In the last three years alone Overnite has had three different terminal managers, eight or nine assistant terminal managers, and 26 different dock supervisors. In the last seven years we've had three different CEOs! And Overnite is the fourth largest truck line in the world. The parent company, Union Pacific, should take a good long hard look at this.

I believe the managers get worn out from hearing war stories, being told they have to run some kind of prison camp and knowing they can't. You can only push workers so far, and then management gets the word to push harder. Overnite is trying to make them treat grown men like they're kids, and it isn't going to work.

Now all we can do is deal with the NLRB. If we got a contract, we could show them how much power the Teamsters have. Even now we can make them jump, just by posting that we're going to have a union meeting. We do it sometimes just to scare them that we'll strike. Sometime we'll actually do it.

—Militant Black worker

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

buyer." So true. We resisted and voted down the first contract.

But then the union president came and told us he had seen the books, the company was not lying, they were in financial trouble, he wasn't telling us how to vote, but... And the threats from the owners got heavier. So fear understandably got the better of all this class wisdom, and a majority made a desperate try: you got the gun to my head, so I'll hand over the money. Gaining time over the sure bullet in the head?

Of course you know how the story goes. At the same time the owners are swearing "We'll never sell," they had been negotiating for over a year with another company. It seems the final sticking point was us, the wage slaves. If they sold the company, the union would see to it our seniority was dove-tailed into the other company's seniority list. They'd be stuck with us.

WORK — IF AVAILABLE

So they sold only the "customer list," not the physical assets. They sold what our labor and goodwill had created, the relations with the customers, the service, but did not sell us. But the union would still fight to get us tail-ended on the seniority list. So getting us to cheapen our labor was the final sticking point of the sale.

Yes, they were forced to offer us work—if available—thanks to the union, but at the lower rate we voted ourselves for two years. Big Larry had it right. And all this was done with lies, all lies, fancy lies about bank financing, turn-around, blah, blah. Of course.

They had to keep us working or that three and a half million dollars that our "customer list" represented would have gone up in smoke in one week if we had known the truth and had gone out to look for other jobs. I wish we had and their whole deal had collapsed. Hey, but that's business, right?

We did not question the right of these owners to do as they please with their "private property." We did recognize that we the workers built the company, we the workers did the work, created the value; without us there was nothing. Yet we did not break through the illusion of private property of the means of production.

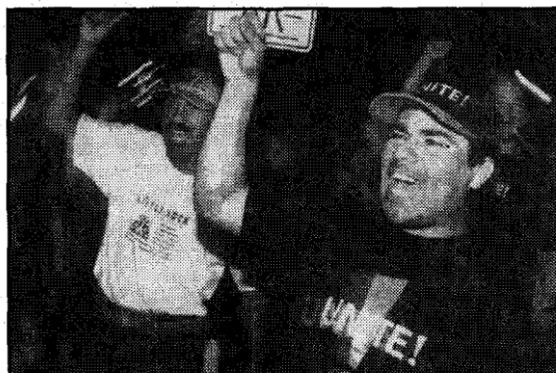
OWNERS KEEP THEIRS AND OURS

The closest we came to that thought was "Man, if they don't pay me for that last week of work, I'm taking one of these trucks and selling it." Ah, but that is what we have laws and the police for, right? You don't even seriously consider that; the consequences would be too hard. It's their laws. But the owners were scared. If we don't damage equipment, and so on, they threatened, they will pay us our last paycheck, and we'll have a job with the new company. If there is work.

Those who followed the work got the lies mostly. There is no work for most of them. They've been walking most every day. Those of us who looked for other jobs are now going to live under that two-tier wage voted in in the '80s, and made worse in the '90s. (Think of those who come after. They may be you!)

We are casuals all over again, as 75% pay with two years to get up to full rate. By then that company might close too! Where I am shaping up, there are loads of guys who are on their fourth or even fifth company. Lessons of the '80s have been learned, we will see what comes next. Right now, things are hard and getting harder.

Historic win at Cannon



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From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Editor's Note

The heating up of tensions between nuclearly armed India and Pakistan, which has led to renewed fighting between them in Kashmir, makes this a timely moment to revisit the historic roots of today's conflicts in South Asia. This piece, entitled "The China-India War in a Nuclear State-Capitalist Age: Relationship of Imperialism to the Ideological Struggles," was written by Raya Dunayevskaya in December 1962 after the outbreak of war between China and India. It represents one of many writings on South Asia in the Marxist-Humanist Archives. We publish here excerpts from the piece, which was originally written as a Political Letter to News and Letters Committees. The original can be found in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 3088.

India was the first country to gain its independence from British imperialism and thus, in 1947, open a new third world that was to stretch from Asia to the Middle East, and from Africa to Latin America. Since all newly independent countries born in the next decade, or 13 years, had all emerged out of national movements striving to free themselves from Western imperialism, the unifying link predominated over the divisions within this post-war world and seemed indeed capable of forging a new path for all mankind.

Both because it was one of the richest in culture and past traditions, and the first to gain its independence, India seemed destined to play a central role on the Asian continent. As the African continent also sought to use Gandhism¹, or the non-violent mass resistance method to gain freedom, India's world role shone so brightly that it dimmed the other truth, that **no fundamental change in human relations followed independence.** The dominant Congress Party, which had succeeded in uniting all classes in the struggle against foreign domination, first began showing its true class nature by leaving production relations, in the city or the country, basically unchanged.

India continued to be the land of villages, with an outmoded agriculture, overlaid with an entrenched landlord class, and a halting, partial industrialization that was grafted on top of the semi-feudal relations. It was further both overburdened and undermined by the Hindu caste system that has remained changeless through the millennia. Back in the 19th century, Hegel designated it as "the philosophy of unfreedom."

It is true that, politically, there was both independence from Britain, and a parliamentary democracy established so that, in law, caste is not "recognized." In life, unfortunately, it remains dominant...

Every leader in the new third world seems to consider himself a "socialist"—from Krishna Menon [defense minister under Nehru] to Nasser, from Mao to Nkrumah, not to mention the "Marxist-Leninist-till-the-day-I-die" Castro. But, obviously it is not the human difference these leaders are concerned with, but the State Plan and some statistics about the "rate of economic growth"....

It is here that the entry of China, two years after India's independence, quickly took away from India its status as a "beacon for the underdeveloped lands." It is

1. Gandhism means both much more, and much less, than passive non-violent mass resistance. From Gandhi's first introduction of satyagraha and the resulting British massacre at Amritsar in 1919, which coincided in world affairs with the Russian Revolution and the attempts in India to start a Marxist movement which he fought, to Gandhi's role in the post-World War II movement he finally led to victory and thus became the prototype of the new nationalist revolutionary in Africa—there lies a quarter of a century in need of analysis. This is not the place to attempt it.

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Historic roots of conflict in South Asia

true that in Mao's China, the state, and not the people, rules over production, in agriculture as in industry. But, once it drove out Chiang Kai-shek, China did experience an agricultural revolution, and did not have to compete with private vested interests when it established its Five Year Plans. Above all, it had what the Indian rulers did not and could not have—an usurped banner of Marxist liberation.

INDIA'S CONFLICT WITH CHINA

Up to the Great Leap Forward, which turned out to be state regimentation in forced barrack-like "communes"—or, more precisely put, up to the failure of the Great Leap Forward in 1959—there was no doubt that on every front, from agricultural reform to rapid industrialization, from the prestige of its own hard-won victory through guerrilla war to encouragement of national liberation movements, stretching from Algeria to Cuba, armed with the banner of Marxist liberation, China was winning as against India, both the struggle for the minds of men and actual adherents in this new third world.²

We need not stop here to demonstrate how false is the claim of Mao to any "Marxism"...All I want to say here is that, despite China's setback, she does not fear, at this moment, economic competition from India. Those who think that, if it were not for the defeat of the fantastic attempt to leap to 20th century industrialism in a single year, Mao would not have embarked on his present imperialist adventure, will once again be caught blindfolded both as to the expected fair harvest this year and, above

over it helped set up the division between India and Pakistan. It is as true, however, that once the countries did separate each had a right to its own existence. Gandhi became a martyr when he fought to end the "holy war" and build up fraternal relations.³ Nehru chose Menon as his "holy man" to proclaim Pakistan "Enemy No. 1" for all these 14 years [and] kept two-thirds of the Army at the Kashmir site while leaving the borders to China unprotected from that "ally."

Despite its "period of glory"—the 1947-48 Kashmir war—Nehru had not allowed the Army any decisive role in the Indian pattern of life. Despite the fact that he allowed the ultra-conservative Sandhurst-educated officer class to have the Army under its command and play some old imperialist roles in Korea and in Congo, Nehru's concept of the role of the army made it subordinate to the civil authorities. In this he fundamentally differs from Mao, who, even in the Communist (read: state-capitalist) orbit holds to a special militaristic position. The Chinese Constitution is the only one where not only the "Party" but the Army is made synonymous with the state authority.

This one element that would have created at least the semblance of an ideology in opposition to that expounded in China is now itself in question since the Anglo-American aid will not only come with political strings attached but inevitably create its own image internally by raising the Indian Army to a new status. Since Nehru's good anti-military instincts were not backed up by a proletarian class position he will inevitably give way both to the Anglo-American advice and Indian Army ambitions.

It is true that he is still holding out one hope of not completely falling into the orbit of Western imperialism by counting on Russian aid, but insofar as the Indian masses are concerned, **does it really matter whether it is the Russian or the American nuclear orbit?** Even as a foreign policy, a military line is derivative, rather than a determinant, of the class relations within the country. In this lies the danger that India may still capitulate either to Communist totalitarianism or to a military clique.

Nehru's unique authority in India does not stem from his creation of new relations with the great mass of the Indian people who must bend both to his State Plans and to the private capitalist and entrenched landlord interests. He has been a leader of the struggle for independence from Britain, and he has now been attacked by his Communist ally, and the Indian people have

saved him from downfall. His desperate attempt first now to search for a new ideological banner and come up with "the Indian way of life" will create no new world apart from both poles of world capital—the Russo-Soviet or Anglo-American orbits—fighting for world domination. To cling to the class-ridden "Indian way of life" is only one more way of saying "the old cannot be changed"—and, by losing the struggle for the minds of men, losing both India and the new third world.

It was no accident that in the 15 years since independence, in the 13-year alliance with Mao's China, in the seven years of "Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference," plus the innumerable "neutralist" conferences since, Nehru failed to condemn Russia either for its counter-revolutionary role in putting down the Hungarian Revolt in 1956 or for its unilateral breaking of the nuclear moratorium; [he] acquiesced in China's conquest of Tibet and bowed sufficiently to [Egypt's] stand on Israel not to open an embassy there although he had been among the first to hail its independence. The opportunist, the short-sighted, the self-righteous, the ambivalent in foreign and military policies, was the counterpoint to the so-called socialist, but actually capitalist, exploitative relations internally.

The Indian people who have pushed him off his "neutrality" for the Sino-Soviet orbit, must now see that he doesn't merely shift over to the Anglo-American orbit, leaving production relations and ideological banner as unchanged as the changeless caste system of "unfreedom."

3. One other role for which Gandhi will go into history is hardly ever mentioned, and yet it will endear him more to future generations than the role he is famous for. This "hidden" role in his recognition that "The Party" in power is corruptible. Though he passed on his mantle of leadership to Nehru, he himself refused to take a position in power, and urged that others too must stay out of power and look at the ruling Congress Party, their own, with "outside" eyes.



all, the possible breakthrough in the nuclear field in 1963....

TWO OPPOSING IDEOLOGIES?

Strangest of all blindfolds is the one that covers Nehru's vision. Now that his "neutrality" principle lies as shattered as Bandung's "Five Principles of Co-Existence," co-authored by himself and Chou En-lai, he has suddenly discovered that Mao wishes "to destroy the Indian way of life." He rolls that phrase off his moral lips as if it were some classless phenomenon instead of so class-ridden and contradictory a chain over so unfinished a revolution that the strains and stresses in the Indian body politic gave Mao the illusion he could have as easy, a victory within India as the military victory on its borders. **The fact that the [Chinese] invasion [of India in 1962], instead, united India as a nation should give no illusions to Nehru that the masses will forever be satisfied with a sham freedom and no bread.**

The truth is that it was not the classlessness but the sameness of the class—that of State Planners—which united Mao and Nehru at Bandung. The respect for "sovereignty of nations" and "non-interference in internal affairs" meant no foreign interference in class relations within each country so long as the third world could be a single unit against "the West." Mao still thinks that, on that basis, he can get acquiescence to his grab of Indian territory by many of "the uncommitted nations," as indeed he seems to be doing at the Colombo conference meeting presently in Ceylon.

