Freedom as workers and Marx see it
by B. Ann Lastelle

News & Letters published Raya Dunayevskaya’s 1961 lecture in Hegel’s Smaller Logic, the first part of his Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences, in three parts ending with the June issue. I noted in Dunayevskaya’s discussion of the “general tendencies” of freedom: “For freedom it is necessary that we feel no presence of something else which is not ourselves” (Chapter Two: Preliminary Notion, §24); and “…we become free when we are confronted by no absolute needs, where a face to face relation is a face to face self” (Chapter Four: Second Attitude of Thought Towards the Objective World, §30).

Karl Marx’s analysis, and my experience, of labor in the capitalist production process reveal the absolute opposite of Hegel’s idea of freedom. Marx wrote in the “Alienated Labor” section of his 1844 Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts as if he had been working beside us in the factory:

“If the fact that labor is external to the laborer is part of his nature—the worker does not affirm himself in his work but denies himself, feels miserable and unhappy, develops no free physical and mental energy but mortifies his flesh and ruins his mind. The worker, therefore feels at ease only outside work, during work he is outside himself.”

“He’s work, therefore, is not voluntary, but coerced, forced labor. It is not the satisfaction of a need but only the need to satisfy another need, ie alien character is obvious from the fact that as soon as no physical or other pressure exists, labor is avoided like the plague.”

…”Finally… the activity of the worker is not his own spontaneous activity. It belongs to another. It is the loss of hisown activity. How many times have we said to one another, “I didn’t want to come in today, but I need the money”?” It is’

I would like to say that I did not kill Bobby Lambert. That is an innocent Black man that is being murdered. This is a lynching that is happening in America tonight. There’s overwhelming and compelling evidence of my innocence.” that has never been heard in any court of America. That I am an innocent Black man that is being murdered. The summit has far-reaching implications that will be with us long after Clinton leaves office.

The summit contained a bare mention of the U.S. occupation of Kosovo or Russia’s genocidal war against Chechnya. The U.S. long ago made it clear that it would do nothing to get in Russia’s way on Chechnya, even though Putin’s fascists have killed tens of thousands of civilians there. Clinton instead tried to get Putin to agree to his plan to build a $60 billion anti-missile “defense” system. Putin refused, arguing that it would seriously undermine the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

I. Global capital’s impact on the human subject
A. Clinton’s Legacy: a new nuclear arms race?

Were it not for its long-range implications for the future of U.S.-Russian relations and global politics as a whole, one could dismiss the June 3-4 Moscow summit between President Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin so little more than a photo-opportunity for a lame duck president. However, since the summit centered on Clinton’s effort to prevent a U.S. “defensive shield” against nuclear missiles, which threatens to set off a new arms race, the summit has far-reaching implications that will be with us long after Clinton leaves office.

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It is not hard to see why Putin was uncompromising with Clinton’s argument that a missile shield is needed to protect the U.S. from missile attacks by “rogue states” like North Korea. After all, North Korea, like Iran, is at least a decade away from being able to build an ICBM that could even reach the U.S.

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Revolutionary Afghan women speak

Chicago — The Afghan name has come to mean a country where women are hated by their government, a place where a woman's name can be a target for attack, a place where women's rights have been wilfully ignored. The Talibbahn is one of the most oppressive regimes known in the world as it has been since 1996 and until now.

"We have been fighting for our freedom for 25 years," said Saba, a 34-year-old woman. "We are tired of living under the Taliban's rule. We want to live in peace and we want to have our rights restored."

In Afghanistan, women's rights are not just a matter of personal choice, but a fundamental right. Afghan women have been fighting for their rights for decades, but the Taliban's strict interpretation of Islam has led to widespread violence and abuse against women.

"The Taliban have implemented strict laws that prohibit women from working outside of the home, attending school, or even leaving their homes without the permission of their male relatives," said Saba. "We have been fighting against this oppression for many years, and we will continue to do so until our rights are restored."

In the meantime, revolutionary Afghan women have been working tirelessly to bring about change. They have organized protests, marches, and other forms of activism to raise awareness about the plight of Afghan women.

