

# NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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## BLACK/RED VIEW

### Martin Luther King's philosophic legacy

by John Alan

Martin Luther King, Jr. is the only African American that this nation as a whole formally recognizes with a national holiday. All other great African Americans who have fought valiantly for freedom, such as Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth, are not formally remembered. Rev. King was indeed a great leader during the mass struggles against segregation, racism, poverty and the Vietnam war. He understood the reasons for those struggles and universalized them as struggles of humanity against oppression.

While racism and poverty are still ingrained in American civilization, it does not mean that the Civil Rights Movement was a failure. By liberating African Americans from the social conditions imposed upon them by segregation, the Civil Rights Movement shook up the rulers of this nation and forced them to enact new laws such as the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and government programs against poverty.

#### BEGINNINGS IN BUS BOYCOTT

Since 1881 Southern African Americans had been segregated in public transportation. Some resisted and were severely beaten. "Enough is enough" said Mrs. Rosa Parks on Dec. 1, 1955, when she boarded a bus in Montgomery, Ala. to go home after a hard day's labor and discovered that the segregated back of the bus was filled with passengers and took a seat in the so-called neutral zone between the races. She didn't violate the segregation law until an arrogant white man boarded the bus and, finding no vacant seat in the white section, ordered Mrs. Parks to give her seat to him. She refused to comply with this rude demand and was arrested.

The 27-year-old Rev. King had been living in Montgomery for a year. The bus boycott was not his idea, but rather it was an idea whose time had come. According to Charles Denby, in his autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, Rev. King told him that "he knew nothing about the boycott until church members began asking their pastors what they should do, and practically everyone of the pastors said stay off the bus."

Although Rev. King was not among the initial organizers of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, he did bring to the boycott Mahatma Gandhi's philosophic concept of "nonviolent direct action." He maintained that Mahatma Gandhi had practiced it in India and won the battle against the mighty military forces of the British empire.

When one examines the concept of "nonviolent direct action," it becomes quite clear that "non-violent" is not the transforming element. It is the "direct action" of the masses, the self bringing forth of freedom, that changes things.

#### CHURCH OF RESISTANCE

Rev. King did not need to turn to Gandhi in order to find a philosophy for African-American liberation. A direct action philosophy did exist in the theology of his own Protestant religion, and he was aware of it. After he graduated from Morehouse College, King enrolled at Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania. There he encountered the social theology of Walter Rauschenbusch and Reinhold Niebuhr's justification for use of coercion to combat social evils.

Rauschenbusch was the most radical of the social gospel theologians and a member of the Second German Baptist Church in New York City. He saw wide-

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## Bush-Ashcroft declare war on immigrant communities

by Htun Lin

"Workshops Talks" columnist

The ongoing fallout from the September 11 terrorist attack continues to injure workers, especially immigrant workers in the U.S. Security measures have choked the borders where labor and goods cross, and smothered local economies, and countless immigrant workers have lost jobs in the low-paying tourist travel, hotel and restaurant industry, already falling into recession when September 11 struck.

Most pressing of all, Attorney General John Ashcroft launched a dragnet plan to pick up and interview upwards of 5,000 foreigners—all men ages 18 to 33, from mostly Middle Eastern countries—who entered the U.S. on non-immigrant visas during the past two years. The Bush administration refused any attempts by the American Civil Liberties Union and others to identify some 1,000 detainees, many of whom were reported to have been denied legal counsel. As part of the crackdown, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) will turn over 314,000 names to the FBI of people it says have disappeared to avoid deportation. They will be entered into a National Criminal Information Database.

FBI questioning includes queries about one's political views. This is consistent with their redefining the term "terrorist" to include "leftwing groups, generally professing a revolutionary socialist doctrine." Many people who live in this country from various nations have escaped traumatic repressions and crackdowns by dictators at home, who often have been useful allies to U.S. military strategic interests. Those regimes



Unbowed by Bush's war on immigrants, union workers at Charles Krug winery in St. Helena, Cal., are fighting cutbacks.

often summarily define all those who object to their iron-fisted rule as "leftists."

All this has been perpetrated in the name of fighting terrorism. However, even before September 11, the INS got away with tarring anyone it pleased as undesirable. In one instance, a young mother in Falls Church, Va., called the police on her husband who had brutally beaten her. Because she had fought back, the police arrested her and she then faced deportation and separation from her children (*USA Today Magazine*, 8/00). And Taiwanese scientist Wen Ho Lee was suspected of espionage and jailed without charge for nine months

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## Wang Ruoshui, Marxist Humanist

The passing of Chinese philosopher and Marxist Humanist Wang Ruoshui on Jan. 10 is a sad event for all those aspiring for a human alternative to capitalism. One of the most creative and innovative thinkers of modern China, Wang was an untiring advocate of social justice, democracy, and human dignity. His legacy will far outlast the platitudes of those who look down upon his "idealism" in the name of finding comfort with the status quo.

Wang, born in 1926, was a student of philosophy at Beijing University from 1946 to 1948, but interrupted his studies to go to the liberated zones as an active supporter of the communist movement. Quickly recognized as one of its most promising young intellectuals, he became editor of the theory department of *People's Daily* shortly after the Communists took power in 1949.

Even in the 1950s and early 1960s, when Wang largely held to the party line, he displayed an independence of mind that could not be confined within the framework of "orthodox" Marxism. He became famous in 1963 for his essay "The Philosophy of the Table," which argued against the notion that ideas simply reflect pre-existing realities. Just as the carpenter must first have the idea of the table in his mind before creating it, so too, he argued, creating a new society requires not only material conditions but also the idea of socialism as a living theory.

The essay was praised by no one less than Mao, and Wang rose in the party hierarchy. But this did not compromise his decency of character or independence of mind. Wang was later ordered to write an attack on humanism, and as part of this he was given access to a number of banned works by Western Marxists. After reading them (especially Erich Fromm's *Socialist Humanism*) he decided that the humanist interpretation of Marx was correct. This is also how he first encountered the work of Raya Dunayevskaya.

Wang was one of the first party intellectuals to openly attack Mao's cult of personality, at a 1979 conference of the Communist Party. But it was his vigorous defense of humanism and his contention that alienation existed in "socialist" China that earned him his name as a pioneering figure in the effort to break free from party orthodoxy.

In a public debate in the early 1980s, Wang argued

(in "Discussing the Problem of Alienation"): "Socialism is supposed to abolish alienation, but has it done so in fact, or does alienation [in China] still exist? I think we should admit that practice has proven that alienation still exists. Not only is there intellectual alienation, there is also political and even economic alienation." He did not shy away from denouncing the fetish of the party as an expression of how something created by the masses becomes alienated from them and turns into an agent of their oppression.

In 1983 he also wrote, "A specter is haunting the Chinese intellectual world—the specter of humanism." In response to those who condemned humanism as "non-Marxist," he wrote in "A Defense of Humanism":

"Humanism is bourgeois ideology—if this statement means that humanism has been a bourgeois ideology, this is an objective historical fact and is indisputable; if it means that humanism can only be bourgeois ideology, it deserves a question mark. These two senses are not to be muddled, and the second sense should not be inferred from the first.

"Materialism, too, has been the ideology of the bourgeoisie (and even of slave-owning and feudal classes), but this did not prevent it from becoming the worldview of the proletariat. Indeed, Marxist materialism and the old materialism were as different as heaven and earth. In exactly the same way that the materialism we advocate is Marxist and no other, the humanism we advocate is Marxist (or socialist, or revolutionary). In the present period we need socialist humanism."

The Communists responded by dismissing him from his position with *People's Daily* in 1983 and expelling him from the party in 1987. Unlike many other ex-Party intellectuals, however, he never renounced his adherence to Marxism.

Raya Dunayevskaya closely followed Wang's debates on alienation and humanism in the 1980s and often spoke of her desire to meet him. That proved impossible; she died in 1987.

Wang finally met U.S. Marxist-Humanists while on a visit here in 1993-94. He was glad to learn of Raya's interest in his work and fascinated by how many similar philosophic concepts they had independently devel-

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#### EDITORIAL

Afghanistan's neighbors caught in the net of Bush's war ..... Page 4

Now available...

## THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY: SELECTED WRITINGS ON THE DIALECTIC IN HEGEL AND MARX BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

—Special section includes a chapter and introduction excerpts. See pages 5-8

# A case of philosophical sexism?

By Maya Jhansi

On Saturday, Jan. 19, I went to the launch party for the new book *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx* (Lexington Books, 2002). This is a new collection of Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on dialectical philosophy, edited by Peter Hudis and Kevin Anderson. As the speakers presented their views of this book, it occurred to me that one of the most unique things about Dunayevskaya is the way she jams together dialectical philosophy and gender.

For the most part, feminists who are interested in socialist feminism are not interested in Hegelian dialectics, and those who write about the Hegel-Marx connection tend to ignore feminism. Ian Fraser and Tony Burns' new book, *The Hegel-Marx Connection*, is a good example of the latter. It brings together an array of writings on the Hegel-Marx connection.

However, not only does the book not have a single essay by a woman, Fraser and Burns fail to mention Dunayevskaya at all in their introduction, a historical synopsis of the different approaches to the Hegel-Marx connection, even though no other American Marxist has written so extensively on the subject. This is not to mention that Dunayevskaya is often a lone voice in her insistence that Hegelian dialectics is needed for a feminist rethinking of Marxism.

It is hard to see Fraser and Burns' omission as anything other than sexism, though when you look at their introduction, it becomes clear why they left Dunayevskaya out.

## THE MATERIALIST TRAP

Fraser and Burns break down the attitude to Hegel into two main camps, those who saw Marx as appropriating Hegel's dialectic and those who wanted to expunge Hegel from Marx. They begin their survey with the young Marx's writings on Hegel, and then move on to Engels and his influence over orthodox Marxism. They summarize the ways that Engels' understanding came to dominate orthodox Marxist views of the Hegel-Marx connection.

In the late 1850s Marx had planned to write a short book on Hegel's philosophy, but never did so. It became easier to take Engels' word on the dialectic, than to do the "labor, patience and suffering of the negative" to hear Marx think. Engels is the one who popularized this idea that Marx "inverted" Hegel, that he turned Hegel around on his feet. To Engels, dialectical philosophy is merely the "reflection" of the dialectics of reality "in the thinking brain."

Fraser and Burns go over those who challenged the Engelsian view of the Hegel-Marx connection by taking up the Hegelian dimension of Marx's philosophy, such as Lenin, Lukács, Marcuse, Kojève, Lefebvre,

## Purple Berets hit back

*Purple Berets* is a women's rights group established in 1991 to advocate for victims of domestic violence with police and the district attorney. They have made a difference in many cases in Sonoma County.

**Santa Rosa, Cal.**—On Jan. 7, Judge Elliot Daum handed down a 21-year sentence to Debi Zuver, a domestic violence victim who pled guilty to manslaughter in the shooting death of Kim Garloff, Zuver's ex-boyfriend who repeatedly beat, terrorized and threatened to kill her over a two-year period.

In handing down his stunning decision to give Zuver the maximum penalty (11 years for manslaughter plus 10 years for using a gun), Judge Daum ignored the determination by one of the nation's foremost experts that Debi Zuver suffered from "battered women's syndrome" and acted to defend her own life.

Judge Daum also disregarded the fact that only minutes before the shooting, Kim Garloff came into Debi's house, locked the door, threw her against the wall and made repeated threats to kill. Despite compelling testimonies, Judge Daum determined the evidence of battered women's syndrome was not convincing; refused to accept that the victim (Garloff) had precipitated and been the aggressor in the incident; determined she was not acting under duress or in defense of her own life.

This sentence is particularly chilling in light of the recent dismissal of all charges against Petaluma doctor Louis Pelfini, charged with homicide and domestic violence in the smothering death of Janet Pelfini. Louis was Janet's husband of more than 30 years. Because of double jeopardy, Louis Pelfini cannot be charged again for criminal behavior in Janet's death.

As women's rights activists we are extremely concerned about the messages these two cases send to the community—messages like, "If you kill your wife you'll get away with it" and "If you're a battered woman you better shut up and take it because the cops won't protect you and if you dare protect yourself, we'll rip your life away." Purple Berets are currently organizing to overturn this incredibly unjust sentence.

—Tanya Brannan

For more information, to send letters of support to Debi, or to offer donations of funds or legal help for her appeal, contact PURPLE BERETS, Women Defending Women, PO Box 3064 Santa Rosa, CA 95402, or <http://www.purpleberets.org>.

## Woman as Reason

Sartre—but, of course no mention of Dunayevskaya, who challenged Engelsian distortions of Marx's dialectics and of Marx's views on gender. They then turn to those like Althusser, Colletti, Della Volpe who wanted to "drive Hegel into the night" as Althusser once put it. Fraser and Burns, however, reject both camps.

Their answer to the battle between Hegelian and anti-Hegelian Marxists is that "there is no need for Marxists to appropriate a modified, materialist version of Hegel's philosophical idealism into their own thought. For Marx's 'materialism' can be derived directly from Hegel's own social thought without any such adaptation or modification." To Fraser and Burns, Hegel is himself a materialist and, in some sense, a "Marxist."

They raise Hegel's political writings above his philosophical writings—calling it his "Realphilosophie." Hegel and Marx's dialectic, they argue, "are one and the same. The historical opposition between idealism and materialism, and the influence which it has had upon our understanding of the intellectual relationship between Hegel and Marx is, on this reading, overcome by stressing the thoroughgoing 'materialism' of Hegel's own dialectic."

Although Fraser and Burns are attempting to do away with the opposition between materialism and idealism, they are in fact recapitulating it by ignoring the importance of Hegel's "idealism," which Marx credited with developing the "active side" of human subjectivity. They are, in fact, victim to the post-Marx Marxist aversion to philosophy.

## UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

On the contrary, Dunayevskaya did not reduce Hegel to a materialist. A quote from Hegel's *Smaller Logic* speaks to this: "The notion that ideas and ideals are nothing but chimeras, and that philosophy is a system of pure phantasms, sets itself at once against the actuality of what is rational; but, conversely, the notion that ideas and ideals are something far too excellent to have actuality, or equally too impotent to have actuality, is opposed to it as well. This science deals only with the Idea—which is not so impotent that it merely ought to be, and is not actual." To Hegel, ideas can't be dismissed as chimeras. At the same time the Idea itself has actuality.