But if his imperialist ambitions are all too clear, do Nehru's lesser ambitions constitute a different class phenomenon? The moment of independence was the moment also of the fratricidal war with Pakistan. (That unresolved conflict was another element in the temptation of Mao to attack.)

There is no doubt that British imperialistic maneuvers and their eternal attempt to break up a country at the moment of independence so as to continue its rule

2. *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, by Raya Dunayevskaya (Chicago: News and Letters, 1959 [new edition, 1984]).

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Essay Article Hegel's organizational critique of intuitionism

by Ron Brokmeyer

New revolutionary impulses, from the revolt that overthrew Mobutu in Congo in 1997 to the mass revolt in Indonesia in 1998, have arisen against the global economic crisis of the late 1990s. Yet there is a lack of a positive vision of the future beyond capitalism. Why is it that even mass movements that create new organizational forms and accomplish a revolutionary overthrow get sucked into the illusion that the immediate object determining life—today's globally integrated production and free-flowing global capital markets—must forever be with us?

As one way to probe into this, I want to look at one important, although much neglected, aspect of Hegel's thought—his critique of intuitionism, or the kind of thinking which mistakes the immediate objects determining life for the nature of life itself. Hegel's critique of immediate knowledge or intuition is central to his greatest philosophic work, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*.¹

HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY, 1806

Hegel's *Phenomenology* was written under the impact of the 1789 French Revolution. In 1806, as Hegel finished the *Phenomenology*, he watched Napoleon march into his city of Jena. So when Hegel writes in the Preface to the *Phenomenology* that "ours is a birth-time and period of transition to a new era," it was very concrete.

Yet Hegel complains in the Preface that this new revolutionary impulse doesn't mean we can be satisfied with new philosophers like F.W.J. Schelling, who in trying to capture the spirit of the revolution, got swept up in the bare feeling of the true as subjective self-development.

The true as subjective self-development has to be proven in all the wealth of experience. The revolution cleared the deck of old thinking and old fixed social categories, but Hegel warned that it was still defective, in that the new reality issuing from it was only a bare beginning in realizing the power of subjectivity in all the concrete ways we experience reality.

The revolution concentrated a problem in Hegel's mind. It was the problem that even when the idea of freedom creates a new reality through a revolutionary movement, there is the pull to relate to the new immediate world in the manner of the naive "natural" view of things.

The naive "natural" view of things is to view objects as a positive content standing against an external and negative consciousness. A moment of sense certainty, for example, tells us that it is night. The problem is that night changes to day and the truth of the statement "It is night" becomes stale. Hegel is saying that while we naively start by thinking that night is an external object that we gain knowledge of through sense certainty, what we really learn, if we follow our development closely, is that the object's truth is in our own consciousness. The concept of "now," the unity that holds day and night together, is not outside us but is wholly within our consciousness.

Whatever the experiences analyzed by Hegel in the long trek of the *Phenomenology*, consciousness works out the ways in which it knows the object as itself. He characterizes the moments of development in the *Phenomenology* as circles where consciousness comes back to confront its object anew with a deeper comprehension of its own implication in it—with a deeper comprehension, as Hegel says in the Preface, that the true is not only substance but subject as well. Hegel provides the ladder from everyday experience to "Absolute Knowledge" for anyone who wants to undergo the strenuous climb.

In the last chapter of the *Phenomenology*, "Absolute Knowledge," Hegel returns to the birth-time of history that he spoke of in the Preface, except that this time "History, is a conscious self-mediating process," and when Spirit "starts afresh to bring itself to maturity" it has preserved within itself the "whole gallery of recollected previous spiritual forms."

Hegel spells this out in its final paragraph: "The goal, Absolute Knowing, or Spirit that knows itself as Spirit, has for its path the recollection of the Spirits as they are in themselves and as they accomplish the organization of their realm. Their preservation, regarded from the side of their free existence appearing in the form of contingency, is History; but regarded from the side of their philosophical comprehension organization, it is the Science of Knowing in the sphere of appearance: the two together, comprehended History, form at once the recollection and the Golgotha of Absolute Spirit."

THE PHENOMENOLOGY REVISITED IN 1827

If we take a brief look at how history unfolded in Hegel's own lifetime and how it led him to revisit the *Phenomenology* and its abstract result, it will be easier to comprehend what Hegel means here by recollection and organization.

Toward the end of his life, Hegel had to deal with the popularity of the philosophy of intuitionism or immediate knowledge. This philosophy reasserts faith by explicitly rejecting all method. In his 1827 introduction to his *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, Hegel repeats his view from the 1817 edition of that work that he considers the *Phenomenology* to be the first part of

his system of Philosophy. However, in the 1827 edition of the *Encyclopedia* Hegel added a whole new introductory section on Attitudes to Objectivity in order to re-create a distillation of the speculative historical perspective of the *Phenomenology*. In light of a different historic period, Hegel explicates something new about the relation between the self-realizing goal of freedom and the dialectic.

In his new introductory section on Attitudes to Objectivity Hegel traces out the history of thought. He calls all forms of pre-Kantian dogmatic metaphysics the first attitude toward objectivity. Kantian empiricism and criticism constitutes a second attitude. Since Hegel's own dialectic was so much a critical response to Kant's, one would think that would be the third attitude. But 1827 was not 1806. You had the Restoration of the monarchy and with it a growing impatience. F.H. Jacobi's doctrine of immediate knowledge or faith that takes whatever is found in immediate consciousness for the truth had gained a following. So Hegel included it within a whole new third attitude which he characterized as a backward, rather than a forward, movement.

The problem Hegel wanted to address is that there would always be this pull back into immediate natural consciousness unless the dialectic in and for itself was made explicit. Thus the opposite of Recollection is the anti-dialectic. Recollection proves that it is "false...to forget that in the very act of mediation the mediation vanishes." Hegel's whole system is to hold fast to the vanished mediating power of the negative which generates the new immediacy: "to show that, in point of fact, there is knowledge which advances neither by unmixed immediacy nor by unmixed mediation, we can point to the example of Logic and the whole of philosophy."²

The reactionary return to immediate natural consciousness in the form of philosophic faith forced Hegel by 1827 to address the meaning of that other dimension of Recollection in the *Phenomenology*—the Recollection of how "Spirit" accomplishes its self-organization. Before we address that directly, it is important to gain a perspective on Hegel's concept of organization as well as how that concept was impacted by historic developments between 1806 and 1827.

ORGANIZATION AND THE DIALECTIC

Such a perspective is needed because the prevailing view is that Hegel was an extreme political conservative. In fact, today's Hegel scholars have shown that he was not as conservative as most, especially on the Left, presume.³ The focus here is not on the traditional forms of organizations like craft guilds and the church, which did interest Hegel, but rather on how Hegel worked out the relationship between the overall concept of organization and his dialectic.

While for Hegel an important manifestation of organization was the church, he especially focused on the autonomous, self-governing, non-hierarchical Protestant churches wherein organization would be entrusted to "general insight and culture." As Hegel once put it, "our universities and schools are our church" (Hegel to Niethammer, July 12, 1816). Hegel felt that decentralized organizational forms were the best way to realize the ideals of liberty unleashed by the French Revolution as he also fought dogmatic and hierarchical tendencies in the Protestant church in Bavaria (Hegel to Niethammer, November, 1807).

Even in the Restoration's early stages after 1815, Hegel remained sanguine about the realization of the promise of liberty unleashed by the French Revolution. Again, in Hegel's view, this realization would be accomplished through the local democracy of self-governing churches as the wellspring of culture and learning. When some of the modest reforms initiated by Napoleon in Bavaria were being retracted, Hegel wrote to his friend Niethammer, these were "ephemeral...paltry paper successes of human ants, fleas, and bugs."

"I adhere," wrote Hegel in the same letter, "to the view that the world spirit has given the age marching orders. These orders are being obeyed. The world spirit, this essential power, proceeds irresistibly like a closely drawn armored phalanx advancing with imperceptible movement..."

This image of inevitable steady progress of world spirit is often used against Hegel without noting his many qualifications, even when he was most optimistic. In the

Phenomenology, spirit often advances only to encounter a more total form of a previous stage of alienation. Even more important is that Hegel's critics fail to note Hegel's later view in the 1827 *Encyclopedia* that the movement of history not only included outright retrogression but also that the opposite of that retrogression is digging into dialectic in and for itself. However, that was not so clear in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia* in 1817.

Things changed when political retrogression got much worse after March 1819. Karl Sand, a member of the German student movement fighting the reaction, committed an individual act of terror, assassinating a reactionary playwright, August Kotzebue, and thereby triggered an authoritarian crackdown. Sand was a follower of the Jacobian philosophy of immediate feeling through his teacher Jacob Fries. Fries extended Jacobi's philosophy to a tendency of political romanticism, to the idea of acting on the basis of immediate feelings. This is not unlike some of the action oriented, anti-theoretic tendencies among students in the 1960s. There were many tendencies in the 1820s German student movement, which in general was striving to modernize Germany along the lines of France. Some students were sympathetic to Hegel.

Friedrich Carove, whom Hegel picked to be his first teaching assistant, was one such student. Carove was rejected by the police. Hegel's second teaching assistant, Leopold von Henning, was arrested by the Prussian police a year later. In September 1819 the German Confederation issued the Karlsbad Decrees which set up strict censorship and an inquisition against religious heresy in literature and educational institutions. Hegel himself was criticized for heresy and undermining the foundations of faith. This was such a problem to him that the Protestant Hegel wrote to his wife that "the Roman Curia would be a more honorable opponent than the miserable cabals of a miserable boiling of parsons in Berlin."⁴

The key point is that Hegel saw the post-1819 political regression as a retrogression in thought that elevated immediate faith to the truth. Though Hegel was for the church, religion had to undergo a critique and be transcended by philosophy in order for philosophy's universals to overcome their abstract character—in order for those universals to become a determined content in the community and in concrete experience.

The Roman Curia at least held to a system of doctrine that could be subjected to critique. The doctrine of intuitionism or immediate knowledge blocked critique and the possibility of transcending religion in philosophy. In the Preface to the 1827 *Encyclopedia* Hegel says that the only way for religion to intersect with the higher form of philosophy is for it to submit the heart's religiosity which "persists in clinging to its...unintelligent intensity" to the "authority of spirit" and its "intelligent expansion of doctrine."⁵

Against Jacobi who "has no other authority than personal revelation," Hegel saw something superior in the Church which at least was disciplined by a "copious body of objective truth, a system of knowledge and doctrine."⁶ Jacobi's immediate knowledge provided a philosophic cover for the primacy of the heart. It blocked critique because, unlike the immediate natural consciousness as it emerged historically, this immediacy was thoughtfully asserted.

Now the dialectic proof that immediacy emerged from mediation, the principle of philosophy as history's "conscious self mediating process," could not stop with recollection of free contingent History in the philosopher's head. Now Hegel makes more concrete what was only implied in the last paragraph of the *Phenomenology*, i.e., that philosophy must consciously unite with organization and be its "intelligent expansion of doctrine." Indeed, a retrogression of a thoughtfully asserted immediacy, or intuitionism, forces the issue of explicitly making dialectic philosophy's underlying speculative standpoint itself the basis of organizational discipline.

Hegel was reaching for a concept of organization disciplined by the dialectic itself which can expose the lie, through its body of thought, of an unmediated immediacy posed by intuitionism. Only when the dialectic in and for itself consciously comes to the fore can the path to liberation be assured. Only then is the new recognized as belonging wholly to the speculative dialectic moment; only then is the power of thought not lost in any new immediacy.

What Marx did in his day and Marxist-Humanism is trying to do in ours, without any direct "copying" of Hegel, is to work out a principle of revolutionary organization on such a foundation, an issue which *News & Letters* will deal with more in the future.

4. *The Logic of Hegel*, p. xx.

5. *Ibid*, p. xxi.