"We have been working with women's rights organizations, human rights groups, and other NGOs to bring attention to the situation of women in Afghanistan," said Saba. "We have been working to raise awareness about the need for women's rights, and we will continue to do so until we achieve our goal."

Despite the challenges, the revolution continues. Revolutionary Afghan women are determined to fight for their rights and to build a better future for themselves and their children. They will continue to fight until their rights are restored and Afghanistan is free from the oppression of the Taliban.
We mourn the death and honor the memory of Willie Rudd, a union organizer and a fighter for workers' rights in the South. Brother Rudd died of a heart attack on April 20, 2000. At the age of 61, he left behind a legacy of dedication to worker advocacy.

Rudd was a life-long activist, born in Sardis, Miss. In 1963, while working at National Bedding, a mattress plant, he joined the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). Rudd was a member of Local 282 in Memphis, Tenn., and he was a prominent leader in the 1965 strike there, where he was elected chair of the strike committee.

As the labor movement in the South was transformed by the impact of the 1960s civil rights struggles, Rudd helped organize workers. In the late 1960s, he often traveled far from Memphis to help workers in poverty-wage, predominantly Black plants win a union voice in their workplace. In 1975, Rudd became a volunteer union organizer.

In an era in which all too many union officials practice a self-serving brand of "business unionism," Rudd passionately believed in developing rank-and-file leadership. In the poorest neighborhoods and most anti-union environments, he launched campaigns against powerful employers. Rudd was a militant fighter who believed that the social unity of workers was an indispensable asset. Because he knew we cannot challenge them in court, Rudd worked to organize workers to fight back against the power of the employers.

When workers are getting double, sometimes triple pay for the same work, it becomes a point of honor. When employers think the social security numbers of workers are worth fighting for, it becomes a point of honor. We mourn the death and honor the memory of Willie Rudd, an independent Black union organizer.

We must support and encourage the many workers in Tennessee and Mississippi who are fighting for a stronger voice in their workplace. We must support and encourage the many workers who are fighting for their dignity and respect.

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

-From solving problems that are generated by man-agemen's drive for productivity and cost savings.
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Editor's note

In preparation for the upcoming Convention of News and Letters Committees, we have selected this summer a number of essays by Marxist-Humanism to the important problem we are dealing with in this essay. Before we begin, I should say that the book as a recruiting weapon, and I hope that everyone correct, but is neither new nor deserves to be overestimated the importance of seeing the new tries to "derive" a Universal from it. For one thing, expressed in those profound Hegelian categories. Universal, Particular, and Individual. I am using the word, immediate, in the Hegelian sense of something that is superficial. For example, what you say about those categories as applicable to the existentialist is correct, but I do not consider them to be expressed in those profound Hegelian categories. It is not true that we begin with the Individual and try to "derive" a Universal from it. For one thing, Individual does not mean an individual. It means the concretization of the Universal, its highest form, in the sense in which Marx said that the individual was the social entity and the individual's freedom the only proof that he was an individual. Hegel said that Individual is not a real medium of exchange and commodity as the concrete unit of wealth, which hides less the dual character of labor than does glittering money, but nevertheless contains the whole fetishism which Marx so masterfully exposes as the ideology of capitalism. And I do not mean the concrete everyday kind of sense in which Marx said that the individual was the essential, not only in its degraded stage under capital.

1. Raya Dunayevskaya was at work on a new book which would take up the relation between dialectics and dialectics of organization and philosophy. As part of our study we reprint here a letter written by Raya Dunayevskaya to a colleague in News and Letters. The original can be found in Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection #13842. The title and footnotes were added by the editors.

Dear Olga,

Your letter breaks through on the central point, philosophically, for the new book—the question of subjectivity in the philosophic sense, especially in the Marxist sense, that has absorbed objectivity. Again, I cannot overestimate the importance of seeing the new book as a recruiting weapon, and I hope that everyone understands very carefully the parts I quoted at the REB. At the REB I gave examples of Universal, Particular, Individual in relationship to money as the absolute idea. In a word, he is opposed to the method of philosophy as inseparable from organization and religion. In Hegel's philosophy of the absolute, Hegel's philosophy of the human being that new dimension which one classless society can create the contradictions for.