This is what Dunayevskaya stressed in her writings on dialectics. To her, the Women's Liberation Movement was evidence of the existence of the Idea in reality, but it was not enough by itself, as we are experiencing right now. "A movement from theory to practice" is needed as well, she argued.

Dunayevskaya's writings challenge both the neat division Fraser and Burns make between the Hegelian and anti-Hegelian Marxists, and their so-called "solution" to the problem. This is perhaps why they did not see fit to include her in their overview. Or perhaps it is something more common, the sexist deafness in the world of Marxist philosophy to women's ideas, except as tokens to talk about gender. In either case, *The Power of Negativity* gives us new insights into dialectics that might help us bridge the current gulf between feminist and dialectical philosophy.

## Sweatshop workers to 'Sweatshop Warriors'

*Sweatshop Warriors: Immigrant Women Workers Take On The Global Factory*, by Miriam Ching Yoon Louie, South End Press, 2001.

In *Sweatshop Warriors* Miriam Ching Yoon Louie invites the reader to participate "in a kind of written word 'workers' exchange' and 'study tour' that poor peoples' groups have organized across the decades for their friends in labor..." This is clearly a labor of love for the author, as she painstakingly recorded voices of many women who became sweatshop organizers. She also put their stories in the context of objective developments.

She focuses on Chinese, Mexican and Korean immigrant women who "changed from being sweatshop workers to sweatshop warriors." The women in this book are not just victims, but have become organizers and successfully led campaigns against big companies like Levi Strauss and DKNY, as well as subcontractors like Lucky Sewing Co. These women took on every aspect of life in their struggle, including health, environmental safety and problems at home and with their own traditional culture.

The book is full of inspiring stories. Most remarkable are the author's own conclusions that "as they carried out their battles the women started to define not only what they were fighting against, but also what they were fighting for...to independently secure their rights to dignified work, housing, nutrition, health, and freedom of expression and affiliation....They learned to build a new world through trial and error...."

Take, for example, Petra Mata, who was one of the founders of Fuerza Unida, a workers' organization in San Antonio, Texas. She was a trainer at the Levi

## hooks on life and love

**Chicago**—Black feminist writer bell hooks drew out an integrated crowd of more than 500 Black and white women when she spoke on her new book *Communism: The Female Search for Love* on Jan. 23. She asserted that the development of self-love, in "the white supremacist, capitalist, imperialist, patriarchy," is the pivot upon which all other forms of love and freedom grow.

She was wonderfully hostile to the racist and sexist images that work upon our self-esteem. "In patriarchy," hooks said, "we must return to the body" as the root of self-hatred. She said this self-hatred is even worse "when you add Blackness" to the equation.

hooks lauded the feminist movement for revealing that women are taught that they must earn love rather than being entitled to it. Women try to stay good little girls, which prevents our unique gifts and potentials from ever being realized and hurts our self-esteem.

She said that women, and Black women in particular, can only love themselves when in "communion" or in struggle with others who seek freedom from this oppressive reality. She challenged white feminists saying: "Unlearning racism is the only ground we have" to end the racial divide within the feminist movement.

However, her views on the impossibility of separating the development of self-love (personal) from struggle against oppression (social) were contradictory. For example, hooks said, "Until we end the intimate terrorism in our own lives we won't be able to resolve it with other nations and cultures we don't understand." This separates the personal from the political.

I imagine that many women went home feeling quite a bit: angry, joyous and empowered all at the same time. I certainly did.

—Sonia Bergonzi

## Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

Poor, unemployed and homeless people from across the U.S. plan to March for Our Lives on Feb. 8, the opening day of the Olympics in Salt Lake City, Utah. Organized by the Kensington Welfare Rights Union and JEDI Women of Salt Lake City, the march is an effort to break the invisibility of the poor in the U.S. and demand "decent health care, education, food, housing and living wage jobs as an American priority."

\* \* \*

The Center for Reproductive Law and Policy is suing the state of Florida for denying medical coverage for abortion. The state is charged with "engaging in outright sex discrimination" for denying medical funding for abortion for low-income women, while at the same time providing men with funds for drugs like Viagra.

—Information from off our backs

\* \* \*

As many as 80% of women in Rwanda are HIV-positive according to the Rwandan Association of Trauma Counselors. Most of those infected were raped by members of the Rwandan military during the 1994 genocide of one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu.

—Information from off our backs



Strauss plant there. Fuerza Unida started when the workers noticed that Levi's was paying them unfairly. After the shock of closing the plant in 1990 (they call themselves "early victims of NAFTA") they responded by organizing a lot more: "We started having training and participating in conferences—locally, nationally, internationally.... Every several weeks, we went to San Francisco to organize the campaign at Levi's corporate headquarters. We had to leave our families. It was good but hard."

These stories make it clear that capitalism will not cease to produce its opposite: women like these, capitalism's gravediggers. The book raises the question of what is the responsibility of those who meet these women through the book: "Listening to the women speak cannot be an act of consumerism. Seeing them fight for their rights cannot be an act of voyeurism.... Each of us is called upon to do the same..." The author does us a tremendous service by translating their voices, which may not have been available in English before, and by providing a global context for these women's struggles.

Her call to the readers to express solidarity by "challenging the pyramids of oppression we face" can be met in a variety of ways. One way is to join picket lines and "train our ears to listen harder to hear the vibrant voices and lyrical leadership of grassroots folk on the bottom, the foundation rock of mass movements."

This is a great beginning in helping mass movements develop. It starts with going to the picket lines and being conscious of what you hear and don't hear. Such consciousness comes from a theoretic posture that allows us to recognize and appreciate the reason in these voices.

—Urszula Wislanska

# FedEx deadlines at workers' expense

Memphis, Tenn.—I work at FedEx loading trucks and it is really dangerous work. There are tugs that are used for pulling the big carts full of packages. The tug drivers are constantly moving back and forth. They're much faster than forklifts and have a lot of pulling power. A lot of times the tug drivers are told to just drop stuff off, wherever. They're told to get there and get it done on time.

It's so easy to get your tug driver's license there, and people who can barely drive a car are driving tugs and smacking into the carts. I've almost gotten hit numerous times. I got knocked into a cart. Luckily I fell into the cart itself instead of getting smashed up into the wall. There's a lot of stuff to look out for.

The tugs run off of gas or diesel, depending on what kind of tug it is. You can smell the fumes in the air when you walk through the hub. Every time I come home, I still feel horrible.

It is worse in the summertime, when it's 20 degrees hotter in the trucks than it is outside. In Memphis that means it can get up to 120 degrees. I still have scars on my back from a rash where my back belt rubbed.

A lot of times it's probably best if you don't report an accident because they'll try to find some way to blame it on you. They'll say, "You should've been watching out for this. You should've been watching out for that."

For example, a young woman got her hand caught in the conveyor belt. They told her to put on her gloves because she hadn't been wearing them. She was keeping them off for a reason—sometimes the gloves have a tendency to get caught. They give us gloves, and tell us to wear them, but they're not always the right size. Hers obviously didn't fit very well and got caught underneath the conveyor belt and pulled her hand under there. She fractured her wrist pretty badly. They docked her pay for that. —Young FedEx worker

# Enron fraud exposes capitalist shell game

Oakland, Cal.—The mainstream press initially saw Argentina and Enron as if they were unrelated stories. To a worker, these stories are hardly separate or unique. We don't yet see the same street demonstrations and worker rebellion here in the U.S. as in Argentina, but workers at Enron face the same kind of man-made calamities suffered by workers in Argentina. Workers are made to bail out capitalists after rampant deregulation, privatization, and globalization schemes fail.

Instead of calling it corporate welfare, they use the euphemism "austerity measures," which means workers will be bled even further. Enron executive hucksters not only lied to creditors and authorities alike of their real worth, but committed the lowest form of fraud by hoodwinking their own employees into investing virtually all of their retirement savings in Enron.

Making mountains of profit out of California's energy crisis, everyone was led to believe that there was nothing but more blue skies ahead. Bush and Cheney even reserved a seat for Enron on their secret energy task force. Before Enron stocks hit bottom, of course, the top hucksters were able to unload their holdings, while fine print locked workers into losing virtually all of their life savings and pensions.

If you thought it couldn't get any worse than this kind of parasitism at Enron, consider Polaroid. Workers there were not only encouraged to invest in Employee Stock Option Plans, they were told that it was the only way to stave off layoffs as a way to keep the company afloat. Executives didn't tell workers that they were maneuvering to prevent a hostile takeover.

Given the stark choice of losing their jobs or accepting the company's offer, workers were fooled into choosing the company's plan and accepted a drastic payout for these ESOPs. One worker said Polaroid stock was now worth as much as soda bottle and can deposits.

Marx talked in *Capital* about the extraction of surplus labor from workers at the very point of production. Before the exchange of goods and products, the embryo of all of capital's exchange value, and all its contradictions, resides in production of those very commodities on the production shop floor. Workers are the founding parents of that original value, as well as its midwife, handmaiden, wet nurse—and finally, its gravediggers.

What Marx analyzed so meticulously was at the very specifically crucial embryonic stage of development of this offspring. This prodigal son, the exchange value of abstract labor (what capitalists like to call market value) from its very inception is the spoiled brat that sucks the very life out of its own creators, like a parasite. What we are seeing at Enron and Polaroid however are the adolescent stages of that same value form.

Bush's idea of tax cuts is refunding to companies like IBM and Boeing billions of dollars of taxes they had already paid in the last 15 years. Bush invited corporations to tap dry the federal surplus—an accumulation of millions upon millions of worker man-hours of surplus labor extracted over the years.

One health care worker said the same bastards at Arthur Andersen who did the accounting for Enron also for ten years advised Kaiser as a health care company to divest itself of its healthcare assets, like clinics and hospitals and workers. Downsizing to become a lean, mean, efficient healthcare machine was really to be a financial machine at the expense of patients and employees.

That advice got Kaiser in an organizational crisis when they lost to the tune of \$200 million. Outside vendors were gouging us for care of patients Kaiser was unable to. Kaiser is only coming out of that crisis by being forced by us workers along with consumers to reverse much of Andersen's market "wisdom." One worker explained, "About the only expertise Andersen is expert in is how to screw the little people, and how to nosedive a thriving company to the ground. They really are the economic terrorists of our times."

At least Al Qaeda left a trail of documents and floppy disks and videos of themselves, for evidence at their own trials. The terrorists at Arthur Andersen however have eliminated much of the evidence of their deeds in a major shredding campaign. If Congress cannot see the monumental high crimes and misdemeanors in this, and still insist on marching in lockstep behind Bush's combat boots, then they're even more brain dead than previously thought.

One Puerto Rican immigrant told me that, to the American people, Argentina's collapse seemed like a distant problem, someone else's crisis. But with Enron, "White middle class Americans were reduced to the same calamity thought to be suffered only by people living under crony capitalism in banana republics. They will want heads to roll."

—Kaiser Service worker

# Power lies in ranks

Detroit—I have just read the new booklet put out by News and Letters, *The Revolutionary Journalism of Felix Martin*, and I came away impressed with his insights into the problems of working people and the society in which we live. The book is a compilation of articles written over a 20-year period. Two of the articles that touched me the most were his call for unity in fighting the injustices of our society, and the need for true democracy in our labor unions.

I was involved in the Detroit newspaper strike and can tell you that if we had true unity among all working people, we would have won that strike decisively. As Felix Martin says, bridges have to be built to all segments of our society, establishing the unity needed to change things. The power has been there all along—we just have to organize ourselves to change things.

When Martin talks about democracy in our labor unions, he's talking about the rank and file deciding for themselves where they want to go and how they're going to get there, not leaving these important decisions up to union bureaucrats who many times have a stake in the status quo. As he points out, if unions do not address the real problems facing working people at the point of production and in our society, their relevance will recede even further.

What came through to the reader of these pages is that ordinary working people, if they take the time and if they join together, can identify their problems and come up with revolutionary solutions. Felix Martin shows that the future of working people, indeed, all of humanity, depends upon it.

I highly recommend this book to all of you. I'm sure you will relate to much of what the author has to say. I know I did.

In Solidarity,

—Armand Nevers

Detroit Typographical Union #18s (retired)

# U.S. prisons as forced labor camps

The Bureau of Prisons reports over 560 new prisons built since 1985, costing over \$30 billion to the taxpayers. The lawmakers, law enforcement, judicial officials and prison officials understand that they have created, enforce and execute laws that are warehousing millions of their own people in America's prisons for political and economic reasons.

African Americans are nearly half of the more than two million prisoners behind bars. African Americans are more likely to receive longer sentences, and the imposition of outrageous convictions and sentences has produced a spectacular expansion of incarceration.

## PROFITEERING OFF THE INCARCERATED

These are significant numbers of men and women whose prime years of their lives are spent in prisons. This is a loss to minority people who have a legitimate interest in the job market and the wages they never receive. People are forced to work for state institutions throughout this nation, and to be exploited by state-owned facilities. It is state-owned institutions and corporations which make profits, while the nation's people pay for incarcerating people.

**The feeding frenzy perpetuated by conviction and sentencing of millions has created a large incarcerated labor force. This idea of incarcerating large groups of people is based on profit for state-owned institutions.**

The Prison Industry Enhancement Act (PIE) regulations apply to prisons where prisoners are not being as exploited, but are paid prevailing wages. This does not mean prisoners actually receive such wages. Most prevailing wages go to medical, housing and education.

Corporations and businesses which are quickly growing from prison labor are exerting considerable power on the government to weaken PIE regulations and make it possible to more easily exploit prisoners. The fact is that prisoners are being exploited for profit in the interest of the few. The history of this nation's labor movement has shown us this is true.

## HISTORY OF LABOR

If prisoners refuse to work under state servitude, they will be thrown into solitary confinement and brutalized psychologically and physically for their refusal to submit. If they do work, they are placed under hazardous conditions, with inhuman treatment, long working hours and stressful environment.