6. *Ibid*, para. 63.

1. This essay grew out of last year's discussions around the 25th anniversary of the publication of *Philosophy and Revolution* by Raya Dunayevskaya. See especially the expanded 1989 edition of *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and From Marx to Mao* (New York: Columbia University Press) with Dunayevskaya's letter on organization and Hegel's critique of intuitionism.

2. *The Logic of Hegel*, trans. William Wallace (Oxford, 1968) para. 75.

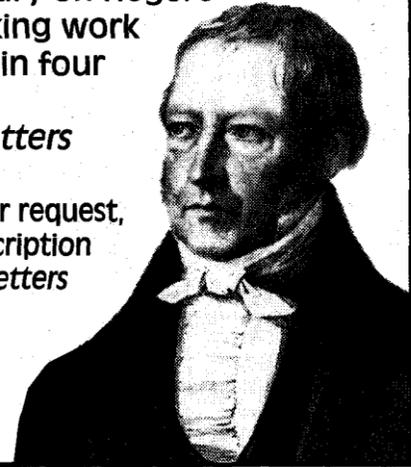
3. Jacques D'Hondt and others have proven this point in a way an essay of this length obviously cannot. See D'Hondt, *Hegel in his Time*, trans. John Burbidge (Peterborough, Ontario, Broadview Press, 1988).

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THE LEFT, THE KLA, AND THE AFTERMATH OF GENOCIDE

In the aftermath of the Serbian assault on Kosovo, some things are becoming clearer—for instance, that those Apache helicopters which were never used against Milosevic's forces were actually meant to threaten the KLA. Now the bourgeois press has begun editorializing about the KLA as the "greatest threat to peace remaining" in Kosovo. This order-mongering begs a huge question: where is the outrage about what we are now seeing? The mass graves, the many thousands dead, whole villages turned into concentration camps holding 60,000 "human shields."

Yes, Milosevic is finally an indicted war criminal, but he remains in power and, in disarming the KLA, NATO is carrying out the express wishes of his government. NATO and much of the Left as well, will no doubt try to use the KLA and the profound desire for independence among the Kosovar people to alibi their own silence and total lack of humanity.

**Gerard Emmett
Chicago**

We are seeing greater and greater disorientation of the Left everywhere. It is evident in the disparate views of left intellectuals in France, Germany and Italy. Former pacifists argue in favor of "war" and other ultra pacifists call for an immediate end of war without saying a word of how to stop the Serbian violence in Kosovo. Even the Right is divided; they were supposed to defend NATO but the German right was very cautious about doing so. The demonstrations were a strange mix of Serbs, pacifists, leftists and rightists against NATO. In this country (as in France) communists and right-wing skinheads were together in opposing the bombardment but had nothing to say about Kosovo. Almost half of the Social Democratic Party congress delegates here in Prague signed a letter of sympathy to the Yugoslav ambassador and a group of the party's deputies went to Belgrade on a "fact-finding" mission but when asked on their return about Kosovo they simply said one of their colleagues had been in Tirana and they had heard enough of the suffering there.

**Stephen Steiger
Prague**

The Detroit chapter of the Labor Party reflects much of the division in the Left on Kosovo. At its June meeting a resolution was submitted to stop the U.S./NATO bombing and get their troops out of the Balkans. But an amendment was then also submitted opposing Milosevic's ethnic cleansing and calling for support for Kosovar self-determination. There was considerable discussion on both the resolution and the amendment but action was postponed until the August meeting.

**Labor Party member
Detroit**

I do not agree with your stand re the bombing of Kosovo. There are other means of bringing Milosevic to heel which would not have resulted in greatly escalated human suffering, both to the Albanians and the Serbs. The Serbs who are an opposition group, such as those of us who support *N&L*, ineffective as we may be, nonetheless should be encouraged. Do not be misled into thinking the bombing was not self-serving.

**Longtime supporter
Vancouver**

With rather few honorable exceptions, the response of the Left has been disgraceful. Left-wing commentators have been so fixated on denouncing NATO that they have treated as secondary the life-or-death struggle of a people facing genocide. This includes writers who have been impressive on other world issues, such as John Pilger, who did admirable work on Cambodia and East Timor. At this century's end there is a new great divide in politics—are you for the liberation of Kosovo or not? That is about far more than Kosovo. It's about freedom and humanity worldwide.

**Richard Bunting
Oxford**

While I appreciated the passionate appeal in the May editorial to support the Kosovars' right to be Subjects of their own history, I was shocked a revolution-

ary paper would fail to oppose not only Milosevic's genocide but the U.S.'s imperialist bombing as also barbaric state terror against a people. Further, while I applaud the editorial's support for the Kosovar people, it would be wrong to narrow such support to one military-political organization, the KLA, of whom we know very little. *N&L* has always supported the Irish and Palestinian freedom struggles without supporting either the IRA or the PLO.

**John Marcotte
New York**

When NATO peacekeepers entered Bosnia after the Dayton accords, they shied away from confronting the armed Serbian fascists who were given control of half the country, refused to arrest the indicted war criminals Karadzic and Mladic, and failed to stop a new wave of burnings of Muslims' houses. Today we see well-armed NATO peacekeepers in Kosovo describe Kosovar freedom fighters as a "threat to public safety" and demand that they disarm. Isn't it telling what is and what is not considered a threat to the public?

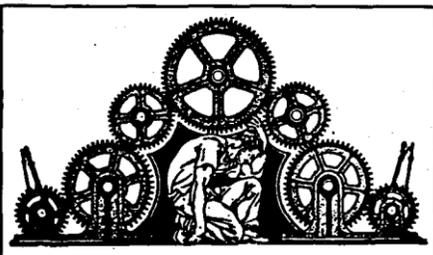
**Bosnia/Kosovo solidarity activist
Tennessee**

There are those who oppose Milosevic's ethnic cleansing but won't support the KLA because they claim they don't "know" about them. The "Voice of the Kosovar resistance" in the June issue can help them take a stand. It proves that in the Kosovar people's opposition to ethnic cleansing there is a hope for a new humanism. Milosevic keeps capitalist relations going and stays in power through narrow nationalism. Sejdiu's voice made the opposition to Milosevic concrete.

**Urszula
California**

I've been following a number of European magazines and papers as well as *N&L* on the question of Kosovo and find *N&L* indispensable! While the NATO attack was going on I read *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western Civilization* and found it showed clearly what is at stake. The position *N&L* has taken—one which is against the NATO attack and at the same time stands with the people of Kosovo—is the only one that represents a real internationalism.

**Worker
Amsterdam**



CAPITAL AND LABOR

In last month's Archives column on "Some Fundamentals of Marxism against pseudo-Marxism," Raya Dunayevskaya speaks about the inversion of subject and object. She says capital uses labor to personify capital and reify people. This relation between capital and labor became very alive to me when I went to Watsonville to interview workers at Coastal Berry who just lost their UFW election. If I had not just gone through our classes, it wouldn't have occurred to me to ask the workers how they view the new technology in the last ten years. The investment in pesticides and machines has grown fantastically. The genetic/chemical-enhanced strawberries are now the size of apples. This has gone hand in hand with an incredible effort to suck more and more surplus value out of living labor.

**Mitch
California**

In the UK over the past 20 years the number of organized workers has fallen by about five million. The number is now rising again, but it's against the background of well-established anti-labor laws. A number of factors are involved: a bullish attitude by the employers; defeats across industries; victimization of labor activists; the increased role of industrial tribunals. But the most significant is the new labour reformism. How does labour now defend itself? Some by

Readers' Views

sickness and absentism, industrial sabotage and time-waiting. It is highly unlikely that new confidence and organization will develop unless some new ideas and methods are found. At this low tide and defensive time, it is good that *News & Letters* is encouraging the debate.

**Pat Duffy
England**

I read in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* that a South Georgia recycling plant fired its workers who had been hired off welfare to sort trash for \$5.25 an hour, and replaced them with free convict labor. The plant is owned by a government authority but operated by a private company. A Georgia law prohibits prisoners taking the place of paid employees but they got around it by having the authority pay workers directly to avoid the legal prohibition against inmates working for a private sector. When questioned about it, the board chairman of the Crisp County Solid Waste Management Authority that owns the facility said, "I think those inmates cost about \$30,000 a year to house so you can't say they're working for free."

**Prisoner rights activist
Illinois**

At the Sealy Mattress plant where I work 95% of the people recently hired have been Mexican. They used to hire a lot more Blacks. They want to make it like the non-union plant in Fort Worth, Texas, which was 90% Mexican and where the pay was even lower than ours here. If we don't get a lot of the Latinos to become union members, we will soon be non-union, too. Our union, Local 282 of the Furniture Workers, is not making a discrimination charge because we don't want it to seem that we're against Latinos. We're dealing with the situation by organizing them. Some have joined up already.

**Black worker
Memphis**

Working Carpenters for a Stronger Union has won a striking victory! Their wildcat strike in San Francisco (reported in the June *N&L*), has just forced the UCB General President to order a new vote on extending the contract that was being shoved down their throats. They want everyone to know this was only the first battle and that they are stepping up their activities. They still need a decent contract and their fight to take back their union is spreading. In New York a walkout is in the making to demand one member, one vote. In Chicago organizing is going on for a similar action. There's definitely more to come.

**Activist
San Francisco**

ISRAEL'S DISAPPEARING OPTIMISM

The victory of Ehud Barak in the recent elections is regarded as a stunning triumph for the peace bloc in the Middle East, after three bleak years of Netanyahu's rule that led to the freezing of the peace process, the unfulfilled Oslo agreements, confiscation of Palestinian land, demolition of Palestinian homes and deliberately violated human rights. But the statements made by Barak after his election have both positive and negative points. His declaration that Jerusalem will remain the undivided and eternal capital of Israel and the settlements will always remain under Israeli sovereignty are clearly obstacles on the road to peace. On the other hand, his declaration on the Golan Heights and South Lebanon have been positive.

We regard his ascendancy to office with cautious optimism. The new Knesset tilts more towards peace than the previous Israeli parliament. For the first time in the history of Israel, an Arab woman is entering the Knesset. Husniyyeh Jabara lives in Al-Taybeh, and represents Meretz.

**Latif Dori
Jerusalem**

Now that Israel's new Prime Minister, Barak, wants to bring not only the religious-conservative Shas but also Ariel Sharon's Likud Party into his cabinet, will someone tell me what was all the

fuss about having voted out Netanyahu? Israeli politicians have long realized that it's OK to allow small pockets of Palestinian land on the West Bank to achieve "autonomy" so long as all effective power is kept in Israeli hands. By accepting the Right into his cabinet, Barak is showing that he plans on going no further than his predecessors. If the leftist Meretz remains in the cabinet after all of this, it will lose all legitimacy.

**Peter Wermuth
Chicago**

The top political echelon in Israel is now studded with former generals who made the leap into civilian life without any pause for de-mobilization. They carry the values, systems, and mind-set of the military. Do those who make war also have special talents for making peace? An odd thought. It's time to call on those who are not army-trained—women, children, conscientious objectors, and the elderly who have forgotten their marching orders—to join the negotiating teams. We have a special edge.

**Gila Svirsky
Jerusalem**



'CARNIVAL AGAINST CAPITALISM'

Around 4,000 people mobilized for a "Carnival Against Capitalism" here on June 18. By publicising for the event on the Internet the organizers circumvented the 1995 Criminal Justice Act which the Tories brought in to restrict events like this. Instead of a march pre-arranged with police approval which would get only media attention, this time they didn't consult the police at all. The first thing they did was occupy the main railway station in the financial center, which the police duly closed. Having achieved that, the protesters flooded into the streets while radical cyclists blocked the streets and snarled traffic. With the area effectively cleared of vehicles it was time for afternoon carnival. "Symbols" of authority were duly assaulted with paint and bricks but the ensuing injuries were all police-inflicted. The financiers and the New Labour government were outraged but a lot of the public watched it on TV with some glee.

**Dave Black
London**

ETHNIC CLEANSING IN AMERICA

A few weeks ago, a Black man named Willie Roy Foster was dragged by whites in Holly Springs, Mississippi. He was in a coma for over a week and a great amount of his skin was dragged off. He is now getting better slowly. The residents say it was a hate crime but the sheriff says there is no proof. There was a protest rally in Holly Springs but nothing about it in the papers. They are trying to hush it up and we should try to get the word out.