I could give a million more "examples," but that is not really my purpose here, because it is not examples, right or wrong ones, that are important here, but only the care with which one must approach a category, any philosophic category, and especially so those analyzed by Hegel for the very highest stage of his Logic, the Doctrine of the Notion.

Johnny once told me that he takes down definitions I give of Hegelian categories one week, and the next week I give an entirely different set of definitions, and the following week I tell them to disregard all. All this is correct, first, just because all this is correct, all this is correct, all this is correct. But, Hegel has the whole concept of definitions in Vol. II of the Phenomenology of Consciousness (Struthers trans., MacMillan, 1929), and yet, hold tight to the fact that all this descending criticism just comes out a few pages short of the climax of the work on the Absolute Idea. In a word, he is opposed to the method of definitions because nothing, in thought or action, can be fitted into a definite category.
The search for new paths to freedom vs. the destructive drive of global capital

(Continued from page 1)"
The position of the ACP-CIO bureaucracy in the debate over extending permanent normal trade relations to China is one reflection of how narrow some critics of "global capitalism" can be. ACP-CIO President Swanzy's opposition to the China trade bill was hardly distinguishable from Teamsters President Hoffa Jr., who is considering endorsing arch-reactioneer and anti-Semite Pat Buchanan for president.

This is not the only example of narrow nationalism and pro-capitalist forces trying to influence the anti-globalization movement. Former pro-Communist candidate Ralph Nader has held several friendly meetings with Buchanan over the last year, and that of the organizations which helped organize the Seattle protest, has praised Buchanan for his supposed "passion" and "love of the American working families of all the global economy.

The way in which some rightists and leftists are able to come together in the name of "nationalism" or "anti-imperialism" should come as no surprise to anyone who was attentive to what emerged during the war over Kosova last year. A significant section of the U.S. Left not only refused to support the struggle of the Kosovars against ethnic cleansing, but openly allyed itself with the "anti-imperialists" on the ground that they too oppose the U.S. war against "global imperialism.

What we called last year a threat of an emerging "red-brown alliance" in the West is not restricted to responses to the events in Kosova. The remarkable response to the Kosova situation is that reflected a confrontation of all of today's movements—the difficulty being encountered in articulating a revolutionary response to the events in Kosova.

This difficulty has everything to do with the legacy of the Cold War. In the 20th century any number of efforts to negate capitalism stopped short at the abolition of private property and the guaranteed right of self-determination. Today's situation is not the same as the 1960s. Yet just as the revolts of the 1960s were set into motion by the Black student movement, May 1970. While the killing of four Black students at Jackson State.

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Dunayevskaya’s work on “Dialectics of Organization and

This is from a series of notes written as part of

10. This is because the movements from practice bring to life the abstract character of certain concepts, she issued a challenge for revolutionary theoreticians to meet them with a phi-

losgogy of revolution which makes explicit their drive for a total uproot-

ing. This underlined her restatement of today's struggles. To confront this, we need to turn anew to the problem of revolutionary organization.

III. Beyond capitalism: projecting a new alternative through a unity of philosophy and organization

“The dialectic is revolutionary through and through, no

matter what positivist conclusions Hegel himself used to

formulate. The dialectic demands an organization of people

for its realization that are Marxist-Humanist through

and through.”

— Raya Dunayevskaya, 1961

One of the most striking developments of the past year

is the way many of the new struggles show a clear prefer-

ence for new forms of organization. This was especially evident at the Seattle protest.

This desire for decentralized organizational forms is of

triumphant significance. As Dunayevskaya said of the spontaneous emergence of such forms of organi-

zation, this was especially evident at the Seattle protest.

This does not mean that spontaneous organizational

forms by themselves resolve the basic problem confronting

socialist transformation. The experience from the Seattle protest has involved in mass struggles “also search for an organization different from their own which can provide them with a unity of philosophy and organization.”