Many jobs done by prisoners in the U.S. are done elsewhere only in Third World countries. These Third World countries have been condemned by the U.S. for human rights violations. This shows the contradiction of legally accepted slavery under imprisonment in the U.S. supported by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

The American penal system needs a massive reconstruction in areas that have failed prisoners. We must give education, rehabilitation and job skills that are in demand by society that would give prisoners a real opportunity to integrate well into society upon release.

These are the tasks that the people must undertake if society is to defuse the brutal era of political and economic brutality and social unrest built upon the rhetoric and laws that have claimed a significant part of the people of society to slavery.

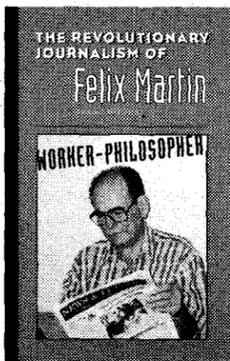
—Sheik M. Moore El, National Coordinator, Missouri Prison Labor Union

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## EDITORIAL After Afghanistan, what?

With the Taliban driven out of power and the Al Qaeda network on the run, there is a struggle inside the Bush administration over what to do next in Afghanistan and the region. One of the most serious dangers is that of a U.S. military attack on Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Republican and Democratic hawks have been pushing for this and Bush has said that he may attack "rogue states." An attack on Iraq would be a dramatic and dangerous escalation that could lead to the kind of conflagration that the murderous Osama bin Laden has been wishing for.

Meanwhile, the unprecedented military build-up in the region continues. There is no better indication that the U.S. is going to be in the region for the long haul than the fact that the 101st Airborne Division has just been sent to Kandahar, Afghanistan to relieve U.S. Marines there. Unlike the Marines, its role is to hold territory for an extended period.

With Russian acquiescence, the U.S., France, and Britain are preparing a military presence in Central Asia that will last many years. The Khanabad Air Base near the town of Qarshi in Uzbekistan is now home to nearly 1,000 U.S. soldiers from the 10th Mountain Division. In Kyrgyzstan, they are building a "transportation hub" as part of the Manas airbase in Bishkek, the capital, that will house 3,000 troops and accommodate many warplanes.

Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz stated that the U.S. build-up in the region sends a signal to "important countries like Uzbekistan that we have the capacity to come back and will come back. We are just not going to forget them." In October, the U.S. gave Uzbekistan's extremely authoritarian government an assurance of security.

**Instead of undermining Islamic fundamentalism, such actions may actually strengthen it. According to Raffi Khatchadourian, in the Fergana Valley, where cotton plantations are the mainstay of the economies of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan, "radical Islamic fervor has become inseparably interwoven with growing popular discontent" against corrupt and brutal regimes (The Nation, Jan. 21).**

### GLOBAL REACH

Meanwhile, the U.S. is sending 650 Special Operations troops to the southern Philippines to fight the Abu Sayyaf group. Claims that it has links to Al Qaeda have been disputed. The parliament of the Philippines has condemned the dispatch of U.S. forces and warned of another Vietnam.

In December, Amnesty International Secretary General Irene Khan complained that the big powers are using the war on terrorism to repress human rights all over the world. This could be seen in the declarations issued by the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), an organization that includes China, Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. The SCO met in Beijing in January and agreed to coordinate responses to "terrorism, religious extremism, and ethnic separatism," aimed at groups like the Chechens and Uighur minorities in the western province of Xinjiang, China.

While the Afghan people are certainly relieved to be rid of the Taliban, two decades of war and three years of a severe drought have displaced millions. Today nearly five million are directly dependent on food aid for survival. Living conditions in refugee camps in and outside Afghanistan are horrendous. Several thousand civilians died as a direct result of U.S. bombings these past months and a million new refugees have been added to the ranks of the old ones. According to

## ExxonMobil aids genocide in Aceh

*Editor's note: We have just heard that Indonesian troops murdered GAM commander-in-chief Abdullah Syafie along with his pregnant wife, Aisyah Umar, on Jan. 22. See our next issue for more details.*

Indonesian President Megawati has sent more troops to Aceh to silence the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the nonviolent movements throughout society which favor independence. She ended the pretense of a dialogue on peace by arresting GAM negotiators. The situation now amounts to martial law (undeclared, to avoid international pressure).

There were more than 1,200 killings in Aceh last year. Yet so strongly do the Acehnese favor independence that they staged a general strike Jan. 16-18.

**We need to strengthen our efforts to stop the daily killings in Aceh and Papua. September 11 has caused many leaders to dismiss human rights in their countries. Megawati has obtained a new military relationship with the U.S. under the cover of a "counter-terrorism" plan for Southeast Asia.**

Last April Indonesian armed troops (TNI) in Aceh burst into the Sumbok village home of Ati Rusdi Azis, a 27-year old woman who was seven months pregnant. A soldier loaded his gun and pointed it at her head as they proceeded to rape her.

"They will kill me if I fight them. They raped me. They come from there," she says, pointing in the direction of the facilities of the ExxonMobil company. Soldiers posted at the ExxonMobil complex regularly

UNICEF, 100,000 children may perish in the next several months unless urgent measures are taken.

Yet there is also tremendous hope in the country, especially among the most oppressed group, the women. In Kabul, the Zarghouna High School for girls is one of a dozen brought back to life with the death of Taliban rule. Last month the principal and three women teachers returned to a devastated building. Still, they found themselves deluged by thousands of girls eager to go back to school. Today, nearly 2,600 are studying there. When UNICEF arrived with plans for a gradual resumption of schooling for girls, they were surprised to see how much self-organization had already begun.

### LOCAL RULERS

Such openings occur in the face of tremendous obstacles. Most areas of Afghanistan are being run by guerilla chieftains called "governors" but who are more like feudal lords. For example, Mazar-i-Sharif is ruled by Abdul Rashid Dostum, who prints his own money. Another example is the city of Herat, ruled by Ismail Khan, who is armed and supported by Iran. Some say Iran's fundamentalist regime will do whatever it can to prevent the creation of a secular democracy in Afghanistan. The Central Eastern provinces are ruled by the same tribal councils who held power under the Taliban.

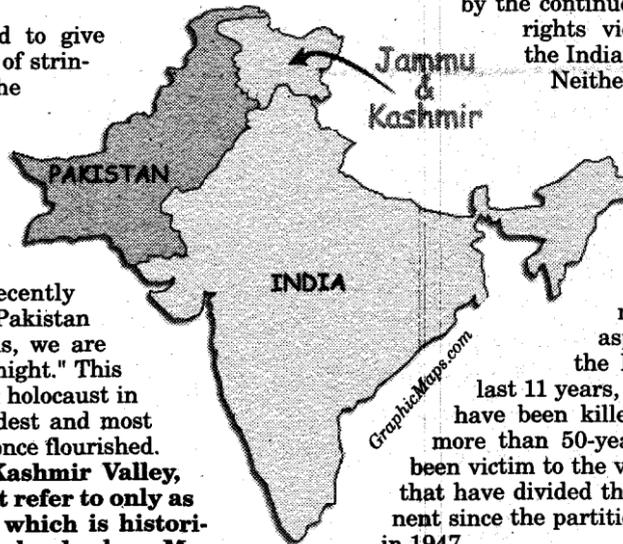
The opposition to U.S.-dominated global capitalism needs to take into account the fact that rulers like the Taliban, Hussein, or the Iranian ayatollahs, as well as utterly reactionary movements like Al Qaeda, are so oppressive that the masses living under them will often welcome intervention from outside. The failure of many leftist and peace groups to acknowledge this has made it impossible to build a serious opposition to U.S. military intervention. As we face the threat of a new war in Iraq, it is high time for a reorganization of our thinking and our perspectives.

## India and Pakistan on the verge of war

The heightened tensions between India and Pakistan after the Dec. 13 terrorist attack on the Indian parliament have not yet led to outright war. However, there has not yet been a withdrawal of the 500,000 strong build-up of the Indian army at the border, and the fear and threat of nuclear war remains real.

Although India has agreed to give Pakistan time to meet its list of stringent demands, including the extradition of 20 suspected terrorists, hardliners in the army and government remain belligerent. Pakistan's General Musharraf claims to be doing what he can to crack down on extremists, though he recently assured the hardliners in Pakistan that "if war is imposed on us, we are ready" to fight with "all our might." This conjures up images of nuclear holocaust in the land where one of the oldest and most advanced of human societies once flourished.

**The flashpoint is the Kashmir Valley, which reporters in the West refer to only as a "disputed territory," but which is historically a unique and gorgeous land, where Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists once lived in relative peace and harmony.**



Kashmir is home to a culturally tolerant and religiously hybrid people, and is a center of Sufism on the subcontinent. The Islamic fundamentalist tendencies that have popped up in Kashmir in the last decade are alien, sponsored and supported by foreign elements

known to be involved with Al Qaeda, but sustained by the continued betrayals and human rights violations perpetrated by the Indian state.

Neither India, which has sent an occupying army into the region, nor Pakistan, which has funded and trained terrorists who have infiltrated and influenced groups fighting for Kashmiri self-determination, care about the aspirations and desires of the Kashmiri people. In the

last 11 years, more than 35,000 people have been killed in Kashmir. Over its more than 50-year history, Kashmir has been victim to the violent communal politics that have divided the people of the subcontinent since the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947.

In the election platform of the right-wing party that now rules India, there is a call to abolish the constitutional article that grants Kashmir autonomy. This has further alienated the Kashmiri people, who are trapped by the escalating fundamentalist tendencies on both sides.

**It's clear that for the voice of the Kashmiri people to be heard, the Left in both countries has to take a solid stand against both Hindu and Islamic fundamentalism.**

The Indian Left, in its attempt to expose and condemn the atrocities perpetrated by the Indian state, has failed to address the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Indeed, the Indian Left has often forwarded the view that the terrorist bombings in India in the 1990s were perpetrated by the Indian state itself in order to justify its communalist politics. Some on the Left even believe that India attacked its own parliament to give credence to its crackdown on Muslims in India.

This is tantamount to saying that the U.S. attacked itself on September 11 to justify its imperialist policies, a ridiculous view that fails to account for the rise of fundamentalism that threatens the lives of so many people around the world.

India's rulers are using this conflict to crack down on civil liberties and to further their Hindu fundamentalist agenda. This must be opposed on every level.

There have been ongoing anti-war protests and vigils in both Pakistan and India. There have also been attempts at cross-border organizing between human rights and anti-nuclear activists in India and Pakistan. Along with the call for a military de-escalation, these groups are also calling for a de-escalation of national chauvinism and religious fundamentalism. It is only such voices, not the heavy hand of General Musharraf or Prime Minister Vajpayee, that will ultimately save the subcontinent from the threat of nuclear holocaust.

—Maya Jhansi

—Radhi Darmansyah  
International SIRA Representative

Special section on...

**THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY: SELECTED WRITINGS ON THE DIALECTIC IN HEGEL AND MARX** BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

—Table of Contents and Conclusion of Excerpts from the Introduction, pages 6 and 7

—Readers' Views begin on page 8

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya  
**MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES****Editor's Note**

We publish here a chapter of *The Power of Negativity* consisting of a discussion of what Marx considered Hegel's greatest philosophic work—*The Phenomenology of Mind*. The first piece is a letter written by Raya Dunayevskaya to an Iranian colleague on June 26, 1986(1); the original can be found in the *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 10769. The second piece is an Introduction to a republication in *News & Letters*, May 8, 1987, of her 1960 "Notes on Hegel's *Phenomenology*," the text of which appears in Part II of *The Power of Negativity*. To order the book, see the literature ad on page 8. Footnotes are the editor's except those noted as the author's.

**LETTER OF JUNE 26, 1986, ON HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY OF MIND**

Let me tell you some of the past from a faraway age—and I'm not talking so much about Marx (much less Marxist-Humanism), but about Hegel. Why do you suppose academics to this day refer to *Phenomenology of Mind* as "chaotic," "very brilliant and profound in spots," but definitely "Hegel didn't know where he was headed"; that he didn't even have subheads once he came to "Spirit"?

It was because he didn't have the categories worked out systematically as they were in *Science of Logic*, where it was nice and smooth and they took for granted they understood it; they certainly could repeat the categories; indeed, though it took them all the way until 1929 (having rejected the translation that was done in America by the Hegelians in St. Louis) before they published an English translation, they then appended a long and precise list of categories—128 to be exact—so that anyone can repeat them if they can memorize 128 names(2).

We have yet to get any serious, full explanation of why there has been no reference to the fact that the year before Hegel died, he felt that he should add the three final syllogisms to the Absolute Mind. Do you know why that is? I'll tell you why. It is because we haven't understood that *Phenomenology of Mind* (1807, not 1830) projected ground for the Absolutes, and they haven't understood that ground because it was the French Revolution. And Hegel was saying very passionately: "Look at what happened in France, and we haven't even developed a single dialectical category, and we are talking philosophy time and time again."(3) The whole philosophy of 2,500 years has to find a new language, and here it is. Academics had no vision then and they have no vision now. The whole truth is that between 1807 and 1831 (death) it was a matter of developing that movement, historic movement, and that vision Marx alone saw. And he saw it because he was in a new age and needed a new language to express the forces and the Reason of Revolution [as] both continuity and discontinuity of the dialectic and of the new European Revolutions (1840s). That is why a serious Introduction is really always written at the end and is at the same time an Overview, which is what Marx was doing from 1843 to 1883.

**INTRODUCTION TO "WHY HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY? WHY NOW?"**

The Spirit of the time, growing slowly and quietly ripe for the new form it is to assume, disintegrates one fragment after another of the structure of its previous world. That it is tottering to fall is indicated only by symptoms here and there. Frivolity and again ennui, which are spreading in the established order of things, the undefined foreboding of something unknown—all these betoken that there is something else approaching. This gradual crumbling to pieces, which did not alter the general look and aspect of the whole,

is interrupted by the sunrise, which, in a flash and at a single stroke, brings to view the form and structure of the new world.