**African American and proud
Mississippi**

I appreciated Lou Turner's column last month on the Tulsa, Oklahoma, African-American massacre of 1921. I considered myself fairly knowledgeable about Black history in the U.S. but I had never read or heard of this atrocity before. I felt some apprehension a few times, however, when references were made to "white America" that might have given the impression that all white Americans are prejudiced and opposed to Blacks. While our state-capitalist economic and political system engenders and supports racism I feel we have to differentiate between the white racism our rulers foster and the many whites, including workers, who daily fight alongside Blacks to eliminate all discrimination.

**Marxist-Humanist
Detroit**



FIGHTING POLICE BRUTALITY

I've been to a number of demonstrations at Chicago Police Headquarters, but at the one following the police murders of LaTanya Haggerty and Robert Russ, for the first time I saw barricades up around the building and the sidewalk closed. It was high security. One Black woman, seeing the demonstrators, told me: "People are thinking very hard about these shootings." This is of key importance. Police aren't worried about violence. They are afraid of a New York-style mass movement emerging here, and they are afraid that their privilege to domineer and brutalize will now be seriously questioned. They are too late with their show of intimidation. It's already happening. **Protester Chicago**

The deadly weight of racist stereotypes against young Black men hit home to me after the killing of Bobby Russ when the initial police reports tried to portray him as a "thug." Two days later at a "memorial" (read: defamation) meeting at Northwestern where Bobby was a student, the university pastor kept totally silent on the circumstances of his killing, giving the impression it was his own fault. Northwestern's football coach did his share of character assassination with stupid remarks about his academic standing. His friends tried to defend him by saying he only looked big and scary but anyone who knew him knew he was a teddy bear. That's why his nickname was "Fluff." It took statements and protests by Black and progressive students and faculty to put the focus where it belonged, on the brutal, murderous role of the police. **Northwestern student Evanston, IL**

People here were rightly outraged when an unarmed 17-year-old Black man was gunned down after leaving his high school graduation party, because he couldn't get his gold chain off fast enough for the thug who wanted it. But

why is this murder treated differently than the murders that same week of two also-unarmed Black people by Chicago cops in so-called "routine" traffic stops. As of now, the chain-thief killer is in jail and the thugs in uniform are still on the job. **MJG Chicago**

It was reported in your article on "Marchers protest police brutality" (May N&L), that the crowd booed when higher pay for police was discussed. I would contend that a well-paid, well-educated police force can only benefit society. Even in your country there are many who decry police brutality and who are in a position to do something about it. High standards for those hired must be coupled with commensurate compensation. **Supporter British Columbia**

We joined the protest against the police slaying of LaTanya Haggerty and Bobby Russ when we were visiting in Chicago. Do the protest leaders realize that police repression is a problem in every country? I looked at the mounted police and wondered if they were there to beat the protesters as they do in Mexico City. Just this year, a huge line of mounted police beat school teachers who were demonstrating against the government ending free public education. They broke up the demonstration, swinging truncheons all the way. **Two compañeras Mexico City**

WHAT ARE THE PROMISE KEEPERS?

In Terry Moon's article on the Promise Keepers (June N&L), she wrote that those protesting the PK reject bigotry, even when enclosed in religiosity. But in her first paragraph she calls PK a "notorious, misogynist, right-wing, fundamentalist Christian cult." When you call someone a name isn't that a form of bigotry? Shouldn't you just attack the issue? **Environmental Justice Activist Memphis**

We have to be careful of groups rising up like the Promise Keepers. It is just a hate group. It should be called the Satan Coalition. They get their funding from the Republicans who want you to think

it's OK to think like David Duke and the KKK. Once people figure out the PK is just another form of extremism they don't come to their meetings. **Doris Bradshaw Memphis**

WHO IS THE MURDERER?

This country reached a new low point on May 20 when a jury in New York convicted Tabitha Walrond of murder in the death of her infant son, Tyler. Tabitha was 19 when she had Tyler. She did everything right, went to all her prenatal visits, read about pregnancy and decided to breastfeed her baby. She was not told that her breast-reduction surgery could affect the quantity and quality of the milk she might produce. When she tried to take Tyler for follow-up care she was turned away because his medicare card had not arrived. By the time it did, her baby had died of malnutrition.

Yet in this punishment-happy society the prosecutor was able to convince a jury that she was a murderer. This society could not provide a simple medical checkup for a baby but is ready to put the mother in prison! **Outraged women's liberationist California**

CHINA AND ITS CARDS

Bob McGuire's article on China (June N&L) was outstanding. It is profound to show foreign policy is for internal consumption and that nationalism is one of the cards used for disguising class differences. **Observer California**

There was a strange dynamic in the article on China. We saw how China transported people in state buses to the anti-American demonstrations, using the hate its people felt toward America for bombing the embassy in Belgrade in order to divert them from remembering Tiananmen. But then the masses had to be toned down because the rulers were afraid they were going to get out of hand. We are always being told that China has control over its people. It is good to see that hold may not be so solid. **John San Francisco**

EDUCATION FOR FAILURE?

It seems to me as though the school system here is set up for the children to fail. There was a deadline for children to sign up for summer school. But there were hundreds who couldn't get into a class they needed. We're operating on a computer system but they act as if they don't know how many children failed a class and would need to go to summer school. One teacher told me they don't have enough teachers. I believe they just don't want to have to pay substitute teachers. What are these children to do? A majority of them are Black. **Single Black parent Memphis**

KEEPING A LEGACY ALIVE

To speak of Felix Martin as a "was" is not right. Knowing his impact on the movement for Freedom, the term is "is" because his work lives on in everyone he touched with the Idea of Freedom. **David Anderson California**

What you said in the In Memoriam to Felix Martin in the May issue about the way he introduced everyone he met to Marxist-Humanism made me recall the time when I lived in Los Angeles and went to a grocery store with him and he talked revolution to the butcher there. Everywhere we went he would introduce me as a "proletariat." What I remember most about him was that he talked revolution all the time and not just at meetings and political activities. **Worker Colorado**

I was very grieved to hear of Felix Martin's passing. I'm enclosing a donation in his memory. Perhaps it could go towards the newspaper and subscriptions for people who are unable to subscribe. I know how important the paper was to him. **Longtime supporter Belmont, Cal.**

TO OUR READERS:
Our thanks to all those who have responded to our Appeal for help to keep N&L going.
It was never more needed! Has your donation been sent in?

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Black/Red View

by John Alan

The news media across the country have paid little attention to the large and small demonstrations demanding a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The so-called liberal press has failed to expose in depth how Mumia was railroaded for the murder of a white Philadelphia policeman on dubious hearsay and contradictory material evidence.

To their credit, the established Black leadership has called for a new trial for Mumia. For example, see the Congressional Black Caucus Statement on Mumia Abu-Jamal of April 23, 1999. Yet they have shown no interest in building a mass movement to bring sufficient pressure on the state to grant a new trial.

Neither Jesse Jackson, who got a tremendous amount of media coverage when he went to Yugoslavia to get Milosevic to release American prisoners of war, nor Julian Bond of the NAACP nor the Reverend Al Sharpton has spoken at any of the recent mass demonstrations opposing the legal lynching of Mumia.

Mumia is not the usual type of Black victim; he was not killed by a hail of bullets fired by white cops simply because he was Black and therefore assumed armed and dangerous. Mumia is an activist with a long history of opposing police terror in Philadelphia. There is no doubt police wanted to get him convicted.

TODAY AND YESTERDAY

A recent report by Amnesty International, "Killing with Prejudice: Race and the Death Penalty in the USA," says that they have collected evidence that the rate at which African Americans charged with killing a white person are sentenced to death is "eleven times higher than in the murder of a Black victim by a white person."

The report went on: "Recent research into the attitudes of jurors in capital cases sheds a disturbing light on a process which may be far less impartial than the requirements of justice demand. It shows that ethnic bias does not always stop at the door of the jury room. Comments made under anonymity by some jurors include: 'He (the defendant) was a big man who looked like a criminal... He was big and Black and kind of ugly. So I guess, when I saw him I thought he fits the part.'"

Amnesty International's report verifies what African Americans have long known, that racism is an ingrained characteristic of the U.S. judicial system. From historical experience, they understand that U.S. racism has its ground in the development of American capitalism that had its beginning with the exploitation of African slave labor. And every successful effort to modify and change the practice of U.S. racism was the result of great Black mass movements that have upset and radically changed race and class relations in American society.

In the absence of a movement even nationally publicized cases have a hard time succeeding. In 1939, for

Philosophic dialogue within prison walls

Editor's note: Below we print excerpts from recent correspondence received by *News & Letters* from prisoners.

Could see Marx's mind work

I have studied the first two sections of the philosophical dialogue *N&L* is having on Marx's *Capital*. I am finding the study most rewarding. As I read the "Rough Notes," I could see Marx's mind working: the necessity of a profound understanding of each historic epoch if one is to understand the polemical, or contradictory nature of existence; or the understanding that all things—all knowledge—are transitory, or in the process of becoming; all of these are in Marx's *Capital*.

It appears that because of Hegel, Marx was able to perceive his world through the eyes of dialectical materialism, rather than Kant's dialectical idealism. As a result of this new dialectic, and Marx's own intellectual courage, Marx was not only able to re-define labor as both the abstract (labor as activity, the source of value) and the concrete (labor power as a commodity itself), but was able to force another place setting at the table of political economy—and that place was the laborer.

With this new place setting emerged a new philosophy. It was a philosophy of labor, a view that true history is to be found in the day-to-day concrete struggles for liberation. I believe this is where Marx takes his greatest leap above all other theoreticians. Here he negates the contradiction between theory and action, creating a new dialectic, a philosophical praxis. What I am fascinated by—and terrified by—is Marx's connection between the bourgeois' perception of a commodity and theology. The things we produce now appear to define who we are and how we relate to one another. The intellectual may well be deceived in that s/he is conditioned to the theology of the commodity, but the worker is equally deceived not only in the theology but in the belief that s/he is engaged in "freely associated" labor.

In Marx's *Capital* we can see the creation of capitalism (the infinite division of labor as a result of the Industrial Revolution), its life (the contradiction between the alienation and degradation of human labor and the increase in creativity and productivity brought about by such division), and its eventual demise as a result of this very contradiction. I agree with Dunayevskaya that the "proletarian" does indeed "grasp the truth of the present"—at least subconsciously—I just think we are afraid of it.

Voices from within the Prison Walls

by D.A. Sheldon

See literature ad on page 7 to order.

Black leadership silence on Mumia

example, Odell Waller, a poor sharecropper in Virginia, got into an argument with his landowner over his share of the tobacco crop and his refusal to pay for Waller's mother's services as a midwife and a nurse. During this argument, the white landowner was killed.

Waller was sentenced to death, and there was an attempt, in which I was involved, to make his case a national issue. Even Mrs. Roosevelt came out in support of Waller, saying that he should not be executed. Neither the NAACP nor any prominent Black leader wanted to touch this case, and Waller was executed in 1941. With the country on the verge of war, Black leadership was reluctant to encourage massive mobilization on such an issue.

In another famous case in 1931 nine Afro-American adolescents were arrested in Scottsboro, Ala., charged with raping white women and sentenced to death without benefit of an attorney. The NAACP at that time thought that this case should be appealed through the courts and they hired a prominent lawyer, Clarence Darrow. W.E.B. DuBois was opposed to any mass activity in support of this case, which the Communist Party was doing, calling it "bull in the china shop" activity.

What saved these boys from an immediate execution were massive demonstrations across the country in the Black communities, churches and also in Europe. Raya Dunayevskaya was prominently involved in organizing for this case. The massive activity put America on trial in the eyes of the world.

Black World Felix Martin, American revolutionary

(Continued from page 1)

political enemies. Ford with his anti-busing statements and the school board in Boston are the demagogues that keep exploiting the situation....

Why is the government spending all this effort to divide the working class? It goes back to the point of production. As long as they can keep white and Black apart, workers will not unite against what is happening in production.