For Marx, however, critique was never just critique as

determination of the Idea reached a new stage of develop-

ment.

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A Marx's concept of organization revisited

Marx remains our founder, not just when it comes to ques-

ions of strategy, but as a general principle of liberation. It's seen in how the 1875 Congress of the International, the 1875 Manifesto, the 1844 Manuscripts, and the Communist Manifesto show a concern with the question of organization.

Philosophy and Revolution

by Raya Dunayevskaya

translated by Fu Xiaoping

Also available by Dunayevskaya

Newly Translated into Chinese

Marxism and Freedom

by Wang Ruoshui

Both books published by Liaoning Education Publishers

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B. The single dialectic of philosophy/organization

Marxist-Humanism's entire development has consist­
et of working out a new relation between philosophy and organization. Marx's Commentaries on a Manuscript of Engels, as well as earlier works, have shown that in Engels' dialectic of organization, the term "philosophy" means the "concept of the new society," from which "organiza­tion" is derived. The development of the dialectic of organization proceeded from a concern with the present, to consider­ing the question of organization. The inseparability of philosophy and organization in the perception of a new society was first developed in a concept of "revolution in permanence" never before the ground of post-Marxist Marxism. It has everything to do with the development of the post-Marxist Marxism of our time. It is to respond to the changes in global capital by project­
ing a liberating vision and to change "from the articulation of a philosophy of revolution in permanence to an organization from projecting a vision of a new society rooting a liberating vision of the future."

This began with undertaking responsibility for keeping the major works of Marxist-Humanism in print and securing a publisher for them. Kalinin and Dunayevskaya continued this work in the "Organizational and Philosophic Moment of Revolution in Permanence." Their work was the beginning of the transformation from a "philosophy of revolution in permanence" to "organization from projecting a vision of a new society rooting a liberating vision of the future." This does not mean the task of working out a new rela­tion between philosophy and organization has come to an end. The task of philosophizing in a new society is a continuous, central category. It is the "Absolute Negativity as New Organization"—both in and for itself and in relation to its impact on Marx's work. Dunayevskaya spoke to this in 1984, in commenting on Marx's work on Hegel's Science of Logic. She asked, "Is there anything that born from spontaneity, would be just different forms of organiz­ation instead of just different forms of philosophy?" (RDC, 7126). In 1982 she said the key is "Organizational Revolution" for the "New Moment of Marx's last decade—which include his writings on man/woman relations, technologically underde­veloped societies, the dialectics of "inside" and "outside". It was in the Ethnological Notebooks—that cast a new illumination on the Absolute Idea, or the concept of the new society, as a whole by revealing that "no concept of his was separate from its philosophical ground that form and content are inseparable from each other." (1973), explored the source of Marx's "Absolute Negativity as New Organization." The discovery of the whole of Marx's thought with Marx on the level of today's realities calls for a new responsibility for one's philosophic stand for a new soci­ety. "We can no longer say "sublime" and "tragic" of a struggle vanguardism" (The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection [RDC], 7126). In 1982 she said the key is "Organizational Revolution." Our aim is to demonstrate what a critique of capitalism root­ing a liberating vision and projecting a vision of a new society rooting a liberating vision of the future can mean for projecting new visions of the future which are inherent in the present. This begins with undertaking responsibility for keeping the major works of Marxist-Humanism in print and securing a publisher for them. Kalinin and Dunayevskaya continued this work in the "Organizational and Philosophic Moment of Revolution in Permanence." Their work was the beginning of the transformation from a "philosophy of revolution in permanence" to "organization from projecting a vision of a new society rooting a liberating vision of the future." This does not mean the task of working out a new relation between philosophy and organization has come to an end. The task of philosophizing in a new society is a continuous, central category. It is the "Absolute Negativity as New Organization."