—Hegel, Preface to the *Phenomenology of Mind* [PhGB, p. 75; PhGM, pp. 6-7](4)

The most difficult of all tasks that have confronted every generation of Marxists is to work out Marx's Marxism for its age; the task has never been more difficult than the one that confronts the decade of the 1980s. We often like to quote that creatively great statement of Hegel about the "birth-time of History" [PhGB, p. 75; PhGM, p. 6]. What is important to see is that the same paragraph that talks of the birth-time of history and a period of transition is likewise one that speaks about the period of darkness before the dawn.

That is what we all have had to suffer through—the darkness before the dawn. Hegel articulated both the darkness and the dawn in the very same paragraph lucidly enough. Yet, because this appears in the Preface to the *Phenomenology of Mind*, it looks as if it were written in anticipation of the book, whereas, in truth, the Preface was written after the whole was completed; thus, we do not realize that the contradictory unity first became that translucent after the work was completed.

It never fails that, at momentous world historic turning points, it is very difficult to tell the difference between two types of twilight—whether one is first plunging into utter darkness or whether one has reached the end of a long night and is just at the moment before the dawn of a new day. In either case, the challenge to find the meaning—what Hegel called "the undefined foreboding of something unknown"—becomes a compulsion to dig for new beginnings, for a philosophy that would try to answer the question "where to begin?" This was the reason for a new revolutionary philosophy—the birth of the Hegelian dialectic—at the time the great French Revolution did not produce totally new beginnings in philosophy. It caused Hegel's break with romanticism. His deep digging went, at one and the same time, backward and forward as the French Revolution was followed by the Napoleonic era trying to dominate all of Europe.

In a word, the crucible of history shows that the forces of actual revolution producing revolutions in philosophy recur at historic turning points. Thus in the 1840s, with the rise of a totally new revolutionary class—the "wretched of the earth,"(5) the proletariat—Marx transformed Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution. This founding of a new continent of thought and of revolution unchained the Hegelian dialectic, which Marx called "revolution in permanence."

Just as the shock of the simultaneity of the outbreak of World War I and the collapse of established Marxism (the Second International) compelled Lenin to turn to Marx's deep-rootedness in the Hegelian Dialectic(6), so it has become imperative to find that missing link of a philosophy of revolution in the post-World War II world.

A whole new world—a Third World—has been born. Just as the East European revolutionaries rose up against Communist totalitarianism from within that orbit, so the Third World arose against Western imperialism. This movement from practice that is itself a form of theory has been digging for ways to put an end to the separation between theory and practice. It is this movement that has rediscovered Marx's early Humanist Essays, as well as the work of his final decade where Marx predicted, in his studies of pre-capitalist societies, that a revolution could come first in a technologically backward land rather than in the technologically advanced West. It has had to struggle under the whip of counter-revolution in a nuclearly armed world.

Nowhere has this been more onerous than in the 1980s under the Reagan retrogressionism, which has been bent on turning the clock backward—whether that be on civil rights, labor, women's liberation, youth and education or children. At the same time that there

# Another look at Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind

is this ideological pollution and the revolutionary struggle against it, even some bourgeois Hegel scholars who opposed the "subversion" of Hegel by Marx and by today's Marxist-Humanists have had to admit: "If Hegel has not literally been to the barricades of strife-ridden cities, or explosive rural foci, he has been in the thick of current ideological combat."(7)

In its way, this, too, will help illuminate why we are publishing "Why Hegel's *Phenomenology? Why Now?*" It will have two parts. What follows, as Part I, is a study of Hegel's first (and what Marx considered his most creative) work, *Phenomenology of Mind (Geist)*, written as Lecture Notes for a class I gave on the *Phenomenology* in the 1960s.(8) Part II, which will follow in the near future, will be an essay on the Hegelian Dialectic as Marx critiqued it in his *Humanist Essays* in 1844 and continued to develop it throughout his life.(9) This is seen most clearly in Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, especially in the final section of chapter 1, which Marx expanded on the

"Fetishism of Commodities," in his last decade. It is there that a citation of what first appeared in Marx's 1841 Doctoral Thesis reveals Marx's continued deep-rootedness in Hegel.(10)

G.W.F. Hegel

**NOTES**

1. It was written to the historian Janet Afary, author of *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906-11* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
2. This "Table of Categories" is found in the Johnston and Struthers translation of the *Science of Logic* (New York: MacMillan, 1929).
3. Not a direct quote, but Dunayevskaya's summary of his position in a dramatic form.
4. "PhGB" refers to Hegel's *Phenomenology* as translated by J.B. Baillie (Allen & Unwin, 1930); "PhGM" refers to the translation by A.V. Miller (Oxford University Press, 1975).
5. This phrase is taken from the revolutionary hymn, "The Internationale," composed in 1871 by the Paris Communist Eugène Pottier.
6. See "Lenin and the Dialectic: A Mind in Action" and "The Irish Revolution and the Dialectic of History" in Part IV—"World War I and the Great Divide in Marxism"—of my *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today*.—RD
7. See George Armstrong Kelly's *Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 224, and my answer to his critique of my *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* in the new Introduction I wrote for the 1982 edition.—RD
8. For this study, see Part II of *The Power of Negativity*.
9. Dunayevskaya did not live to complete her Part II of "Why *Phenomenology? Why Now?*" She did write a rough draft of it, entitled "Why *Phenomenology? Why Now?* What is the Relationship either to Organization, or to Philosophy, not Party, 1984-87?" It can be found in the *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 10883-90.
10. In the section on the "Fetishism of Commodities" in chapter 1 of *Capital*, Marx refers to Epicurus, the subject matter of his doctoral dissertation of 1841.

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For a syllabus and schedule of meetings in your area, contact us through the directory on page 3.

## Introduction

## Part I

## The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism

1. Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy (June 1, 1987)
2. Letters on Hegel's Absolutes
  - A. Letter on Hegel's *Science of Logic* (May 12, 1953)
  - B. Letter on Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind* (May 20, 1953)

## Part II

## Studies in Hegelian and Marxian Dialectics, 1956-63

3. Notes on *Phenomenology of Mind* (1960)
4. Rough Notes on *Science of Logic* (1961)
5. Notes on *Smaller (Encyclopedia) Logic* (1961)
6. Dialogue on the Dialectic
  - A. Letter on *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 Until Today* (1956)
  - B. Letters to Herbert Marcuse (1958, 1960, 1961)
  - C. Letter to Charles Denby (1960)
  - D. Letter to Jonathan Spence (1961)
  - E. Letter to Erich Fromm (1963)

## Part III

## Theory and Practice at a Turning Point, 1964-71

7. Letter to Herbert Marcuse (1964)
8. Hegel's Dialectic and the Freedom Struggles of the 1960s
  - A. Lecture in Japan on Hegel (1966)
  - B. Presentation to Black/Red Conference (1969)
  - C. Logic as Stages of Freedom, Freedom as Stages of Logic (1969)
9. Toward *Philosophy and Revolution*
  - A. Letter on Hegel's Theory of Tragedy (1968)
  - B. Letter on draft of chapter 1 of *Philosophy and Revolution* (1968)
  - C. The Newness of our Philosophic-Historic Contribution (1969)

## Part IV

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10. Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning (1974)
11. Hegel, Marx, Lenin, Fanon and the Dialectics of Liberation Today (1976)
12. Lukács' Hegelian Marxism
  - A. Letter on Lukács (1972)
  - B. Lukács' Philosophic Dimension (1973)
13. The Hegel-Marx Relation Revisited
  - A. Letter to Harry McShane (1978)
  - B. On the 150th Anniversary of Hegel's Death (1981)

## Part V

## The Changed World and the Need for Philosophic New Beginnings, 1982-87

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  - A. On the Battle of Ideas (1982)
  - B. Letter on Karl Korsch (1983)
  - C. Marxist-Humanism: The Summation that is a New Beginning (1983)
15. Forces of Revolt as Reason, Philosophy as Force of Revolt
  - A. Not by Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory (1984)
  - B. Letter to the Youth on the Creation of New Human Relations (1983)
  - C. Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation (1985)
  - D. The Power of Abstraction (1985)
16. Another Look at Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*
  - A. Letter on Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind* (1986)
  - B. Introduction to "Why Hegel's *Phenomenology*? Why Now? (1987)
17. Reconsidering the Dialectic: Critiquing Lenin...and the Dialectics of Philosophy and Organization
  - A. Letter to Louis Dupré (1986)
  - B. Letter to George Armstrong Kelly (1986)
  - C. Talking to Myself (1987)
  - D. On Political Divides and Philosophic New Beginnings (1987)

## Appendix

Excerpts from 1949-51 Philosophic Correspondence with C.L.R. James and Grace Lee Boggs - Letters of February 18, February 25, and March 12, 1949, to C.L.R. James

## THE POWER OF NEGA

Selected  
Diale(continued from  
last issue)

Dunayevskaya's interpretation [of Hegel's dialectic] diverges in important ways from those of other Hegelian Marxists, such as Georg Lukács and Herbert Marcuse.

As will be seen in one of the selections in this volume, Dunayevskaya applauds Lukács' argument in *History and Class Consciousness* (1923) that the dialectic is the core of Marxism, but she also critiques his theory of reification. In *The Young Hegel* (1948), Lukács, like Dunayevskaya, writes with respect to Absolute Knowledge in Hegel's *Phenomenology* that "it would be quite mistaken to see the 'absolute spirit' as nothing but mysticism." (1) Here, as elsewhere in his work, Lukács connects Hegel's writings to the historical and social reality of his time. However, Lukács in the end dismisses Absolute Knowledge as a type of flight from objective reality which cannot serve as a source for the further development of Marxist dialectics: "Absolute Knowledge, Hegel's designation for the

highest stage of human knowledge, has a definite idealistic significance: the reintegration of 'externalized' reality into the subject, i.e. the total supersession of the objective world." (2)

In his *Reason and Revolution* (1941), Frankfurt School member Herbert Marcuse, also like Dunayevskaya, stresses the revolutionary character of Hegel's dialectic, especially the concept of negativity: "Hegel's philosophy is indeed what the subsequent reaction termed it, a negative philosophy. It is originally motivated by the conviction that the given facts that appear to common sense as the positive index of truth are in reality the negation of truth, so that truth can only be established by their destruction." (3) At the level of the Absolute Idea, which Marcuse holds to be a "totality," he concedes that the Absolute is also "dialectical thought and thus contains its negation, it is not a harmonious and stable form but a process of unification of opposites."

However, what he ultimately stresses with regard to the Absolute is what he sees as its totalizing moment, wherein "all negativity is overcome." (4) Dunayevskaya's debates with Marcuse on these issues can be found in a number of the selections for this volume, which include several letters which form part of the extensive Dunayevskaya-Marcuse correspondence.

Dunayevskaya's emphasis on the

liberatory dimension of Hegel's dialectic underlines her similarities as well as differences with other thinkers, such as Theodor Adorno, also of the Frankfurt School. Adorno affirmed the liberatory character of Hegel's overall philosophy, writing in his "Aspects of Hegel's Philosophy" (1957), "In Hegel reason finds itself constellated with freedom. Freedom and reason are nonsense without one another. The real can be considered rational only insofar as the idea of freedom, that is, human beings' genuine self-determination, shines through it." (5)

As against those who contend that Hegel's dialectic ignores the actual and leaves it as mere notion of freedom, Adorno argued that Hegel "accomplishes the opposite as well, an insight into the subject as a self-manifesting objectivity" (p. 7).

Y e t

Adorno parted company with Hegel when it came to the concept of absolute negativity. Adorno, who sought to expunge the affirmative character of Hegel's dialectic, went so far as to link absolute negativity to Nazi genocide! In the midst of a discussion of the horrors of Auschwitz and its implications for philosophy in *Negative Dialectics* (1966), Adorno writes: "Absolute negativity is in plain sight and ceased to surprise anyone." (6) On the basis of her own reading of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, Dunayevskaya attacks this view, terming it a "vulgar reduction of absolute negativity" (see this volume, Part 4).

Adorno contended in "Aspects of Hegel's Philosophy" that Hegel's Absolutes "dissolve anything not proper to consciousness" by reducing all existence to the self-movement of the absolute subject. By holding fast to idealism, he said, Hegel's Absolutes invoke a totalizing subject which swallows up the actual. This, Adorno argued, bears a striking resemblance to what Marx conceptualizes as alienated labor. Just as Reason in Hegel subsumes all otherness into the self-movement of the concept, so the labor process in capitalism subsumes all human and natural contingency into the movement of mechanized, abstract labor.

According to Adorno, "In Hegel, abstract labor takes on magical form. . . . The self-forgetfulness of production, the insatiable and destructive expansive principle of the exchange society, is reflected in Hegelian metaphysics. It describes the way the world actually is" (p. 44)—but not, as in Marx, the way it can be transformed.

This notion that Hegel's Absolutes provide, at best, a philosophical gloss for the self-expansive power of the capitalist production process, rather than, as Dunayevskaya contends, the ground for a philosophy of human emancipation, is shared in different ways by a wide variety of contemporary thinkers, including Jürgen Habermas, Gilles Deleuze and Tony Negri, Moishe Postone and István

Mészáros. (7)

Another challenge to the concept of absolute negativity has come from Jacques Derrida's deconstructionism. To be sure, Derrida has acknowledged Hegel's creation of an "immense revolution" in philosophy "in taking the negative seriously," and has even tried to ground his concept of *différance* in Hegel's affirmation of the inseparability of identity and difference in the *Science of Logic*. (8)

Yet Derrida argues that the self-activating power of absolute negativity means that "the

concept of

a general hetero-

generality is impossible" in

Hegel. As Derrida sees it,

Hegel's Absolutes "determine difference as contradiction, only in order to resolve it, to interiorize it, to lift it up . . . into the self-presence of an onto-theological or onto-teleological synthesis." (9) He therefore calls for a total "break with the system of *Aufhebung* [transcendence] and with speculative dialectics."