Felix Martin knew, profoundly, that the powerlessness of the white working class stemmed from the Achilles' heel of American civilization—its racism. He also knew that it was what capitalism uses in its class warfare at the point of production. And in the mid and late 1970s, this profoundly class and race conscious white worker saw that the racist politics surrounding the anti-busing campaign were unseparated from the historic restructuring of capitalist productive forces and the deep 1974-75 economic crisis then underway.

He was exceptionally conscious of another division within the working class that kept it powerless. In a November 1995 taped discussion with Felix Martin for the work-in-progress I've been engaged in, called "The Marxist-Humanist Statement on the Black Dimension," he recalled

Fighting 'North/South Hispanic trip'

I am a Mexican-American born in 1953 and raised in the Los Angeles area. When I first came to prison in 1973 I didn't have to face this North and South Hispanic trip. We convicts did our time, kept our noses clean and stood up for one another when The Man came down on us, when we felt it was wrong. I must say California state prisons are a lot different now from when I first started off.

You most likely have heard of the murders that have taken place here at Corcoran on the Security Housing Unit (SHU) exercise yard. It is very sad how these murders came down. A fight was set up between inmates—"cockfighters"—by the yard gunners and higher up officials. They ended up shooting the inmates dead in the yard! Five of the guards are now testifying against their own officials and there is a yard video that was taken when the inmates were shot dead.

These youngsters are fighting for something that they will never win, and the worst part is, The Man likes it like this. Ain't that a trip! You come into the joint now and the first thing they say is: "Are you a Northern or

Southern Hispanic?" And if you're not with them you're against them.

Like it says in *Voices from within the Prison Walls*, us convicts years ago fought for what we have today! I understand very well what George Jackson believed in about this prison system. He saw it coming and stood up for himself. I know homie Luis Talamantez (Bato) personally. He was one of the "San Quentin Six" in the '70s. Hugo Pinell was with Jackson back in the late '60s when a guard got killed at Soledad Prison. Hugo got manslaughter for that charge and is now up at Pelican Bay SHU never getting out of the hole. He has been down in there 35 years, slammed down. But I don't see this system changing anytime soon. What we convicts fought, died and spilled our bloods for is all being taken away and no one cares about it.

You must keep your readers aware at all times of what is going on in these dungeons, especially the Control Units here. Maybe in time we can get to our youth and they can see some way to make changes themselves for the better. I pray that those who read the *Voices* pamphlet will share it with others so that they can understand what is really going on here behind the gray walls.

—J.S., California

We need to help to build a similar movement today to save Mumia. We need to appeal to every segment of the population to turn this situation around.

LEADERS VS. YOUTH

The present overall indifference that the Black middle-class leaders have to building a mass movement to gain a new trial for Mumia reflects their own total commitment to the concept that freedom and the full development of humanity can be achieved in a capitalist society.

The absence of the established Black leadership in the ranks of those who are building a movement for Mumia's life stands in contrast to the dramatic presence of a new generation of youth of all races and ethnic groups. They have brought a new dynamic militancy to the Free Mumia! demonstrations, and they have identified the struggle for Mumia's freedom with their own struggles.

The Free Mumia! demonstrations must continue and grow larger in every city of this country. On the West Coast, in the San Francisco area, more demonstrations are being planned and youth organizations will again be prominently represented. Large demonstrations are bound to shake up the establishment, open the media and let the country and the world know that in the United States racist injustice threatens the life of a Black man. This one man represents more than one individual; his case is a challenge to this whole racist system.

the 1974 UAW convention which belatedly recognized the fight led by Genora Johnson and the Women's Emergency Brigade in helping bring about the UAW in the 1930s sit-down strikes.

Back then they always brought up the "Battle of the Overpass" and sit-down strike. The only reason the workers inside the plant could "sit down"—and they had to be fed—was because of the women who fed them and fought the police outside the plant at the same time. It was easy to "sit," but gettin' up there and gettin' the hell beat out of you, that's where the battle was goin' on.

But they're always trying to show that the battle was goin' on the other way with the men, while trying to cut the women out. And I always saw that there must be a reason they don't want the man and the woman together in this battle.

Walking the Kentucky hills and hollows in which this great working class militant and thinker grew up, and talking to the people who knew and struggled with him to eke out a hard life in Appalachia, put me in touch with the organic radicalism of the American working class character, which seems on the verge of being eclipsed by the ever deepening crisis of capitalist America today.

But, I thought, how profound a moment in the development of that organic radicalism of the American working class it must be to find its mind and aspirations expressed in a philosophy of revolution like Marxist-Humanism, and in turn contribute to the development of that philosophy. Like Charles Denby, the editor of *News & Letters* until his death in 1983, who also came out of the rural South, the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism was instrumental in developing Felix Martin's class consciousness to the point where "action supersedes the subjectivity of purpose," that is, where the "unity of theory and practice becomes the form of life out of which emerge totally new dimensions."

The life of a militant Black worker like Charles Denby and that of a militant white worker like Felix Martin disclose such "totally new dimensions" of the American working class that we even get a glimpse of the future. In our 1995 conversation, Felix Martin told me that one of the first things he started doing once he got over his 90 days probation in the plant was to write up grievances on foremen for working in violation of the contract. "When you write up foremen for working," he told me, "it was the way we got people hired in the plant. A foreman's job was a foreman's job, and you didn't do somebody's job classification. If there's too much work, they got to give work to someone else out on the street. That was a continuous battle."

In 1970, GM was hit by a national strike which saw workers and students unite at Felix Martin's South Gate plant. Here too his revolutionary humanism, extending beyond the shopfloor, comes out when describing what he told students at a campus meeting with autoworkers:

After I talked about automation, I told them how this system worked where teaching and education are so against workers who have to make a living. They teach the scientist to make machines to replace human beings, not to make it better for humanity, but to destroy humanity.

Perhaps the most fitting epitaph to this original American working class philosopher was what he said in a dialogue with Charles Denby in the March 1983 issue of *News & Letters* on the occasion of the Marx centenary:

When I first "met Marx" I saw that he recognized workers as being in their moving and doing. That was the greatest thing to me, because in this society no one ever sees workers as anything. Here was Marx talking about the workers having their own movement, their own self-development, and it was done so that you could see your own thinking and doing. It was not Marx telling me what to do, but recognizing what I was doing.

Felix Martin leaves this legacy to the worldwide working class struggle. He understood what it would take for the American working class to lose its chains; and he never stopped striving for a world based on new human relations.

*This is quoted from Raya Dunayevskaya's 1974 presentation to the Hegel Society of America, "Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning," in *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy*, ed. Warren Steinkraus and Kenneth Schmitz, 1980.

Nationwide movements against police brutality grow

(Continued from page 1)

energetic local movement against a broad range of police abuses and distortions in the criminal justice system. At least three organizations of family members of people who have suffered at the hands of police and racist courts are in existence in Chicago. They have been holding frequent planning meetings as well as conducting regular protests at the doors of the mayor's office inside City Hall.

Members of these organizations were among the 500 who marched on police headquarters on June 17 to air their grievances at a Chicago Police Board meeting. As they gathered for this important march, a number of UPS trucks passed by with their drivers honking and displaying supportive signs. One Black woman carried a photograph of a young man killed by police. She told *News & Letters*, "I'm not related to the person in this picture, but I'm here because I've seen a lot of brutality in my neighborhood. Too much. It's got to stop."

These local movements encompass the diversity of Chicago. Black, Latina, and white mothers, the clergy, residents of public housing and youth have all been active.

NATIONWIDE MOVEMENT

The growing number of those active in Chicago against police brutality are in step with a nationwide phenomenon. The recent and brutal police murders of Tyisha Miller in Riverside, Cal. and Amadou Diallo in New York City have generated large and diverse movements. The movement in New York, initiated by the Black community, attracted significant layers of other people opposed to Rudolph Giuliani's authoritarian administration.

Gays and lesbians, white high school students, Chinese immigrants, artists and street vendors all turned out for the daily demonstrations and civil disobedience in Police Plaza. Many protesters carried signs which drew connections between events in New York and state-sponsored ethnic chauvinist violence against Albanians in Kosovo.

The massive April 15 march to New York's Federal Building, in which at least 10,000 or more participated, seems to have marked the high point of the development of this organized opposition. The march was followed soon

Brazil's landless movement

Last month, we met with activists of the half-million member Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST), Brazil's Movement of Landless Workers (see December 1998 *News & Letters*). The MST is battling for agrarian reform in a country where 4% of the landowners have 46% of all the land. The disparity between rich and poor in Brazil is one of the greatest in the world.

Irma, a member of MST's staff in Porto Alegre, in southern Brazil, explained that the MST struggles for land reform by occupying the underutilized lands of big landowners that the government is planning to take over. "Occupation is intended to speed-up this process and to make sure it takes place. The occupation occurs at night, because the landowners fight violently to retain their land."

At least 800 families, men and women, young and old, participate in each land occupation. They walk sometimes up to 15 miles. Irma said that a large group is needed, because "the movement's power rests on its organizational form and the large number of people." The peasants camp at the place of occupation, studying cooperative farming and cooperative decision-making, and after two or three years, the government allows them to turn it into a permanent settlement.

One such MST settlement is the "30 Maio" (May 30) collective farm, located about an hour outside of Porto Alegre. Seized on May 30, 1987, the settlement today consists of 30 families, about 100 people. All 55 of the adults are members of the collective. In the eight years since 30 Maio became a legal settlement, it has become highly productive. It is a model for other MST settlements, and the members exchange visits and experiences with them. Nevertheless, many MST settlements choose to retain private family farming, with cooperation limited to joint purchasing and marketing.

We toured the 30 Maio settlement with Valcir, a member and a former leader of an MST "cell" during the period of occupation. Each family has a 25 by 35 meter plot with its home on it; each house has water and electricity. The homes are arranged in a wide circle. In the middle is the administration building, equipped with a computer. Nearby are the child-care center, a school for the first four grades (older children are bused to town), and a dining hall, which is also used for church, meetings, and celebrations. There is also a soccer field.

Beyond the houses are the fields, where the collective produces rice, vegetables, milk, pigs, fish, honey, beans, corn, and fruit trees, using some modern equipment and some more traditional implements. The productivity of its milk and egg branches is high by Brazilian standards.

An economist working in the state government, who accompanied us on the visit, said that "It is easy to give people land. The hard thing is to develop economic activity. There are big companies in milk and pork and poultry, to which the farmers must sell their products. They have to sell cheaply. Behind the land problems are problems of the whole society." Accordingly, Valcir emphasized repeatedly that his collective tries to limit its dependence on the market as much as possible.

The members work five and a half days a week, eight to ten hours a day, depending on the job, although everyone works longer during the harvest. There aren't traditional gender divisions made in assigning people, but the intensity of the work does influence who is assigned. (In MST settlements that retain family farming, in contrast, fewer

after by the guilty plea of officer Justin Volpe, the chief offender in the Abner Louima brutality trial, and this symbolic flinching on the part of a vulnerable section of the police apparatus has succeeded in demobilizing those who envisioned achieving a solution to New York's brutality problem within existing social and political boundaries—be it federal intervention or pruning of problem officers. With the trial of Amadou Diallo's killers still ahead of us, it remains to be seen whether New York's organized movement will achieve for the end of the decade what the spontaneous rebellion in Los Angeles did for its beginning.

Other, less prominent cases have resulted in mobilizations as well, like an incident in which a young Black man was beaten as police tried to break up an end-of-school party in a neighborhood called East Haven in Memphis, Tenn. Residents there are protesting the harassment they are experiencing as police try to intimidate those who witnessed the event into keeping quiet.

Taken together with the movements of people supporting women prisoners in California, solidarizing with political prisoners like Mumia Abu-Jamal and opposing the racist death penalty, the anti-police brutality forces represent a significant development.

NATIONAL BACKDROP OF RETROGRESSION

The capricious use of deadly force by police departments is only one element of the backdrop of retrogression against which these new movements are emerging. A metastasizing prison system in which inmates are warehoused with ever-decreasing access to law libraries, recreation facilities and medical care is another. A criminal justice system in which poor and working-class people are placed at a severe disadvantage because of the material limitations of the public defender system is another.

Still another is the totalitarian drive to strike those convicted of felonies from the rolls of eligible voters. As a result of this effort, 1.4 million Black men are temporarily or permanently disenfranchised and nearly one in three Black

changes in traditional gender roles have occurred.) The administration of 30 Maio rotates twice a month, with one man and one woman sharing the job for each period.