The point is to develop these and other dimensions of our organizational life through a collective journey into the dialectic of philosophy. Dunayevskaya addressed what this requires after completing the "Absolute Negativity and Revolution." She argued that "The point is not that "on the one hand" there is a need for orga­nization, while "on the other" there is a need for philos­ophy. The point is to work out philosophy and organiza­tion as a single dialectic. Dunayevskaya spoke to this in 1984, in commenting on her decision to change the title of the chapter of her Luxembourg book dealing with the Critique of the Gotha Program. Originally it was entitled "The Philosopher of the Permanent Revolution and Organization Man" but she changed it to "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization." She made the change to reveal that the little word "and" did not mean that Organization was a separate corollary to Marx's phi­losophy of "revolution in permanence." The difference... is between the single dialectic of organization and in separate categories and finally projecting the single dialectic of organization and the "single dialectic of organization and the developmental of a new society rooting a liberating vision of the future."

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Lou Turner's report on "The Challenge of Africa in Crisis" in the June issue was a delight. "It was a task," he said, "to present so many disparate forces and factors in the Third World and to show how they link up, how they interact.

In his report not only described the vital importance of Africa's liberation, capitalism, and the role of the Third World but also clearly pointed out the importance of the African perspective.

The economic and social conditions in Africa are such that the masses of Africans are forced to rise up and fight for their liberation.

In fact, the African masses have already started to take action. The African National Congress (ANC) has been involved in a series of protests against the apartheid regime. The ANC has also called for a general strike in South Africa.

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I am confident that the African masses will continue to fight for their liberation and that they will eventually succeed.
Americans were convinced this act was a threat to their Memphis. That is when they said that the cancer had come through the judiciary system. Millions of African Americans were stopped and humiliated by white policemen wearing T-shirts stamped with a "white backlash." This was "white backlash" frighten for the future. Those who practiced some 50 years ago. Now it is not a practice of the right to serve Black people at a five-dollar-a-meal joint can no longer dare to say that he was not afraid of the social justice of African-Americans equality and freedom was pushed or sharply cut. At the same time as the idea and the practice within the TPLF who are still determined to see an independent greater Tigre. Eritrea shares a border with the Soviet Union, China and the USA. It was perhaps the result of this struggle, but African Americans long have known that racism permeates the halls of justice. They also know that race is not the special property of criminal justice. The liberal President Clinton made Black crime a major issue of his first administration. This retrogression into the practice of racism under the federal government might be a tactical move to satisfy the reaction by racist people. From January to May 1997, the doctor from the University of Tennessee couldn't confirm it, but after my daughter went to Florida to stay with her sister and couldn't do it because they have to make up the serum, so I have to do it. The doctor tried to some 50 years ago. Now it is not a practice any longer dared to say that he was not afraid of the social justice. Those who practiced some 50 years ago. Now it is not a practice of the right to serve Black people at a five-dollar-a-meal joint can no longer dare to say that he was not afraid the social justice of African-Americans equality and freedom was pushed or sharply cut. At the same time as the idea and the practice of racism under the federal government might be a tactical move to satisfy the reaction by racist people. From January to May 1997, the doctor from the University of Tennessee couldn't confirm it, but after my daughter went to Florida to stay with her sister and couldn't do it because they have to make up the serum, so I have to do it. The doctor tried to some 50 years ago. Now it is not a practice any longer dared to say that he was not afraid the social justice. Those who practiced some 50 years ago. Now it is not a practice of the right to serve Black people at a five-dollar-a-meal joint can no longer dare to say that he was not afraid of the social justice of African-Americans equality and freedom was pushed or sharply cut. At the same time as the idea and the practice of racism under the federal government might be a tactical move to satisfy the reaction by racist people. From January to May 1997, the doctor from the University of Tennessee couldn't confirm it, but after my daughter went to Florida to stay with her sister and couldn't do it because they have to make up the serum, so I have to do it. The doctor tried to some 50 years ago. Now it is not a practice any longer dared to say that he was not afraid of the social justice.
Critical comments on notes on the Smaller Logic

by Cyril Smith

Cyril Smith, author of Marx at the Millennium (Pluto Press, 1996), submitted the following piece as a response to the publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's notes on Hegel's Smaller Logic in the April, May and June issues of News & Letters. We invite our readers to contribute to this ongoing discussion.