Even more problematically, he has argued that such an "absolute break" with Hegel also characterizes Marx: "Marx [in his 1844 critique of Hegel] then sets out the critical moment of Feuerbach and in its most operative stance: the questioning of the *Aufhebung* and of the negation of the negation. The absolute positive...hence must not pass through the negation of the negation, the Hegelian *Aufhebung*..." (10)

We need to underscore that Adorno's and Derrida's characterizations of Hegel's concept of negativity, especially absolute negativity, are in our view quite different from those of Marx. It is true that Marx took sharp exception to Hegel, in his 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" and elsewhere, for dehumanizing the Idea by treating it as stages of disembodied consciousness instead of that of live men and women. As a result, Marx argued, Hegel's philosophy ends in a series of absolutes which elevate the abstract at the expense of life itself. For this reason he called Hegel's *Logic* "the money of the Spirit." (11) Yet this did not mean that he followed Feuerbach in rejecting "the negation of the negation" and Hegel's Absolutes as a mere idealist delusion.

Nor, like Adorno, did he view Hegel's concept of dialectical self-movement as simply expressing the self-expansive power of capitalism. To be sure, Marx critiqued the way capitalism takes on a life of its own and becomes self-determining. He did not, however, limit the concept of self-determination to that of capital. Quite the contrary. For Marx the subjective struggle of the workers is capable of attaining a liberatory, human self-determination, by experiencing the dialectic of absolute negativity.

Marx broke this down concretely in his 1844 *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* by showing that the ab-

from the introduction by peter hudis and kevin

"The Writings of Raya  
Dunayevskaya" appear  
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# IVITY

## Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx by Raya Dunayevskaya

ate prop-  
s merely the first  
on. To reach the goal of a  
w society, he writes, it is  
ary to negate this  
on. In con-  
to

erson

what  
he called "vul-  
gar communism,"  
which stops at the mere  
tion of private property, he  
d that only through the "tran-  
sience of this mediation" is it pos-  
sible to reach "positive humanism,  
ing from itself."

"thoroughgoing Naturalism or  
ism," Marx continues, is the  
f the negation of the negation.  
why he writes, in commenting  
chapter on "Absolute Knowl-  
in Hegel's *Phenomenology of*  
"The greatness of Hegel's *Phe-*  
*nology*, and of its final result—  
lectic of negativity as the mov-  
d creative principle—lies in  
at Hegel comprehends the self-  
tion of the human being as a  
..."(12)

decades later, in the closing  
of *Capital*, Vol. I, Marx makes  
e once again to Hegel's con-  
absolute negativity, here also  
ng the negation of the nega-  
his discussion of "the absolute  
law of capitalist accumula-  
Marx refers to the brutal expro-  
of the peasants from their  
ring the sixteenth century agri-  
revolution in England as "the  
ation of private property," in  
pe peasants lose their proper-  
the next centuries, capitalism  
s and eventually "begets its  
negation," the working class  
t has called into existence.  
cludes,

his is the negation of the  
ion. It does not reestablish  
e property, but it does indeed  
ish individual property on the  
of the achievements of the  
alist era: namely, cooperation  
he possession in common of  
nd and the means of produc-  
roduced by labor itself.(13)  
Marx sees Hegel's concept of  
y and of the first and second  
neither as purely destructive  
imiting us to an overly affir-  
ance toward existing society.  
on, contrary to the claims of  
thusser and others, Marx's  
appropriation of Hegel's  
was continuous, even in his  
ngs, as seen in his reference  
gation of the negation in his  
*Manuscripts*. (14)

twentieth century the emer-  
f new objective crises has  
d again stirred interest in this  
of negativity, no matter how  
gel was declared dead and  
his has been reflected not  
the work of such Western  
as Lukács, Gramsci, and

Adorno,  
but also in the  
dialectical humanism of  
the African revolutionary  
Frantz Fanon.

Fanon's profound return to Hegel in  
light of such realities as the "additive  
of color" in the contemporary free-  
dom struggles demonstrates the  
importance of dialectical philosophy  
in meeting the challenges posed by  
new forces of liberation.

This is no less true when it comes to  
today. The collapse of statist commu-  
nism in the former Soviet Union and  
Eastern Europe has given new mean-  
ing to Marx's critique of the tendency  
to stop at first negation, the mere abo-  
lition of private property, without mov-  
ing on to the negation of the negation,  
and the creation of new humanist  
social relations. As the power of cap-  
ital continues to expand and global-  
ize, bringing with it ever-greater  
social dislocations and inequities, the  
search for new alternatives rooted in  
the dialectic of second negativity is  
sure to show itself.

This can already be seen on one  
level in the appearance of a num-  
ber of studies over the past decade of  
Hegel, such as those by Daniel  
Berthold-Bond and John Hoffmeyer,  
which sharply contest the notion that  
Hegel's Absolutes are a "closed ontol-  
ogy" signifying "the end of histo-  
ry."(15) As Berthold-Bond put it in his  
discussion of the final pages of  
Hegel's *Phenomenology*,

Absolute Knowledge is not the  
End of history, but the sort of  
knowledge which is possible only  
at the end of an epoch of history,  
and which is required to compre-  
hend the development of the world-  
spirit within that epoch, so as to  
prepare the rebirth and transfor-  
mation of the world into a new  
shape, a new existence. . . . Recol-  
lection [is] not only a sort of memo-  
rial of the past but an anticipation  
of the future, a redemption or res-  
urrection of spirit into a new birth  
in historical time (p. 136).

As Dunayevskaya noted in *Philoso-  
phy and Revolution*, "Hegel's  
Absolutes have ever exerted a simul-  
taneous force of attraction and repul-  
sion" (p. 4).

We believe that Dunayevskaya's  
specific interpretation of Hegel, in  
emphasizing the cogency of the  
dialectic of absolute negativity for  
today's freedom struggles, takes on  
new life at the present juncture. As this  
collection will make clear, she views  
Hegel's Absolutes as *new beginnings*.  
Central to this is her belief that the  
concept of absolute negativity  
expresses, at a philosophical level, the  
quest by masses of people not simply  
to negate existing economic and polit-  
ical structures, but to create *totally*

new  
human  
relations  
as well.  
As Louis  
Dupré  
put it  
in his  
Pref-  
ace  
to

just off the press!

By Raya Dunayevskaya  
Edited and introduced  
by Peter Hudis and  
Kevin B. Anderson

*Philosophy and  
Revolution*,

A notable difference  
separates Raya Dunayevska-  
ya's from the earlier positions  
of [Lukács and Karl Korsch].  
Their interpretation had limited  
the revolutionary impact of  
Hegel's philosophy to the  
sociopolitical order. Dunayevska-  
ya aims for a total liberation of the  
human person—not only from the  
ills of a capitalist society but also  
from the equally oppressive state  
capitalism of established commu-  
nist governments" (p. xv).

In situating the concept of absolute  
negativity in the struggles of workers,  
women, youth, Blacks and other  
minorities, Dunayevskaya opened  
new doors to appropriating and pro-  
jecting this concept *philosophically*.  
Once the dialectic of second negativi-  
ty is seen as intrinsic to the human  
subject, it becomes possible to grasp  
and project the idea of second nega-  
tivity as a veritable force of liberation.  
Dunayevskaya's writings on Hegel  
and dialectics provide a new basis for  
working out a vision of the future—of  
totally new human relations, of an  
end to the division between mental  
and manual labor and of alienated  
gender relations—which can animate  
and give direction to the emerging  
freedom struggles of our time.

Our time is burdened by the  
absence of a vision of a future which  
transcends the horizon of existing  
society. Everywhere, we are confront-  
ed with the near-unchallenged asser-  
tion that we must accept the limits of  
actually existing capitalism as our sole  
alternative. The profound crisis of the  
socialist movement over the past  
decades has made this crisis of the  
imagination all the more overwhelm-  
ing. The failure to project an alterna-  
tive to both existing capitalism and  
statist communism is a more important  
facet of today's social crises than is  
generally recognized. Unless we

# THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY

SELECTED  
WRITINGS  
ON THE  
DIALECTIC IN  
HEGEL AND MARX



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rethink  
the meaning of  
Marx's Marxism in light of this  
problem, *this reality, this contradic-  
tion*, it is hard to see how it is possible  
to break through the stranglehold of  
retrogression which has engulfed the  
world ever since the Reagan-Thatcher  
era of the 1980s. For this reason, we  
believe, Dunayevskaya's studies of  
Hegel's dialectic and his Absolutes, in  
which she saw the vision of a libera-  
tory future that post-Marx Marxists  
had failed to articulate, are more  
timely than ever.

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  11. Marx, "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," in  
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lucid first English translation of Marx's "Cri-  
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  13. Marx, *Capital I*, pp. 929-30.
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### NEWS & LETTERS

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**READERS' VIEWS**

**THE WAR ON FREEDOM**

It's important to always refer to the so-called "war on terrorism" as that of Bush and the Democrats. The same is true of the "war on freedom." The duplicitous Democrats may soon begin to curry favor with voters fed up with attacks on our civil liberties. Then it may be too late to assign blame for the latest installment of imperialist war at the doorsteps of the Democrats as well as of Bush and John "Southern Patriot" Ashcroft.

**Supporter  
Illinois**

\*\*\*

The deaths of thousands of civilians in the Middle East, both from direct military action and the resulting refugee crisis, is nothing short of state-sponsored terrorism. It is not the way to find justice for the 3,000 who died at the hands of terrorists on September 11.

**Activist  
New York**

\*\*\*

Giving careful consideration to how our foreign policy affects other peoples would do more than the destruction of war to rid the world of terrorism.

**D.T.  
Louisiana**

\*\*\*

I was glad to hear that Clayton Lee Wagner was apprehended for sending hundreds of anthrax threats to women's health clinics and that Ashcroft was forced to describe him as a domestic terrorist. But Wagner and men like him don't act alone. Why isn't the Army of God he's allied with treated as a terrorist organization by the Department of Justice? The FBI has been notoriously absent from any fight against anti-choice terrorism, even when the Army of God distributes a manual that gives detailed instructions for attacking abortion clinics, manufacturing bombs, and cutting off the hands of abortion doctors!

**Women's Liberationist  
Chicago**

\*\*\*

During this month when we are celebrating the life of Martin Luther King

Jr. and worried about protecting our civil rights today, it might be good to remember the campaign of spying and vilification waged on King by Hoover's FBI. I recall a statement by Mumia Abu-Jamal that called King a political prisoner, even when not in prison, of the same government he fought and died to save.

**Abu-Jamal supporter  
Philadelphia**

**AN AMERICAN TALIBAN?**

I read an article recently that asked what Bush was going to do—now that he was taking on religious persecution in Afghanistan—about religious persecution at home. And how about in all the other Islamic fundamentalist states? It turned into a report about the beheading by the Saudis, in the week between Christmas and New Year's, of three men because they had allegedly engaged in homosexual acts. Then the article asked why, since we wouldn't ever do anything like that, do we still have 122-year-old sodomy laws on the books in 16 states, including Texas, where two Houston men were arrested recently and hauled to jail for having sex together in their own apartment.

The answer is the same reason Saudi Arabia chops off homosexuals' heads—because some religious fanatics have made their beliefs the law of the land. The article was talking about the Christian Coalition, the 700 Club, and the Catholic cardinals who constitute a real American Taliban. Our own religious Right is the inspiration for the fanatics who bomb abortion clinics and kill gays on the streets of America. When is Bush going to take on that Taliban?

**Angry and alarmed  
Chicago**

**CANADA'S NEW 'SECURITY'**

Things are not good here. The British Columbia provincial elections a few months ago elected a very right-wing government. Civil service is about to be slashed by 33%. The minimum wage will be kept at \$8 but they have introduced a "beginner wage" of \$5, which can be worked off after 500 hours. Since virtually all so employed will be part-timers,

500 hours must seem a lifetime. Privatization is the mantra of the day.

**Subscriber  
Canada**

\*\*\*

I'm sure you are aware of our dictatorial new "security" legislation here, drastically curtailing the democratic freedoms of all Canadians. In some respects, I understand that our new laws are even more restrictive than yours in the U.S. In the quest to save our "democracy" we are heading toward a corporate, military, fascist dictatorship. Stupid me, I thought I had left this behind me in Europe when I left in the 1950s. Here we go, starting all this again, under different slogans, fighting terror and terrorists, while millions are starving and freezing to death throughout the world.

**Still a dissident  
British Columbia**



**ISRAELI SOLDIERS SAY 'NO'**

A large ad in today's *Ha'aretz* (Jan. 25), signed by 53 combat soldiers and officers in the Israeli army, announces: "We hereby declare that we shall continue to serve the Israel Defense Forces in any mission that serves the defense of the State of Israel. The mission of occupation and repression does not serve this goal and we refuse to participate in it."

This is an unprecedented call by Israeli soldiers to other Israeli soldiers not to serve in the army of occupation. It is an incredibly courageous act to announce that they will no longer continue fighting in the territories "for the purposes of domination, expulsion, starvation, and humiliation of an entire people." It is in the rich moral tradition of Yesh Gvul and New Profile, two organizations that have consistently advocated this position, but in unprecedented numbers. May their numbers multiply!

**Gila Svirsky  
Jerusalem**

**SICKENING HEALTH POLICY**

One of Tony Blair's closest advisors runs a private healthcare company that is making millions from acute National

Health Service shortages. Lord Sawyer, the former Labour Party general-secretary and public sector union chief, is now chairman of Reed Health Group, whose own publicity material states that it aims to profit from the structural deficiencies of the NHS, the continuing shortage of nurses and an aging population. Karen Jennings, head of nursing at the public sector union Unison, said the situation was nothing short of a scandal: "The more desperate the hospital is, the more these firms charge." Dr. Evan Harris, the Liberal Democrats health spokesman, said, "I have lost count of the number of so-called progressive Labour politicians who leave their principles behind them to make money from the private sector."

**Sick Nurse  
Britain**

**ARGENTINA'S CRISIS**

There is a big difference between how Latin Americans and people in the U.S. view the crisis in Argentina. A lot of people in the anti-globalization movement here in the States are acting as if the Argentine crisis is a great thing since it exposes the fragility of global capital. But that's not how folks are reading it back home. They view it as a disaster and are worried whether they will ever see decent living conditions again.

**Exiled Latin American  
Chicago**

\*\*\*

When I look at the Argentine collapse, I wonder whether what we're seeing is a harbinger of new revolts against global capital, or a repeat of Russia's economic collapse—which didn't lead to any revolutionary beginnings.