This form arises from that of the "cells" that the MST forms to prepare for a land seizure. Each cell is led by a man and a woman who must work together. Irma explained that, since males dominate Brazil's unions, the leadership structure of the MST is totally new. Women must also be represented in MST regional leadership.

Valcir emphasized, however, that the problems faced by rural working people cannot be solved merely in terms of organizational forms. "We are trying to raise our standard of living here. But we have no illusion that we will be able to develop here, because we know the nature of the Brazilian economic model. So we consider our form of organization a form of resistance."

At a time when much of the Left, in Brazil and outside it, is overwhelmed by the problematic of "form of organization," we found Valcir's realism to be refreshing.

—Anne Jaclard & A. Anielewicz

Chicago's police brutality—protests and questions

Chicago—More than 500 marchers converged on Chicago Police Department headquarters in downtown Chicago, June 17, to express their outrage at two police killings of unarmed Black motorists, barely three hours apart, the night and early morning of June 4 and 5.

LaTanya Haggerty was shot to death by a Black female police officer who allegedly mistook Haggerty's cell phone for a weapon; Robert Russ was supposedly shot accidentally when another Black cop's gun went off while Russ struggled with him after a traffic stop.

The two shootings have outraged Black Chicagoans who feel besieged by an authoritarian police department that Mayor Richard M. Daley and the racist Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) defend and bolster no matter how incredibly concocted the city's explanations for cops' use of deadly force sounds.

Daily picket lines in front of Daley's City Hall office have continued for three weeks; church rallies on Chicago's West Side have elicited fleeting media coverage; community meetings are mushrooming; meanwhile an on-again-off-again boycott of Chicago's summer festivals, especially its multimillion dollar "Taste of Chicago," discloses the key weakness of this emergent movement—its leadership.

The efforts of religious and nationalist leaders to control and set the agenda of Chicago's anti-police brutality movement not only dissipated the spontaneity of the June 17 march, but may demobilize the very forces in the Black and Latino communities most victimized by the brutal and deadly force of this city's criminal (in)justice system—the youth.

What has not disoriented the Black community is the racist nature of this depraved indifference to Black life. Not only is there a paramilitary police culture of racially-directed violence in every big and small city police department across this country, but Black and Latino cops have internalized it in increasingly lethal ways.

"Institutionalized racism," internalized social hatred of one's own community, and Black mouthpieces for police urban terror, such as Chicago Police Superintendent Terry Hillard, all form a very changed urban landscape

male residents of Alabama and Florida have been made permanently ineligible (*Economist* April 3, 1999).

The startlingly violent event at Columbine High School provided the ruling class with an opportunity to further a reactionary agenda which has been on the ascent since the 1994 mid-term election. Desperate to avoid even the remotest acknowledgement of the racist and sexist undertones of the massacre, the House passed on June 17 a Juvenile Justice Bill which stiffens mandatory penalties for convicted youth and hands the power to charge juveniles as adults to prosecutors.

In addition, an amendment to the bill was passed which blatantly violates the separation of church and state provisions of the very Constitution to which so many impeachment hacks appealed during the proceedings. The pro-states' rights amendment decrees that states shall decide the legality of displaying the Ten Commandments in public facilities, including schools.

This amendment, sponsored by Republican Robert Aderholt of Alabama, typifies the allied efforts of the Bible Belt and northern suburban conservatives that were so prominent in the impeachment imbroglio. Both Henry Hyde and the newly confirmed Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert are from suburban northern Illinois.

Hyde and Hastert, along with Illinois Senator Peter Fitzgerald, are representative of the national prominence of the Right in a state in which the credibility of the entire criminal justice system has come into question through prominent cases of police and prosecutorial misconduct. Names like Anthony Porter and Rolando Cruz, both wrongly convicted and sentenced to, and eventually narrowly rescued from, Death Row, stand as indictments of the system which shaped and sustains these figures.

ENDING POLICE BRUTALITY

The June 17 march on Chicago's police headquarters was made up of a number of the forces which, working in concert, can become a real challenge to the currents of police brutality and judicial misconduct which seem so overwhelmingly powerful. The women, youth, Blacks and Latinos who marched together up State Street represent greater numbers of people like them who have in recent years shown increasing opposition to the police and courts of capitalist America.

If movements across this country can rise to the challenges like the ones which confront New York, namely, how to further develop when the forces of the establishment seem to have taken one step back, or the very different one which confronts Riverside, Cal., in which the establishment has refused to indict the killer cops, then they can mount a real ongoing opposition.

Furthermore, if elements of the labor movement opposed to racism and police brutality, like the UPS drivers who displayed their support of the Chicago marchers, coalesce with this growing movement, then the potential for events to get out of the hands of the rulers is great.

All who look forward to such a development should be active in the movements which currently exist, as well as think through the barriers which confront them. Such a movement in thought may prove to be an important element in bringing about a real end to police brutality, both here at home and abroad.

than the one we confronted a generation ago when the movement demanded the hiring of Black cops.

Where Chicago's anti-police brutality movement goes from here depends on a number of things. Prominent among them is developing Black consciousness beyond the thin blue line of mistaking Black cops as anything other than the front line of an occupation force in the Black community.

—Lou Turner

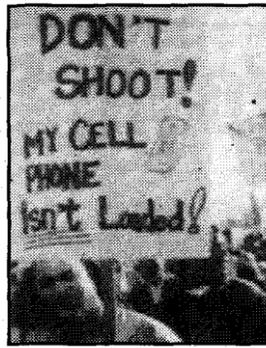
Chicago—Over 500 people marched to the Chicago Police station at 11th and State St. after Chicago cops murdered two unarmed African Americans—a woman and a man—in separate shootings.

What made the rather constrained march feel good were the many people there who have experienced police brutality and the criminal injustice system first hand. Many friends and family of LaTanya Haggerty—the woman murdered supposedly because the cop mistook her cell phone for a gun—were there.

One of LaTanya's high school friends shared some memories of her with me. She said that LaTanya was wonderful and the last person you'd expect this to happen to, but that it just shows that it can happen to anyone. She also said that although she's in deep grief, she was happy so many people came out to struggle against police terror and that this proves that LaTanya's life meant something, though it meant absolutely nothing to the cop who murdered her. LaTanya's friend also said she was there because she wanted her own life to mean something and that that was connected to trying to create a better world.

Reverend Al Sharpton from New York City was billed on the flyer as a participant in the march which was organized and rigidly controlled by the Christian Council on Urban Affairs. They even passed out a list of rules to marchers which stated things like: "no spitting," "no swearing" and "no unauthorized statements." Despite all this, the march showed that today the cops can't just murder people without an organized response.

—Sonia Bergonzi



Indigenous communities fight trans-Mexico canal

Zoila José Juan, an indigenous Mexican woman, spoke at Calles y Sueños in Chicago on June 20. She discussed growing resistance to the "Trans Isthmus Megaproject," a multinational effort to dig a canal between the Gulf of Yucatan and the Pacific Ocean. Her visit was sponsored by La coordinadora and the Chicago-Mexico Solidarity Committee. —Ed.

I come from Oaxaca state and my community is Boca del Monte. My organization, the Union of Indigenous Communities of the Northern Zone of the Isthmus, is based in Matías Romero. It was founded in 1985 and we're growing. Our language isn't Spanish, it's Mixe. I work with the women's commission of UCIZONI in the indigenous communities in Oaxaca, Guerro, Chiapas, Veracruz, and Yucatan.

STATE'S MEGAPLAN FOR ISTHMUS

The present government has abandoned this whole area. We're afraid of being marginalized and are resisting government repression. The biggest struggle we have as indigenous people is abandonment and discrimination against our communities—in particular the "Mega Project"—because we are in the isthmus.

It's not just our community. This is a problem for people in Oaxaca, Veracruz, and so on. We have formed an alliance to defend ourselves and our land. This program has invited foreigners to buy land, our "mother," a state green and sweet. We still have our waters and our springs. These people want to take over our riches, so we want to figure out how to carry our struggle forward.

Solís struggle continues

Chicago — Prof. José Solís Jordán will be sentenced here July 7, following his being framed up in the recent "bombing" trial. The trial and especially the verdict were without foundation, and the sentence can only do more injustice to an innocent man, his family, friends, and the Puerto Rican independence movement to which he belongs. This must be of deepest concern to all of us.

There will likely be more fallout from his conviction as well, even as appeals are to begin. The government has already issued subpoenas to the Puerto Rican Cultural Center here seeking years of records, perhaps to be used in other planned frame-ups. This would be consistent with the attacks they have made over the last few years regarding, for instance, the activities funding at Roberto Clemente High School.

Those McCarthy-style attacks weren't bearing the government much fruit, but the conviction of Prof. Solís may give them more impetus to continue trying to press false charges with bought testimony. This threat has to be met with our outrage and solidarity, for tomorrow we could all be found guilty of such...Nothing. Of, in truth, our thoughts and opinions. —Gerard Emmett

Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

weeks of the war in working class towns like Cacak showed, few Serbs were actually willing to die for Milosevic.

Finally, and most importantly, Milosevic underestimated the resilience, organization, and creativity of the Kosovar Albanians. In the days before he ordered a withdrawal, a better organized KLA was engaging Serb forces on several fronts, sometimes taking advantage of the NATO bombing.

One Albanian civilian who hid in a wooded mountain gorge with 5,000 others described how KLA rebels guarded the perimeter for weeks. The Serbs were afraid to move against the KLA without heavy weapons. On several occasions, Serbian tanks moved toward them, but after NATO planes appeared, the Serbs pulled back.

All across Kosova, as the Serbs withdrew, KLA rebels, who had been protecting those hiding in the hills, quickly retook Kosova's towns and cities. They always got there ahead of NATO. Everywhere they seemed to enjoy nearly unanimous support among the ethnic Albanians. The rapid return of many of the expellees from across the border also stunned NATO. The Kosovars were bent on taking their destiny into their own hands, as opposed to allowing NATO to organize their return on its timetable and with who knows what concessions to Milosevic.

As NATO tightens its grip on Kosova, the mass drive for independence is even stronger than before, as those returning share experiences of both Serb brutality and Kosovar heroism. One big question is whether NATO will succeed in disarming the KLA.

A second question is whether NATO will allow Serb paramilitaries in civilian clothing to intimidate and harass Albanian civilians, as they are doing in Mitrovica, right under the noses of French troops. A third question is whether the KLA will use its prestige to take a stand against the way some women are being victimized twice, first by Serb rapists and then by a climate within the Albanian community that threatens to ostracize any woman who comes forward to tell her story.

For the present, NATO and American imperialism have emerged from this conflict strengthened, not only because they largely prevailed militarily, but also because they are now basking in the halo of what they falsely claim was a war for human rights.

Since the war began, we have pointed out that the bombing created a distorting lens that made NATO appear to be on the side of the Kosovars. This made it eas-

We don't have enough schools. As an organization we have struggled for education. We are struggling to get high schools. They just want to give us "satellite schools"—schools with a television. If somebody wants a higher education, they have to leave the region, but one thing we know is that we aren't going to abandon ourselves.

A railway and a highway go through the isthmus. One plan is to widen the Trans Isthmus Highway and make it into a superhighway. They want to widen the railway as well. Trains could benefit us since they are the cheapest way to travel, but now there's no more passenger service between Coatzacoalcos and Salina Cruz. Since there's no benefit from this, it could only hurt us by running through communities. It's another way to get us out of there.

Now they are trying to deceive us with misery money into planting eucalyptus trees, acres and acres of them. This plant is not from our region. They want us to plant them for paper mills. The little money they will give us we'll lose right away. This plant dries up the land and sucks up the water table. Our water comes from streams and wells. We bathe in it and wash in it. What's going to happen if we plant these trees? We are going to end up like a dessert.

TAKING FROM EJIDOS

They also try to fool us, by saying there's going to be work for everyone when the area is developed. It's a lie. When industry enters, mostly petrochemicals, there will be some work, but with all the chemicals, they're going to screw us. We don't have the money for taking care of poisoned victims. In Torrejón chemicals affected women and kids. Where do the chemicals come from? Our compadres work in *maquilas* [factories producing for export], and they tell us about them. Without communication, we wouldn't know what's happening to our communities.