**P.M.  
New York**

\*\*\*

Interesting that Castro sent a message of support to then-President of Argentina, Adolfo Rodriguez Saa, at the very moment workers and the unemployed were marching against the state of siege he had imposed. He had more understanding for the beleaguered rulers of Argentina than for the masses.

**Observer  
Illinois**

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**THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY—IN HEGEL, IN MARX, IN MARXIST-HUMANISM**

The excerpts from the Introduction to *The Power of Negativity* (December 2001 *N&L*) refer to Hegel's assertion that the Absolute Idea is the unity of theory and practice. This is in fact the central point of Hegel's failure: he did not unify theory and practice, but rather theory and his abstract idea of practice. While it was no doubt his intention to break out of his closed system, he in fact did not do so.

**Reader  
New York**

\*\*\*

Dunayevskaya says we faced a "new divide" in Marxism when Lenin returned to Marx's philosophic roots in the Hegelian dialectic—but that we now face a new divide in which the return to those roots cannot be kept in private notes but has to be developed "openly, publicly, and collectively." Here it seems to me is a fundamental difference between her way of proceeding and Lenin's. Learning the lessons from the past is what gives an opportunity to avoid the same mistakes.

**Activist/scholar  
Spokane**

\*\*\*

I'm impressed with your steadfastness of carrying the banner of "the power of negativity in today's freedom struggles" as you entitled your Perspectives thesis for 2001-2002. While I guess I understand about 70-80% of the practical struggles, I'm afraid I will go to my grave not fully understanding the philosophic meaning of absolute negativity.

**Musician  
Canada**

\*\*\*

Printing part of the Introduction to *The Power of Negativity* in the December issue has helped me to better understand the concepts of "dialectic" and "negativity." I am now reading the book in hopes of better understanding where we are as a human race and where we need to go to survive these dangerous times when our unelected president tries to drag us down into an abject totalitarianism.

**Sustaining subscriber  
Wisconsin**

\*\*\*

It is not at all clear to me from reading your last issue why all this fuss is being made about Hegel's Absolutes. One can surely appreciate the importance of Hegelian concepts like the "negation of the negation" without bothering with his concept of "Absolute Knowledge," which is a residue of metaphysical speculation.

**Teacher  
Illinois**

\*\*\*

**AN URGENT APPEAL FROM IRAN**

Akbar and Manoochehr Mohammadi are brothers who have been held in prison in Iran since the pro-democracy demonstrations at Tehran University in July 1999, under the harshest of prison conditions, including beatings and other tortures. They are in serious need of medical attention but have consistently been denied removal to a medical facility or even the one-day furlough some other prisoners had been given. In a letter from the notorious Evin Prison they described what they were told when they asked the reasons behind this discriminatory policy:

"The authorities replied: 'You are arrogant and have rejected the opportunity to ask for amnesty. Rest assured that as long as you do not ask for amnesty, we will not free you.' We replied, 'An appeal for amnesty for a crime we have not committed would be a confirmation of the charges against us. You should rest assured we will not make such an appeal.'"

They went on a hunger strike shortly after that letter was sent out. The International Alliance of Iranian Students report that their fate is unclear. They are demanding the unconditional and immediate release of all imprisoned students and political activists.

More information is available from their web address: [www.daneshjooyan.org](http://www.daneshjooyan.org).

*The Power of Negativity* will be a great help in the process of delving into the thinking of Marx and Hegel and will be a great stimulus I am sure for revolutionary thinking today. I am reading Marx's doctoral dissertation of 1839-41 at the same time.

**Worker/student  
Amsterdam**

**ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE: WHAT NOW?**

The theme of a piece in the December *N&L* asking "Whatever happened to the anti-war movement?" was about perishing movements and persisting left tendencies. That's what has happened from the Gulf War to today's war where, in both cases, the live subject gets lost, whether the Kurds fighting Sadaam or the RAWA women fighting both the Taliban and U.S.'s Northern Alliance allies. That happens when the opposition to war is not based on the human being's immanent drive for wholeness, seen in the struggles of women, workers, Blacks and other national minorities. Movements perish because theory has become an external script to be followed and is not based on this drive to be whole. But the left tendencies themselves persist. The war today is popular not because people don't recognize problems with capitalism, especially in their everyday activity, but because they want an answer beyond economism and the Left's opposition to U.S. imperialism.

**Bay Area Hegelian  
California**

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What does it mean when supposed revolutionary forces in the U.S. don't refute bin Ladenism and terrorism? It raises the question of what is our basis for being "anti-imperialist." In Iran the so-called anti-imperialist forces such as Khomeini tried to eliminate the entire Left. Bush learned from Khomeini who said you are either for us or against us. Then Khomeini started killing Marxists, accusing them of being under American influence. Haven't we lost enough comrades in Iran and Afghanistan over the last 30 years to exclaim loud and clear that these are reactionary forces. People like Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson stand in opposition to rulers in the U.S. Does that make them revolutionaries?

**Iranian revolutionary  
California**

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Two previous anti-war events I attended here were silent processions, but the one in December was a political march with slogans, banners, speakers. The politics were dismal and only bearable because I had *Hobgoblin*, our British Marxist-Humanist journal, to work with. None of the speakers seriously addressed the real danger posed by Al Qaeda, or the oppression of women (and men) under the Taliban. Blair, Bush and the bombing were condemned but there was no attempt at an objective analysis of the impact of the war on Afghanistan. No one expressed support for the "Other Afghanistan" or called for secular democracy, let alone social revolution. The best speaker was a young Black American who argued that a real "war against terror" would take on the KKK, the militias, and the CIA.

**R. Bunting  
Oxford**

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There was a section in the May 2001 *N&L* on "Globalization and Dialectics" that speaks to the question *N&L* has recently raised concerning "What happened to the anti-war movement?" In an article called "We ignore ideas at our own risk" the writer went through his own history in the movement and how he kept hearing that we have to organize around the immediate issues. He said his goal was a new society and the choice was between human power or capital power. He saw philosophy as a question of life and death. That's the same question I think needs to be posed to today's yet-another-anti-war movement.

**Women's liberationist  
California**

**READERS' VIEWS**

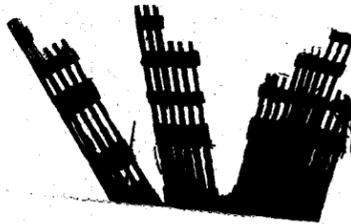
**MUMIA ABU-JAMAL**

The first year of the new millennium ended with good news for me when I read on the Dec. 19 front page of the *Battle Creek Enquirer* (the local version of the *National Inquirer*) that the death sentence of Mumia Abu-Jamal had been thrown out!

**Retired postal worker  
Battle Creek, Mich.**

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Editor's Note: On Jan. 17 attorneys for Mumia Abu-Jamal filed an appeal of his murder conviction. Prosecutors have also appealed the ruling of Judge William John who found errors in the sentencing phase of the original trial and ordered Abu-Jamal to be resentenced within 180 days or face life imprisonment. The appeals will likely take years to resolve, freezing John's order and continuing the case which has been a touchstone in the international debate over the death penalty.



**LIFE AT GROUND ZERO**

The economic impact of September 11 ripples out in tidal waves. As recovery workers continue to dig through the devastation and the city puts up viewing platforms for the tourists, more and more people are losing their jobs. Over 100,000 were lost in the last three months.

Concern for the victims is giving way to criticism about the disparate treatment of the rich and poor who suffered losses on September 11. Marriott World Trade Center Hotel employees who were promised replacement jobs still do not have them. They held a demonstration in Times Square on Jan. 16. On Jan. 17 over 500 relatives of the dead held a protest rally against the federal compensation plan. *The New York Times* ran a story about anonymous undocumented workers pointing out that no one will ever know all the people who died that day because some employers didn't even know their workers' names.

With the passage of four months questions are also being asked about whether so many lives had to be lost. Was the building construction faulty? Should police and firemen have been stopped from rushing into buildings that were going to collapse? Meanwhile the debate about whether it is safe to breathe the air in that part of the city continues, while those of us who work or live there just keep on breathing it.

**Manhattanite  
New York**

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The events of September 11 claimed the lives of 73 employees of Windows on the World, most of whom were members of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE), Local 100. Many who worked as cooks, servers, bussers, runners, stewards and housekeepers were the sole breadwinners and the families left behind are largely headed by immigrant women with young children. For the undocumented the hardship is even greater as they are ineligible for most government assistance. Beside the lost lives, over 240 Windows workers were displaced from their jobs and are struggling to find work to support their families.

The HERE New York Assistance Fund was established to directly aid all these victims and is administered by Judson Memorial Church. Donations will go directly to families and displaced workers and the needs of undocumented workers will receive special attention. Donations should be sent to:

**HERE New York Assistance Fund  
Judson Memorial Church  
55 Washington Square South  
New York, NY 10012**

**A CALL FOR DISCUSSION**

In the December *N&L*, Peter Hudis added his voice to the growing chorus on the Left calling for "a projection of the kind of new human society we are for." Unfortunately, while there have been many exhortations, there has been none of the detailed sorting out of issues and discussion which is required. What is needed is for left journals to devote a few pages regularly working through the obvious questions and calling for participants to extend the discussion. Two basic groups of issues are: 1) How would a world devoted to producing use values rather than for exchange value plan production and exchange in a democratic, ecologically and environmentally sound manner? 2) What decisions must be taken at what level (production unit, locality, wider region, and so on) if the system is to be genuinely democratic?

**R.F.P.  
Melbourne, Australia**

**HAITI TURNS 198**

Happy birthday, Haiti! Bonne Fete, Cheri! The 198 years from Jan. 1, 1804 to Jan. 1, 2002 is not a long time for a nation's life. But when you have a sibling like Uncle Sam, the fact that you have lived two years is amazing to me. Yes, Haiti, you helped the 13 colonies in the U.S. revolutionary war against Great Britain, the United Kingdom "where the sun never set." And after the 1779 battle of Savannah the sun started to set for them all over the place.

What was your reward, Haiti, for helping the U.S.? Nearly 60 years of non-recognition as an independent nation and an embargo for the same length of time. So when I wish you happy 198th birthday this year, I would like to wish you more years, but with a brother like Uncle Sam, who can say how many more years you will be allowed to have?

**Nouveau Toussaint  
Chicago**

**SAVING ROE V. WADE**

This January marked the 29th anniversary of Roe v. Wade, the U.S. Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion nationwide. If we don't act quickly to save it, it could be the last year we will be able to celebrate the landmark decision, since legal abortion hangs by a razor-thin 5-to-4 margin in the Supreme Court and at least one Justice is likely to retire in 2002. It means that President Bush could—and who doubts that he would?—appoint enough anti-abortion Justices to overturn our rights to have a choice and the days of back alley abortions would be back! You can find out what you can do to help save our rights by checking into [www.Million4Roe.com](http://www.Million4Roe.com).

**One of the millions  
Chicago**



**WHO READS N&L?**

Thanks for the years of enjoyment and understanding of what's going on in this country. We have to push to make this paper more widespread. I wish you would print at the bottom of each page "Please do not throw this paper away. Share it with someone." We have to keep Marxism and freedom alive.

**Prisoner  
Amarillo, Texas**

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The news you bring out of the problems among human beings around the globe has made such an impact on me that I have started looking into the traditions of all cultures and writing on "civil society." Please thank the donors who make *N&L* available to me.

**Philosophy teacher  
India**

# Bush-Ashcroft declare war on immigrant communities

(Continued from page 1)

for no other reason than his Chinese ancestry.

Then on September 11, Osama Bin Laden and his Al Qaeda network provided a golden opportunity for reactionary right-wing forces to use the fear of terrorism as an excuse to attack all civil liberties. What such measures have to do with combatting terrorism is harder to see than how they illuminate immigration policy that in turn gives a green light to exploit immigrants at work and leave them hidden and vulnerable to xenophobic attacks in local communities.

Employers here know very well that they need immigrant workers, but now Bush-Ashcroft may feel less interested in the pre-September 11 initiatives for some kind of amnesty. Instead, there's going to be more of a police state control over their movements and lives with bosses following suit.

## LIVES UPENDED, WORK INTENSIFIED

Many Latino workers I meet on the job say they are very careful about what they say now, so as not to risk losing their jobs or jeopardizing their status here in the U.S. One housekeeper told me some of her friends have returned to Mexico, unable to deal with the climate of fear and suspicion caused by heightened surveillance. She also said others are hesitant to visit their families in Mexico because quagmires at the border might keep them from returning to their jobs.

Many who commute across the border daily have faced interminable delays and lost their jobs. Many immigrants, especially those judged by authorities to have an Arab or Middle-Eastern appearance, have complained of co-workers or bosses harassing them as if they were somehow responsible for the September 11 attacks.

Assaults on immigrants are occurring nationwide. The Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee in Washington, D.C. was inundated with calls in the weeks after September 11. Arab Americans, Muslims and Sikhs reported they had faced repercussions on the job. "We're fighting a war in Afghanistan," said Kareem Shora, legal adviser for the committee. "But we're also fighting a war here, fighting for our way of life"—a way of life, which, contrary to Bush's presumptions, is not being attacked merely by the terrorists, but by his own attorney general's actions.

Immigrants are currently the "canaries in the mine" in a burgeoning setback to American civil liberties. Ashcroft himself declared in front of a Congressional panel that those who would criticize his methods of conducting racial dragnets and "interviews" or support for military tribunals, are in effect, "aiding and abet-

ting" the terrorists.

An immigrant legal advocate in San Francisco told me there were already much tougher INS reviews triggered by minor technical violations of new and complex immigration rules. She says, even before September 11, the punitive immigration bill of 1996 erected many new barriers to immigrants applying for naturalization or reunification with family members. And the INS has put people in prison at a vastly faster rate than any other agency. From 5,500 people in 1994, that population ballooned to 188,000 in 2001.

Now, after September 11, a police network constantly identifies immigrants and associates them with terror. As a Mexican immigrant said, "Why are we being denied the right to be here because of September 11? We're hard working people trying to raise our family. We're not criminals."

## LEADING EDGE OF TREND

Heeding xenophobic calls to create a national identification card, state governments like California are taking steps to use the driver licensing system to electronically store information wholly unrelated to one's driving record. Digital technology promises to elevate racial profiling, from the arena of illegal behavior by rogue cops to a legally regularized, ubiquitous procedure. As many immigrants are aware, there's no legal way around the requirement of having a driver's license or state i.d. if one seeks employment or other benefits of civil society.

In California we thought we were done with the hateful "wedge politics" of former Governor Pete Wilson when his anti-immigrant Proposition 187 was ruled unconstitutional. Now for reasons totally unrelated to terrorism, right-wing anti-immigrant groups have seized this opportunity to push their agenda. One anti-immigration spokesman openly admitted, "Now is our chance to get the laws passed...because there's political will to reduce the number of immigrants."

Unfortunately even "liberals" like Senator Feinstein echo the same sentiment. She's using her position on the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration as a pulpit to rail against any consideration of amnesty which she

calls a "reward for illegal behavior." What Feinstein calls "illegal behavior" refers to the millions who cross the border and find their way to the farms and factories of the U.S. where their "behavior" makes the U.S. way of life possible. Capitalists and their spokespeople like Feinstein have no problem with immigrants working here as long as they are kept outside of labor organizations, any kind of regulatory protections, and most formal legal rights and social support.

But now, Feinstein's jingoist rhetoric, the FBI's dragnet, and other measures sharpen the distinction between citizens and immigrants, even those who are naturalized. Exacerbating that distinction are nativism and racism that fuel exclusionary attitudes, even toward those born in the U.S. and supposedly afforded constitutional rights, impermanent as they are.

## PERSISTENT IN CAUSE OF FREEDOM

To this day, an undocumented immigrant, who has crossed the Rio Grande, the Atlantic, or the Pacific to work and create value in the U.S. economy, is not seen as a full human being, with similar rights and privileges accorded all other tax payers. Jeffersonian bourgeois liberal democracy similarly asked whether the Black slave should be counted as three-fifths of a person, while the products of his labor were sold at full value in the open market.

Upending such thinking, immigrant workers have been a persistent force in the struggle for freedoms in the U.S. In spite of today's climate of fear, Latino workers are striking against Charles Krug, the last unionized winery in California's Napa Valley. They are representative of lots of unheard of struggles. They have been locked out since July for rejecting an outrageous contract proposal that takes away health benefits, cuts wages, and allows outside contracting. Krug's chief financial officer cynically justified even more outrageous takeaways because of the "post-September 11 economy."

Aurelio Hurtado, a veteran of farmworker struggles, articulated the opposite idea. Calling for a boycott of Charles Krug wines, Hurtado spoke at a Jan. 5 rally by the workers. "The labor action witnessed today is an example of a continuing struggle to maintain all the rights won through the long hard struggle since the days of Cesar Chavez," he declared. "They are trying to crush this union to set an example for the rest of the other shops, with these take-backs."

Corners of concrete resistance are appearing elsewhere. Immigrant coalitions like the National Network for Immigrant Rights and Refugee Rights are finding allies and have not been afraid to criticize the administration's detentions based on racial profiling.

And a conference in February on "Violence, Activism, Agency" sponsored by Asian Pacific American Studies at Loyola Marymount University recalled that the jingoism-inspired racist murder of Vincent Chin in 1982 and the Los Angeles uprising ("sa-i-gu") in 1992 "galvanized Asian American civil rights groups and, as a result, increased coalition building." It went on to warn that "the scope and frequency of hate crimes in the post 9/11-terrorist-attacks continue unabated" and asked "What is to be done?"

Pundits continually speak now of the new level of militarization and a new world order based on fear. Immigrants are feeling the impact of this police state most concretely in their everyday struggles. They are a dimension that is international and they embody a human response to global capital's militarized inhumanity.

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## VIEW FROM THE INSIDE OUT

by Robert Taliaferro

A mainstream journalist friend, discussing the situation that many are finding themselves in after September 11, noted, "Now they know what blacks have been complaining about for years." What this person was speaking about is the Bush and Ashcroft doctrine of cultural profiling to detain (synonymous with "to question" in post-September 11 vocabulary) Arab-looking, -speaking, or -acting people.

Though these incidents are disturbing, what is even more disturbing is that the practice has been promulgated by the federal government for years. In prisons around the country, religious and cultural profiling has existed on the same—if not more aggressive—levels.

Did September 11 change anything with regard to this profiling? The answer to that is a resounding yes...it tended to legitimize processes that were already in place and being used. For several decades prison administrations have been using religion (and of course race) as tags that determined custody and classifications of prisoners.

Muslims have been especially susceptible when it comes to this profiling structure; Native Americans have also been subjected to discriminatory practices because of their religions. Prior to the events of September 11, prison administrations had promulgated rules that disrupted, if not ignored, the rights of prisoners to freely practice established religions. Even the U.S. Congress, during the Clinton years, amended laws such as the Religious Freedom Restoration Act to disallow prisoners to practice religious preferences under that act's protection. These changes were made based on complaints by state attorney generals.

There is an innate fear in this country of people of color, their ideals, religions, cultural nuances, and individualism in the context of blending in with the overall American precept of a cultural melting pot. Nowhere is this more prevalent than in small rural communities. Since the majority of prisons are located in these communities, being Black there is an alien concept, so it is not surprising that the variety of religions or cultural differences that non-white prisoners bring to that community might be a subject for paranoia.

In an effort to stem this feeling of national paranoia, we see commercials that highlight a plethora of individuals of all races and cultures stating that they are Americans. In theory, this is a grand scheme. What is confusing, however, is why such pronouncements are necessary in a country that prides itself on its multicultural composition.

The answer to that is simple, and unpopular to those

## 'Profiling' and prejudice

who wish to sell the dream of equality. We may all be "Americans," but we live in a country that determines that identity by stereotypes, bias, and degrees. These biases are bred into the psyche of Americans during some period in their lives. All Blacks have the potential to be great athletes, but also a propensity to be criminals; Hispanics steal American jobs; Indians drink; Asians are potential drug dealers, and Arabs, Indonesians, Africans...Muslims, are potential terrorists.

Those convoluted ideas often are aimed at people who are the firmest believers in the American dream, the hardest workers, with ancestral heritages that helped to build this nation under harsher conditions than the majority of white Americans. That they "still" believe in the American dream despite the odds, is a tribute to them—not simply as Americans—but as humans.

Profiling people will get worse before it gets better. It will be interesting to see how extensive such profiles will become, and if they will extend beyond the line of color, language, and perceived "non-American" cultures. Perhaps we will see profiles that identify terrorists of every stripe, including white and homegrown, promulgating the access to "justice" that people of color have been afforded over the years, giving American justice a truly "color-blind" patina...then, perhaps not!

## Illinois prison crisis

This is the first week that all higher education has been cancelled. The Governor of Illinois took or cut 23.2 million dollars from the Illinois Department of Corrections' budget, then cut another 14.1 million, the entire higher ed program, throughout the I.D.O.C. statewide. Prisoners are left starving for lack of good food and now for higher education.

The reason, from what we've heard, is Illinois complied with an agreement with the federal government to upgrade prison programs. The Truth in Sentencing law was part of this agreement. Illinois took the millions and bought new cars, vans, and new CD players for all the new cars and vans. They also bought new badges and uniforms. They stole all the money put into inmate benefit funds. Prisoners will have to suffer.

How come the I.D.O.C. has been stealing money from John Q. Public and the State of Illinois and no one is in prison for it? Why don't the people of this state demand an investigation into prison mismanagement? Are the people who run Illinois' prison system that powerful that no one can touch them?

—Illinois prisoner

## Black/Red View

(Continued from page 1)

spread poverty and disease among the poor daily, and this caused him to think about the social significance of the gospel. His critique of capitalism, in his book, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907) brought him national fame. Reinhold Niebuhr argued that Christians had to engage in politics and resist evil with force. This type of social gospel was part of the very nature of the African-American church which produced leaders in the opposition to slavery like Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey.

By 1967 the Civil Rights Movement was over. A new stage of social solidarity was glimpsed in the urban revolts in Detroit that year, where looting in some areas was integrated — a foreshadowing of Los Angeles' revolt of 1992. However, King didn't leave the battlefield. He attempted to revive the movement by engaging in a campaign against poverty. After his failed movement to end the slums in Chicago, he began organizing a Poor People's March on Washington. Finally, King went to Memphis to support the striking garbage workers where he was assassinated.

We can learn from King's philosophy of humanism as social solidarity as well as his sense of being the voice of a mass movement. That striving for social solidarity needs to be met with a full philosophy of liberation to catch its permanent, fluid and ongoing character. It may be nonviolent marches in the South one day and urban rebellions against oppressive police the next.

All through his life, King was never at peace with racism, poverty, war, and the exploitation of labor. He ceaselessly opposed those forms of human alienation and denigration because they treated people as if they were things.

# Nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain

Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham's Jan. 11 recommendation to bury 77,000 tons of high-level nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain, Nev., was a long-expected counter-blow against the anti-nuke movement. The reaction of Native Americans, greens, Nevadans and others was immediate—not only denouncing the decision as driven by "politics, not science," but announcing that the ongoing campaign of protests, lawsuits, lobbying and public education will be stepped up.

The 1982 law that started the slide toward Yucca was originally a concession won by the anti-nuke movement, a concession that became a lifeline for an industry that had suffered a nearly fatal blow with the 1979 partial meltdown at the Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania. Since then, not a single nuclear power plant has been ordered in the U.S., and all those ordered since 1974 have been cancelled.

If Yucca goes forward, the nuclear industry hopes to find new life. The industry projects that new nuclear plants may be built as soon as 2006, and 40-year-old plants, though already decaying from the stress of constant radiation, may gain 20-year extensions on their expiring licenses. Without a permanent or interim repository, 103 reactors are running out of storage space for their highly radioactive waste.

Up to 1979, few things fueled the movement more than the series of disasters resulting from the slipshod handling of radioactive waste—from a truckload of liquid waste that dripped across 1,000 miles of highway from Michigan to Nevada, to the 430,000 gallons of acidic toxic-radioactive stew that have leaked into the ground at Hanford, Wash., and are heading for the Columbia River.

The promise of "permanent disposal" of high-level nuclear waste was supposed to lull all into forgetting that the nuclear complex threatens millions of lives every day. As time went on, all of Congress was feeling the heat from people livid at the idea of having the deadly waste forced on them, and the decision was made to gang up on Nevada.

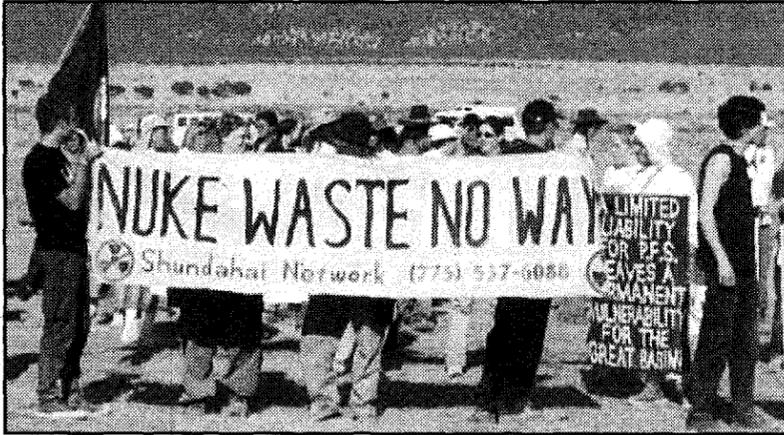
An elaborate process was followed to lend the illusion of Yucca Mountain being blessed by the high priests of science, but problems were repeatedly found with the site. Each time, the government just lowered the standards. Even today, while Abraham declares the site "scientifically sound," the government's own General Accounting Office report states that 293 issues have not been resolved. Most seriously, it is altogether too likely that wastes would escape into drinking water used in Nevada and California.

While Abraham trotted out terrorism as a reason for opening Yucca Mountain, the only real protection against nuclear materials—whether in terrorist

attacks, or accidents, or the routine exposure that happens every day to workers and neighbors—is to shut down the entire industry, which has proven so well its incompatibility with human life.

As long as nuclear power plants keep operating, they will continue to store spent fuel until it is "cool" enough to handle, so Abraham's "terrorism" excuse is a lie. What he proposes involves 50,000 new potential accidents or targets—50,000 truckloads and trainloads of radioactive waste that would travel a cumulative 50 to 100 million miles, some through cities such as Chicago, St. Louis and Memphis. Some 52 million people live within a half mile of these routes, and it is to these 52 million that the movement will turn as the fight continues.

—Franklin Dmitryev



Oct. 2001 protest in Utah against waste disposal in Great Basin area.

Tom King

## Inside Iraq—delegation denounces sanctions

Basra, Iraq—Greetings from the 41st Voices in the Wilderness delegation. Last year, Basra saw much needed rain it had lacked the previous two seasons, and it looks like this year the skies are following suit. Of course, for neighborhoods like Jamariya—a neighborhood which the U.S. bombed in January 1999—where the streets are flanked with open sewer trenches, rain floods the raw sewage out into the streets, right next to those five kids playing marbles.

Dec. 10 was United Nations Human Rights Day—the 53rd anniversary of the UN's Declaration of Human Rights—and the 100th anniversary of the Nobel Peace Prize. Here we stand in a land where the population is deprived of their human rights as a matter of policy. Eleven years of a punitive embargo, of air raid sirens and fatal diarrhea, of "collateral damage," and the body count exceeds that of one Trade Towers tragedy every month.

The bombardment of Desert Storm severely crippled Iraq's civilian infrastructure, most notably the power sector, and it would take very little to do the same again. The U.S. has repeatedly displayed its ability and willingness to destroy an entire nation from the air. If our new Bush is to finish the job his father began, is there a reason to think the strategy would be any different this decade?

A fire at the al-Hathra power plant in southern Iraq in the summer of 2000 nearly caused its collapse. As operating systems are sub-par, the sudden collapse of one station would force other power station to take up the slack. Are other stations capable of such, or would

the entire system shut down? The answer, as described to me by Marcel Alberts of the UNDP, could be catastrophic: a chain reaction could occur, and Iraq is lacking the control systems and telecommunications necessary to deal with such a collapse. A complete breakdown could ensue.