Each person is a member of the *ejido* [communal land]. The agriculture ministry wants to send engineers to measure these lands, and afterwards they will give you an official title, for free, an agrarian certificate.

They tell us that these people will help you out by giving you a deed because where the lands are held in common, you can't get loans to cultivate them, but where they are held privately, you can get loans.

The tell us they're not there to take away or give to us any land, but the commissioner of *ejidos* wants to know how big is your property and how much is left over. They are going to take this extra piece and sell it to someone else. A lot of people don't have land and they are not allowed to cut wood on that extra land. You used to be able to do that, but now you can't because it has an owner.

FORUMS OF RESISTANCE

In the struggle against the Mega-project we have forums about the isthmus, and people from other states visit us. We also do marches and other protests. This is why the project has not been carried out yet.

Last year we had a lot of repression. One hundred and twenty of us were arrested. Women protested on March 8, International Women's Day in Oaxaca City. We had worked up to a meeting with the governor of the state, and finally he gave us a small amount of support.

But then they arrested one hundred of us, men and women in, Tepalcatepec, in front of the justice department, when we protested about people already in jail. Police went after the old people and women. Some of us ended up with broken heads and broken feet. After the protests, 80 people were still in jail. They wanted us to give 60,000 pesos per person to get them out of jail. We got support from other organizations.

When we were in Chiapas, we asked when do we continue the work of the Zapatista national consultation. Every news organization, every municipality is going to have meetings to ask how far to carry it forward; how we can keep in contact with Zapatistas; whether to have another national gathering. So it's a

another way to carry out resistance. We also will hold a protest in Mexico City and will carry a letter to Congress. Before we do that, we are going to find out what people want in our communities.



Aftermath of the war over Kosova

ier for many to forget 50 years of mass freedom struggles in Eastern Europe. Especially in the 1950s and 1960s, these struggles unfurled a banner of socialist humanism against Western capitalism and Russian state-capitalism calling itself Communism.

THE CRISIS OF THE LEFT

Without grasping the subjectivity of those historic mass revolts, most of the Left, which had devoted little attention to Kosova or Bosnia, jumped uncritically on the bandwagon of anti-intervention. In some cases leftists denied Milosevic's genocidal actions from the Bosnian War onward and called his indictment as a war criminal bogus. Others, such as longtime pacifist David McReynolds, while acknowledging Milosevic's brutality, allowed anti-imperialism to trump anti-racism and anti-genocide. As the Serb forces retreated, he wrote: "Milosevic is a problem for the Serbs. NATO and American arrogance is a problem for us."

As Marxist-Humanist internationalists, we have always opposed such a narrowing of our vision of freedom. Unfortunately, however, much of the Left is trapped in forms of anti-imperialism that leave aside any vision of what we are for.

Some have even gone so far as to applaud as a model for future antiwar movements the sickening display we have seen in recent weeks where the Left rallied alongside reactionaries such as Ariana Huffington or Serbian nationalists. Despite its opportunism, the Left's rallies were sparsely attended, with the June 5 march on Washington drawing only around 3,000, many of them Serb nationalists rather than leftists, even though it had been endorsed by many groups including the liberal *Nation* magazine.

What most of the Left fails to recognize is that in today's retrogressive climate, some of the forces opposed to U.S. or Western imperialism are even more reactionary. This is true of Islamic fundamentalism, Hindu fundamentalism, Serbian nationalism, Farrakhanism, or the type of Red-Brown alliance that has emerged in recent years in Russia among Stalinists, fascists, extreme nationalists, and anti-Semites.

The case of nuclearly armed Russia is an especially ominous one. As living standards plummet under global capitalism and the rapaciously corrupt Yeltsin government, the Red-Brown alliance is gaining support. This has been fueled by the fact that NATO's bombing of Serbia was genuinely unpopular among the Russian people.

While Russia's move into the Pristina airport turned out to be quixotic, there are plenty of areas, from the Baltics, to Central Asia and the Caucasus to Cyprus, where Russia could easily flex its muscles.

The challenge facing us in the coming period is to oppose all forms of racism, class oppression, sexism, and genocide, whether they are perpetrated by U.S. imperialism and its allies, or by forces opposed to them. Only in such a way can we project a humanist vision of a post-capitalist future.

That is why we continue to support the decade-old struggle of the Kosovars for democracy and independence, whether against Milosevic's genocidal regime or against NATO's occupation.

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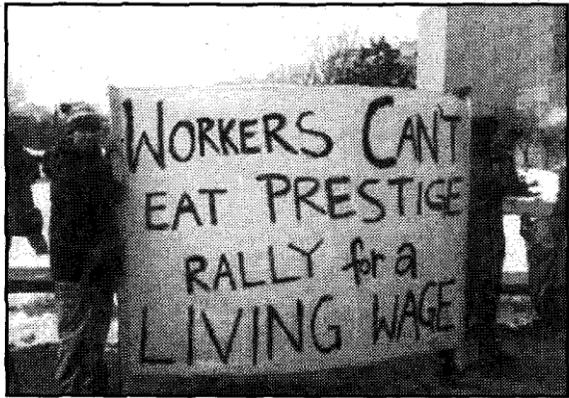
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Youth Rape crisis, labor fights behind ivy-covered walls

Cambridge, Mass. — You can't eat prestige, the saying goes. You can't hide behind it either. In a unified voice, struggles at the most prestigious university in the U.S., Harvard, made these points this spring.

News & Letters reported a protest at Harvard University on March 9. The rally demanded that a student guilty of rape be dismissed ("Date rape protest," April 1999). That demonstration in fact brought together three campus campaigns, forging links that could strengthen any campus movement. Along with the Coalition Against Sexual Violence, the "Rally for Justice" included the Living Wage Campaign and the Students Against Sweatshops (SAS).



The Students Against Sweatshops is an organization working to force the university to mandate minimum labor standards in the factories where its logo apparel is manufactured. The university has agreed to SAS's demands for full disclosure of factories that produce such apparel. In contention still are the details of independent monitoring, including the administration unilaterally turning to an audit firm, Price Waterhouse Coopers, to do the monitoring.

The Living Wage Campaign has met greater resistance, however, likely because it challenges Harvard's

role as a rich employer. The Campaign for a Living Wage organized a walkout against June 10 commencement speaker, Federal Reserve Board Chair Alan Greenspan. According to the campaign's flyer, Greenspan "proudly propagates the view that widespread job insecurity and financial instability are beneficial for the economy. This ignores the fact that such instability is socially and economically disastrous for American families."

The campaign, a coalition of students, workers, and faculty members working together to eliminate the problem of low-wage labor at Harvard University, holds that anyone who works for Harvard, whether directly employed or subcontracted to an outside company, should be paid a living wage of at least \$10 per hour, adjustable for inflation. It is estimated that there are currently 2,000 such workers.

Harvard is the richest university in the world, with an endowment of \$13 billion, and the second richest non-profit institution in the world (second only to the Vatican); it can afford to pay its employees a living wage. The campaign considers the administration's response, to form a faculty task force, to be simply more foot-dragging.

The Coalition Against Student Violence emerged

when an undergraduate woman accused a male student of raping her. Following spurious reports about the incident and cover-ups, hers and another rape victim's voices were heard in an interview published in an independent student newspaper, *Perspective*. They complained that the school did not take the problem of rape seriously enough and lacked adequate resources for rape survivors.

Although the coalition won a demand for "Sexual Assault Sexual Harassment" counselors, to the demand for a women's center that would be a locus of women's rights and resources, the administration replied that "the creation of a separate space for women (or for minority students) would institutionalize the notion that the rest of Harvard does not fully belong to them."

While the name "Harvard" is synonymous with "establishment," many there are ready to challenge the institutions of male domination and class rule.

The Living Wage Campaign can be contacted at Tel.: (617) 277-3341, or email: maclean@fas.harvard.edu

—J.O.

New life for Marx's works

The demise of Marx, at least the rich body of his writings, has been greatly exaggerated. In December 1998, the first post-Communist volume of the *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (Complete Writings or MEGA) came off the press at Akademie Verlag in Berlin. A number of leading newspapers and magazines, especially German ones, reported this event, but it has unfortunately not yet received much attention in the English-speaking world.

The just-published Volume IV/3, comprising Marx's 1844-47 excerpt notebooks, will be of great interest to those looking into the period between the 1844 *Manuscripts* and the *German Ideology* (1846) as well as the *Communist Manifesto* (1848). Vol. IV/3 contains some 400 pages of Marx's excerpts from and commentary on leading political economists of the time such as Louis Say, Jean Charles, Leonard Sismondi, Charles Babbage, Andrew Ure, and Nassau Senior.

All of the material is here published in the original languages in which Marx wrote it. In this volume, much of the text is in French. The editors' notes, introductions, indexes, and other background material comprise an additional 400 pages, all in German.

In their general introduction to the volume, its editors—Georgi Bagaturia, Lev Churbanov, Olga Koroleva, and Ludmila Varina of Moscow, working together with Jürgen Rojahn of Amsterdam—have analyzed these early explorations by Marx into both economic theory and the effects of capitalism on workers.

They have also taken care to show that Marx's interests are far broader than is generally realized. For example, they point out that "Marx takes up Sismondi's critique of colonialism," including references to Britain's infamous Opium Wars against China (p. 467).

They also note that, at another point, Marx connects his critique of private property to one of the family when he writes: "Should private property exist? Should the family exist?" (p. 471). Other notes by Marx on economist Pierre de Boisguillebert are related to what we know today as the 1844 *Manuscripts*.

The new MEGA began to appear in 1975 in the former East Germany. (The first MEGA, begun in Soviet Russia during the 1920s, was killed off a decade later by Stalin's purges—for background see my earlier article, "Uncovering Marx's Yet Unpublished Writings," *N&L*, January-February 1997.) Between 1975 and 1991, some 47 volumes appeared, with Vol. IV/3 in 1998 the 48th one. The total number of volumes projected stands at 122.

In 1999, we can look forward to the publication of two more volumes. Vol. III/9 will comprise letters to and from Marx and Engels in 1858 and 1859. Vol. IV/31 is to include excerpt notebooks after 1879 by Marx on chemistry and by Engels on natural science and history.

After the collapse of Communism, funding for the MEGA dried up. New but more limited funding has since been obtained from Western foundations. At the same time, editorial standards have been raised and all political party controls eliminated. The near secrecy surrounding the editing process has been removed, permitting open debate on these matters for the first time since the 1920s. As part of the current work on the MEGA, a new journal, *MEGA-Studien*, has been established.

Funding, especially for the editorial teams working in Moscow, has become very precarious recently, however. If this funding cannot continue, the work on some 19 MEGA volumes might have to be suspended. One of the ways that people can support the work of the MEGA is by getting university and public libraries to purchase it. The International Marx-Engels Foundation based in Amsterdam, which oversees the work as a whole, can also accept donations from individuals or groups.

To purchase copies of the MEGA or to receive their brochure, contact the publisher: Akademie Verlag, Palisadenstrasse 40, D-10243 Berlin, FAX 49-30-42200611; email: info@akademie-verlag.de

To donate funds to the MEGA or to subscribe to *MEGA-Studien* (56 DM, or about \$35 per year), contact the International Marx-Engels Foundation (IMES), c/o Dr. Jürgen Rojahn, International Institute of Social History, Cruquiusweg 31, AT-1019 Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Or email: jro@iisg.nl

—Kevin Anderson

Gay 'genes' and freedom to chose

Memphis — The Religious Right has launched a major media assault on gay/lesbian civil rights with recent newspaper ads arguing that homosexuality is a choice and that gays and lesbians can, and therefore should, change.

In response, liberal advocates for gay and lesbian rights have argued that homosexuality is not a choice, and therefore gays and lesbians should have equal rights because they are born gay or lesbian and cannot change their "sexual orientation." Both of these arguments are misleading and oversimplify scientific facts and research on sexual orientation and sexual identity.

Freud's most radical argument was that people are not born "heterosexual" or "homosexual," and that the development of a "heterosexual" orientation requires the repression of homosexual desire. As Foucault and other social researchers have demonstrated, there have not always been "homosexual" and "heterosexual" people; these labels were created by sexologists to control and limit sexuality in western industrial societies.