Under current constraints of the "Oil for Food" program, Iraq submits contracts for spare parts—which are routinely put on hold by the Security Council sanctions committee—and since there is no cash component in this program the necessary funds for restoration and repair of the power sector are unavailable.

To call to attention the fragility of life under sanctions, we held a candlelight vigil at a power station near Baghdad; there we began by lighting a lantern with Iraqi oil, urging individuals and nations to unilaterally break the sanctions. So, how is electricity a "human right"? As we stated on UN Human Rights Day at the Dura power plant, which was bombed in 1991:

"The survival of a modern, developed society—such as Iraq—depends on electricity...The right to safe water, health care, education, sanitation and sewage treatment depends on an available supply of electricity...Our presence at the Dura power plant highlights the fragility and vulnerability of civil society under 11 years of the most comprehensive economic sanctions in modern history. Renewed air strikes will be devastating to the civilian infrastructure and catastrophic to the Iraqi people."

—Ceylon

## Homeless youth hold vigil

Chicago—A candlelight vigil for homeless youth and survivors of sexual exploitation took place at the State of Illinois Building on Jan. 16. Over 50 people, most of them youth, demanded Governor Ryan increase funding for homeless youth services Ryan plans to cut the Illinois Department of Human Services budget by \$300 million by Feb. 20th.

Various advocacy groups are pushing for an increase in services from \$4 million to \$8 million. Currently Illinois spends only about \$160 per homeless youth each year, which translates into state-funded shelters turning away 42% of those seeking services. Many claim there are simply no available beds. The truth is that these shelters have empty beds but they are reserved for wards of the state who bring with them a pretty penny. That pretty penny is what keeps the agencies afloat.

Of the 26,000 youth in Illinois that experience homelessness each year, 12,000 are chronically homeless. Of these, 70% become victims of commercial sexual exploitation—which includes trading sex for survival

needs, such as for food and shelter. Over 90% of those prostituted are survivors of sexual violence either at home or on the street. The average age of entry into prostitution is 12-14 for girls and 11-13 for boys.

Pregnant and parenting teens, and youth who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgendered make up a disproportionate number of homeless youth.

The most moving part of the vigil was when three homeless youth spoke. Ayesha, one such youth said, "We do care about our lives. We don't want our future to be destroyed because they think we're drug addicts and prostitutes, not worth anything."

Another youth, Euridyces, said, "It is very sad the government is giving up on youth. We are trying to climb up and they keep us down. You don't know how hard it is to be nice to a guy just so you can take a shower at his apartment." She began crying at this point and finished by saying that "being homeless is the worst thing you can be. But we are human beings. Don't give up fighting for us."

—Sonia Bergonzi

# Aftermath of terror in Israel

Jerusalem—The cycle has begun again.

After a month of quiet between Israel and Palestine, Prime Minister Sharon began to worry that he would have to sit down and actually negotiate with the Palestinians, so he ordered yet another assassination and then awaited the reprisals that would get him off the hook. It didn't take long.

It began with the shooting of Israelis in the territories, and then last night's horrifying scene—a Palestinian who emptied an M-16 into an Israeli crowd celebrating a bat mitzva. "In response," Israeli warplanes fired missiles into Turkarem as tanks reoccupied large parts of Ramallah. And so it goes. Whose turn is it?

The senseless and tragic bloodletting still fresh in everyone's mind, it was with some trepidation that the Coalition of Women for a Just Peace came together this morning to demonstrate against the occupation. Why trepidation? Because Palestinian acts of terrorism somehow give legitimacy to attacks on Israeli peace activists by rightwing war-mongers. It's a tradition that did not even begin in the Mideast.

## DISABILITY ACTIVISTS

Thus, we were surprised and pleased to have some 40 women and men, despite the tradition, who came out to demonstrate today under the banner "Money for the disabled, not for settlers." This is a reference to the month-long strike of the severely disabled in Israel, whose government stipend is shamefully low, keeping them in poverty. We were even nervous about whether the disabled themselves would accept our presence near their strike location, but several approached our group and voiced support. I think it helped that Pnina Fierstone, a veteran peace activist who is severely disabled herself, was holding up one end of our banner.

After an hour in the crisp winter air of Jerusalem, we put away our signs and went indoors to talk to the strikers and express our solidarity with them. I had a good conversation with Alex, a lovely guy who agreed that the government should help the down-and-outers, but not at the expense of the settlers. Finally he mentioned that his son, too, lives in a settlement.

## IDEOLOGY FOLLOWS VESTED INTERESTS

Every government since the occupation began 34 years ago, Labor and Likud alike, has given Israelis economic incentives to move into the territories. By now, ideology follows vested economic interests.

From the striking disabled we drove to the regular Women in Black vigil, and were about 75 today in Jerusalem. Last week we had been joined by contingents from Michigan, France, and India. This week we were just us. There were the usual driveby shooting-off-at-the-mouth passersby, but nothing exploded. That is a victory of sorts.

So it was an efficient, two-demonstration day for us, besides the other Women in Black vigils all over Israel. I hope there will be a big turnout tomorrow for Peace Now's demonstration called "Sharon is Assassinating the Peace."

—Gila Svirsky  
Jan. 18, 2002

## Letter from Argentina

A lot of demonstrations took place in the province of Entre Rios over the last few months, mainly due to the state government's default—it has not paid for salaries, social security, public health or education. Nothing changed as a result—the governor is an old-style master as well as a bad manager. A lot of social energy vanished when people felt defeated. Supermarket looting did happen at last, and two people died in our town.

We face an uncertain future. Bloodsucking monetary policies that predominated over the last ten years in Argentina have crumbled into pieces, finally, but the new national government is not likely to get a better deal with international banks and economic trusts. Human stupidity is in charge once again. At least the new government will have to be more receptive to people's demands. Something has changed in that sense, and this is good news; people seem to be taking over as they had not done since the '60s and '70s. Analysts are still amazed at recent "pan beating" demonstrations by the traditionally passive middle class. Bloodshed is too terrible; the authorities will have to respond.

What should be done in order to empower the people? In my opinion, the most important outcome of this crisis is that the main enemies (transnational concentrated financial groups, public services, private suppliers, as well as their "local partners" within the political system who opened the door to outrageously profitable business during the last decade) are being exposed and, consequently, ten years of neo-liberal brain-washing are starting to become undone. No more rubbish talk shows about entrepreneurial successes!

We are still far from achieving organized ways of resisting. What you see happening in the streets is pure anger and despair. There is some personal satisfaction in seeing a bank's glass walls fall to pieces, but we middle-aged people remember what the consequences may be, and are afraid. The political parties, even the alternative ones, are much too devoted to fighting over power, without regard to what that power should be used for.

—Mora

# Our Life and Times **Anti-government unrest sweeps Argentina**

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Anti-government demonstrations have swept Argentina on an almost daily basis since December, when thousands of poor, hungry and unemployed people expropriated food and household necessities from supermarkets, instead of scavenging in trash cans and dumps for something to eat.

The food protests erupted in over 20 cities and towns in northern Argentina. When they subsided, 31 people were dead, thousands injured, and over 2,000 arrested. Whole families turned out to liberate the goods they had no money to buy. A father in line at a soup kitchen with his family said, "There are millions like me, who have come from the interior and end up eating from garbage cans because there is no work. The government created this situation, not the ordinary people, but the people are suffering, and all the government can think to do is declare a state of siege."

Former President de la Rúa was forced to release \$7 million in food aid. But his last presidential act, to declare a 30 day "state of siege" (martial law) in order to halt the demonstrations, brought out fresh protests.

## ABM treaty dumped

The Bush administration formally issued notice, on Dec. 13, of its intent to withdraw in six months from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Based on the dehumanized premise of "mutually assured destruction," the ABM Treaty was credited for keeping nuclear peace for 30 years. This is the first time any country has unilaterally abrogated an arms agreement since World War II.

As far back as his presidential campaign, Bush said he would get rid of the ABM Treaty, which he called a "Cold War relic," in order to go ahead with sinking billions into a missile defense shield. His administration has a fundamental opposition to any and all formal arms control treaties. Bush's unilateralism in scrapping the ABM Treaty was not influenced by U.S. coalition-building following the September 11 terrorist attacks. The new U.S. alliances were predicated on specific events tied to its incursion into Afghanistan, where it has maintained tight control over all military operations.

Russian President Putin called Bush's exit from the treaty a "mistake." Russia maintains that this act cancels START and some 30 other agreements and treaties. In place of the ABM Treaty, Putin wants a "treaty on mutual security," but is not likely to get this from Bush. Russia plans to cut its nuclear warheads down to 1,500-2,200, about the same number Bush announced for the U.S., which is enough to confuse any missile defense under current consideration.

## March in Brussels

Some 20,000 anti-globalization demonstrators from dozens of countries marched down the streets of Brussels, Belgium on Dec. 14. The day before, 80,000 attended another demonstration, called by the European Confederation of Trade Unions. The occasion for both demonstrations was a summit meeting of European Union leaders.

At the anti-globalization demonstration, the overall slogan was "For Another Europe—Another World Is Possible." Many of the participants were high school and college-age youth, ranging from anarchists to Christian humanists. Some Belgian, Italian, and French labor unions, as well as organizations of the unemployed, also brought out sizable contingents, as did ecologists and several Trotskyist parties.

On Dec. 20, de la Rúa was forced to resign along with his hated finance minister, Domingo Cavallo. As one commentator said, "This is a political situation that has grown into an economic situation."

There is no doubt that the currency crisis in Argentina contributed to the upheaval. Under a different political regime, Cavallo had engineered in 1991 the "dollarization" of the currency, tying the peso to the U.S. dollar. While the Argentine economy grew through 1997, the fixed currency exacerbated the economic decline of the last four years of recession. Argentinians are saddled with a debt now pegged at \$141 billion! The International Monetary Fund (IMF) threw gasoline on the fire when it denied Argentina its next \$1.3 billion loan installment on the grounds that the government failed to meet IMF-dictated deficit reduction targets. The government limited withdrawals from, and then froze, bank accounts.

In a desperate move, de la Rúa raided \$3.5 billion in pension funds, along with public employees salaries, to come up with its next debt service payment. But his coalition did not budge from the neoliberal economic model instituted by his Peronist predecessor, Carlos Menem. After a series of five presidents in two weeks, the Peronist party senator, Eduardo Duhalde, has been appointed president.

One unifying element in all the demonstrations has been backed up by opinion polls, and that is total rejection of the "political class." As one woman demon-

strator put it, "The Peronists just don't seem to understand that the target of the initial protests wasn't only de la Rúa but the whole rotten political apparatus that they are a big part of. They're all a bunch of thieves, those politicians, the whole lot of them, and we want to see them all gone."



Independent Media Center

One study shows that 2,000 Argentinians fall below the poverty line every day. Unemployment at the end of 2001 was pushing above 18%. The unemployed have been among the most militant in the demonstrations, demanding jobs, a living wage, and debt cancellation.

On Jan. 3, the Duhalde government skipped a \$28 million debt payment, thus formally going into default. Then dollarization was ended, and the peso devalued 30% "officially." This has brought more misery to the people, as merchants withhold goods, expecting prices to rise. It is a life-and-death situation for those needing drugs and medical supplies which are nearly impossible to find.

The Duhalde government has expressed its hostility to demonstrators, saying the protests are at the "limit of the tolerable." This has not stopped the protests. On Jan. 16, as Duhalde spoke with the foreign press, some 2,000 unemployed marched in Buenos Aires demanding jobs. Several thousand unemployed blocked a dozen highways around the country. In Santa Fe and Jujuy provinces, protesters attacked banks and the utility offices that have been privatized and sold to foreign investors. One slogan sprayed on the sidewalk outside the Casa Rosada, the presidential palace, sums up the current situation: "We are going to keep on coming. Signed, The People."

## Strike in Nigeria

In January, for the second time in less than two years, Nigerian workers staged a nationwide general strike. The Nigerian Labor Congress called the strike to protest new government policies, forced upon Nigeria by global capitalism, that are allowing fuel prices to rise dramatically—18% overall, but a shocking 40% for kerosene used by the masses for cooking.

Major commercial and industrial cities such as Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano, Makurdi, and Port Harcourt were all shut down. Banks closed down after a warning by strikers that those staying open should be ready "to give out free cash." The government responded with repression rather than negotiations. It got the courts to declare the strike illegal and arrested union leaders, who called off the strike after two days.

Meanwhile, Islamist politicians in northern Nigeria continue to extend medieval Sharia law, claiming it will fight crime. This has led to international protests around the case of Safiya Husaini, a woman sentenced to be stoned to death for "adultery" after giving birth to a child out of wedlock. Husaini's case has sparked protests by feminist and left groups around the world.

Inside Nigeria, the mysterious assassination in December of Justice Minister Bola Ige has been linked by some observers to his criticisms of Sharia law. Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka, speaking at Ige's funeral, declared that "the murderers are among us," an implicit reference to conservative Muslim elements that dominate not only the northern states, but also the army.

## Russian tribunal

If readers want a sense of how secret military tribunals operate, they need look no further than the recent headlines from Russia. In December, Russian Navy Captain Grigory Pasko received a sentence of five years at hard labor for espionage. Not only was the five-month military trial held in secret, but most of the laws under which Pasko was tried are also secret! Despite this judicial farce, which included the absence of any credible evidence, Pasko was convicted of giving secret military data on the Russian Navy's dumping of nuclear waste at sea to the Japanese media. In fact, he used public sources.

Pasko, a former Navy journalist, has remained defiant during nearly five years of investigation and prosecution by the military-police apparatus, who evidently want to silence him and any others who would expose the appallingly dangerous nuclear waste situation in the oceans near Russia. Offered an amnesty in 1999 that would still have denied him his pension, Pasko refused to accept it, insisting on a complete acquittal.

In January, ecology and human rights activists rallied in over a dozen cities to demand Pasko's release. One group took its protests to the headquarters of the FSB, the renamed KGB. Four of these brave souls were arrested. In Vladivostok, where the secret trial had been held, protesters unfurled a large yellow banner that read, "Try Corrupt Admirals, Not Journalists."

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

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

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

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

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

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