Same-sex desire, behavior and relationships have existed in all known societies, cultures and time periods, but have taken different forms across time and cultures.

Many radical feminists argue that women can choose to become lesbian; that identifying as a lesbian is a social and political choice for women to make in order to liberate themselves from patriarchy and compulsory heterosexuality. The radical gay liberationists argued that gay liberation requires sexual liberation of heterosexuals and homosexuals from the socially constructed hetero/homo dichotomy.

They believed that everyone could be "gay." They rejected the scientific claim that homosexuality was a biological or psychological pathology or that same-sex desire was "deviant." The gay rights movement created a unique modern "gay" identity. There have not always been "gay" and "lesbian" identified people, so it is erroneous to claim that people are "born" gay and lesbian.

Scientific research has demonstrated that no one factor explains why people are homosexual or heterosexual, and there may be different determinant factors for different people.

Furthermore, sexual orientation is best viewed as a continuum from exclusively heterosexual feelings, behavior and identity to exclusively homosexual feelings, behavior and identity. Many people fall in between the hetero/homo ends of this continuum on some or all of these criteria. Whether or not someone can change their sexual orientation depends upon where they are on this continuum.

I've never understood the popularity of the "gay gene" theory to begin with. The media as well as the gay/lesbian community cheerfully embrace any scientific study of a biological gene to explain homosexuality. In doing so, advo-

cates for gay/lesbian equality are accepting the implicit premise that political equality for lesbians and gay men depends on whether or not being gay or lesbian is a choice or is biologically determined, innate and unchangeable.

By accepting these terms for political debates over gay/lesbian rights, we become vulnerable to the "ex-gay" groups who can argue that some people have changed, therefore homosexuality is not innate and gays and lesbians can change. The sole purpose of the "gays can change" ads was to undermine the central claim of gay/lesbian rights advocates that people are born gay or lesbian and that no one can change their sexual orientation.

I don't think we can argue that it is impossible for any gay person to become "straight." Therefore, we need to develop a political strategy that does not assume that sexual orientation is innate and unchangeable. It may be for some people, but not everyone. We cannot argue on behalf of all gays and lesbians that we did not choose to be gay and cannot change. Some of us did choose and if we wanted to could change.

Our right to be gay and lesbian is not dependent upon whether or not we were born gay. The right to be gay or lesbian is an American right to be free from religious and government interference in our private lives, to make our own choices about who we have sex with and who we want to have relationships with. It doesn't matter if some people are born gay or straight or choose to be one or the other. We should have the freedom to choose. —Jim D. Maynard

Politics and gay pride

Memphis, Tenn. — For the first time in years, Memphis had a political rally as part of the gay pride activities on June 19. The Pride Committee had asked the Memphis chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Memphis Lesbian and Gay Coalition for Justice (LGCJ) to plan the rally.

Chant sheets were passed out to everyone so that as we marched this year we would have a voice heard loud and strong. Speakers included Virginia Stallworth of NOW, Margaret Henkle of LGCJ, a representative of Black and White Men Together, State Rep. Steve Cohen, and several youth from Memphis Area Gay Youth who took turns coming up on the flatbed truck made into a stage to give one-line suggestions of how to "Turn Pride to Power."

The Women's Action Coalition Radical Cheerleaders added much needed zip with a Spice Girls-type introduction and the chant, "Pro-women, pro-gay, right to be queer and stay that way!"

While the political rally was a welcome change, it was curious that no speaker even mentioned the gaybashing murders of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming and Billy Jack Gaither much closer to home in Alabama. Mostly speakers talked of the need to come together, to find strength in our diversity, and, of course, Rep. Cohen spoke of the need to vote.

But those murders were certainly on peoples' minds. One group created signs with pictures of the two who were murdered under the caption, "Ex-Gay." Ex-gay refers to the right-wing heterosexist notion that with enough therapy and "Christian love," lesbians and gays can overcome the "sickness" of being who they are. The signs showed that those murders are the reality underlying the logic of "ex-gay."

The entire day—rally, march, festival—was an answer to that kind of Dark Ages religious fundamentalism. As one of our chants proclaimed: "Gay, Bi, Trans, Straight! Value Difference, Fight Hate!"

—Participants

Get involved!

After the historic demise of the "Communist" regimes in East Europe in 1989, why did no new ideas emerge from this part of the world with a rich history of revolts against totalitarianism?

What has been the ideological impact of U.S. imperialism, especially on the Left whose opposition to the bombing of Serbia brought it squarely alongside Milosovic's "ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo?

How can an absolute opposite to such unsavory alternatives be forged?

Join Marxist-Humanists in a summer-long discussion on these issues and more. Send for an "Official Call for Plenum" which launches our discussion. Contact the News and Letters Committee nearest you-see page 3.

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The June 7 national parliamentary elections in Indonesia have answered very little, with the final vote still to be announced as we go to press (June 21). However, it is fairly certain, barring massive fraud, that the Golkar party of former president Suharto, who was forced out of office by massive student-led demonstrations in May 1998, will be soundly defeated.

The Indonesian Democracy Party-Struggle (PDI-P), headed by Megawati Sukarnoputri, is expected to win with around 35% of the vote totals. Another third of the parliament is to come from provincial assemblies elected in August, together with automatic numbers from the military as well as the "civic" sector. In November, this parliament will decide the next president.

While turnout and enthusiasm was high, especially on the central island of Java, for the first elections which could be called "open" in over four decades, people turned out primarily to reject Suharto-ism and its holdover current president, Habibie, rather than endorsing any unitary alternative.

None of the parties aspiring to power, including the PDI-P, put forward a concrete platform, but instead called for "reform" and "democracy" and an improved future. Megawati, who only entered politics in the early 1990s, gained much of her popularity and following from being the daughter of the first president of independent Indonesia, General Sukarno, who was deposed in the coup which brought Suharto to power in the 1960s.

During the campaign, Megawati pledged to attend to the concerns of the poor and unemployed in the short term, while adhering to the long term goals of a "transparent,"

German demonstrations

Two very different demonstrations in Cologne, Germany illustrated the development of a small but significantly internationalist opposition to capitalist globalization.

On May 29, members of revolutionary left and unemployed organizations gathered outside the summit of the European Union. Ranging from German anti-fascists to Italian Trotskyists and from French unemployed groups to Spanish anarchists, marchers put forth slogans against continuing unemployment (at least 10% in most of Western Europe) and the capitalist system itself.

Although established trade unions and left parties boycotted it, the march drew 30,000 people, a turnout equivalent to a similar one in Amsterdam in 1997.

During the march a controversy broke out over Kosova. German Communists unfurled an anti-war banner, even though march organizers had voted to avoid this topic since many supported the Kosovars. At this point, members of two French groups, the radical union federation SUD-PTT and Action Unemployment, the latter with a significant Arab immigrant membership, hustled them to the rear of the march to the cheers of other demonstrators. The CP members were told: "This is a march against unemployment. On your false banner there was not a word about the Kosovars!"

For their part the European Union governments ignored the march, voting against even mild social democratic measures to fight unemployment and promising that market forces would eventually solve all problems.

A month later, on June 18, some 35,000 marched outside the summit of the Group of Seven rich industrial nations, also meeting in Cologne, as part of a worldwide series of street protests. Demonstrators demanded that the rich nations cancel the crushing debts totaling \$127 billion owed to international lending institutions by the world's poorest countries, many of them in Africa. The summit voted to cancel \$15 billion but tied further debt relief to market-oriented economic "reforms."

Elections in Indonesia settle nothing

free market capitalist economy. She supports the current system of a powerful centralized government ruling the country from Jakarta. During the campaign, she rejected Habibie's plan for an August referendum on autonomy in East Timor, both politically and legally. None of the major parties supports Timorese independence.

All the major party candidates have cordial relations with the military, which has so far endorsed the move to a "civilian" government. The one largely independent pole, the student movement, seems to have expended most of its energies for now in the overthrow of Suharto. They have been the most vocal in calling for his legal prosecution.

An estimated one-half of the population is living below the poverty line, and unrest among the urban poor that erupted last year continues to smolder. The most open opposition continues to flare up in

areas outside of Java. In many of these areas, the voting was either light, or boycotted altogether.

In East Timor, UN monitors have begun to arrive for the August autonomy referendum, against the background of secret government documents which were recently leaked to the press. They reveal that \$4.5 million sent to East Timor to go into anti-poverty programs was diverted by the military and local officials into funding anti-independence militias and rallies, and buying votes.

After Mandela, what?

The June 2 South African election, only the second fully democratic election in the nation's history, saw the 80-year-old world figure, Nelson Madiba Mandela, pass from the political scene. Winning 66% of the nearly 80% of South Africa's registered voters, Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) achieved a two-thirds majority in the Parliament, which gives it the scope to change the Constitution and enact laws that could finally begin to ease the devastating poverty that continues to shackle the majority of Black South Africans.

The landslide vote for the ANC also brought to power the party's chairman, Thabo Mbeki. Since the historic 1994 election that formally ended apartheid and put Nelson Mandela in the presidency, Mbeki had been Deputy President. The son of the famous African Communist leader Govan Mbeki, Mbeki is a British-trained economist who has run the day-to-day affairs of the executive office under Mandela.

More importantly, he is the architect of South Africa's neoliberal economic policy that has tied the fate of the country's working class to the austerity regimes of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. This has been one of the two prongs of the Mandela-Mbeki administration over the last five years. The other is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

While the latter has been touted as having provided some measure of catharsis to the mass of Black victims brutalized by 40 years of South African white apartheid rule, both Mbeki's economic policies and the Truth Commission have left the African masses cheated at the end of the day.

The question at this moment is not only what will Mbeki's election mean for South Africa's poor working class, but what will history say Nelson Mandela's stewardship of South Africa's post-apartheid transition was a transition to?

—Lou Turner

Tiananmen anniversary



Over 70,000 participants attended a rally in Hong Kong—now part of China—on June 4 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Chinese military and police assault on protesters in Tiananmen Square. Authorities this year began before June 4 to arrest and intimidate dissidents, including the families of those killed. Tiananmen Square has been closed, conveniently, for "renovation." The security measures did not stop one young man who stood across from the square. He uncovered his t-shirt which was marked with slogans critical of government corruption and the widening gulf between rich and poor. Police grabbed him after he began to scatter leaflets calling for unemployed workers and poor farmers to "rise up...and build a just new China."

India-Pakistan conflict renewed in Kashmir

With both India and Pakistan declaring their readiness for full-scale war, the renewed border fighting in the Jammu and Kashmir regions makes the threat of nuclear holocaust alarmingly real for the billion and more people who inhabit that part of the world.

The current conflict could not have come at a better time for rulers of both countries. In India, the possibility of forming a truly secular government to replace the recently toppled right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)-led government is weakened by the war-mongering stance of most of the elected parties, including the so-called parliamentary Left, which has called for the forcible "removal" by "all necessary measures" of the "infiltrators." (Elections are scheduled for the fall.) Left out of the picture are the 500,000 troops that occupy India-controlled Kashmir and the ongoing torture and slaughter of Kashmiri people.

In Pakistan, the impending war and appeals to narrow nationalism take the spotlight away from Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's recent and blatant human rights violations, such as the banning of over 1,800 non-governmental organizations, including feminist and human rights groups, and the detention and jailing of prominent jour-

nalists, Najam Sethi.

In immediate dispute, as it has been for decades, is the Line of Control established in the 1972 UN-mandated ceasefire, dividing Pakistan-controlled and India-controlled Kashmir territory.

Though the militants who sparked this particular conflict are largely believed to be Pakistan-backed, including some mercenary Pakistani and Afghan guerrillas, the Kashmiri independence movement is far more complicated than the Indian rhetoric of "infiltrators" acknowledges. Indeed, the Kashmiri independence movement goes as far back as the 1930s, before Indian and Pakistani independence, when a democratic and multi-religious opposition to the monarchy of Maharaja Gulab Singh, a lackey of the British Empire, called for freedom, land reform and democracy.

Still today, many of the Kashmiri people, renowned for their tolerant Sufi heritage and culture, reject the narrow nationalism of both sides. Kashmir is known for its composite and syncretic culture, a blending of Sufism and Shaivite Hinduism. It is precisely this multiculturalism that current politics and ideology seeks to destroy.

—Maya Jhansi

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 nuclear 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.