It is nearly half a century since I first saw some of the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya. As I was, too narrow-minded then to see what she was trying to do. Only recently, when I had time to study her work, did I begin to appreciate her pioneering work in uncovering Marx's hitherto unacknowledged insights into Hegel's philosophy. The publication by News and Letters of this work is a great contribution to the task of regenerating the revolutionary tradition of思想and action.

However, as is the fate of all pioneers, history unfolds some critical comments, occasioned by the 1961 lecture on Hegel's Smaller Logic which you have recently published. And the publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's notes, during the quarter of a century which still remained to her after that lecture, yoga herself began to move in some of the directions I point to here. I intend that it is necessary for us to continue this process, rather than leave the subject where it left her at the time of her death.

Like many of her generation and ours, Raya Dunayevskaya started with Lenin's study of Hegel in 1914-15. With the indispensable help of his rough notes and of Marx's 1844 Manuscript—not, of course, available to her—she began her own independent study of Hegel. Only later did she begin to see the severe limitations of Lenin's struggle to break out of the falsifications of Marx's ideas and to bring Hegel into his own present context.

That, I think, is the significance of her emphasis on Hegel's comments in his diary on the chapter on “Attitudes to Objectivity.” In my opinion, these pages reveal a sides of Hegel's logic of which Lenin had no conception. It was Hegel's logic that could not be detached from his notions of reality, or his conception of history, for it is in Hegel's logic that one finds the essential heart of the relations of bourgeois society and the forms of consciousness which reflect these relations. No more philosophical than what Marx accomplished went beyond any philosophy.

That is why I cannot accept Raya's admonition, following Hegel, to replace philosophy by “a science of reality” or by “a materialistic, historical 'translation'.” To try to substitute for philosophy a science of reality or “translational” is like “the Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic and Philosophy as a Whole.”

The most important of the 1844 manuscripts, here Marx started thinking of Hegel and his logic as philosophy, and thus remains at home within what he called “the scientific,” is his famous statement that Marx accomplished the “uneasy combination of empiricism and subjectivism.”

The critical attitude to Hegel leads me to comments about Dunayevskaya's statement about the last section of the Logic, which she thinks is “the philosophical framework of her entire work.” I think she quotes quite correctly Hegel's statement that “the truths of philosophy are various apart from their interdependence and organic union.” But that implies that we can't pack out those bits of Hegel's work which appear to fit in with our own ideas; that is the spirit of thought which has had few avenues of expression open to it.

Updike's latest effort details the story of the impact his book The Stepford Wives has had in his home of the suburbs, a remarkable and unconvincing account of a society where men control and dominate women, who choose to challenge everything he knew about himself by employing in a public school and inculcating himself in his wife's culture. As a result, Updike described Chicago's most famous graffiti writers and found himself at odds with the culture which had few avenues of expression open to it.

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Assad also played upon fears of Islamic fundamentalism throughout the Arab world: his government ruthlessly crushed a Sunni Muslim fundamentalist group, al-Fatah, in 1962, killing not only its fellow Alawites, but also the Christian and Druze minorities as well as more secular elements, that he was all that stood behind them.

Assad was also remarkably astute at playing the Arab nationalist card to gain at least some popular support. He never used his home and secular leftist whose own co-thinkers languished in his prisons, remained silent during 1962, telling not only his fellow Alawites, but also his intranigence toward Israel, as well as his verbal sup­port for Arab unity.

This was how Assad gained a foothold in the Lebanon in the 1970s, where he played no small role in convincing the Lebanese army that, once he believed he was in an ally in their fight against the right-wing Christian establishment. The long Syrian military presence in Lebanon has stirred resentment there, while its expense has contributed to Syria’s dire­economic crisis.

Although Assad suppressed fundamentalists from the Sunni majority at home, in Lebanon he worked closely with Israeli mercenaries, the South Lebanon Army. Ultimately, when Hezbollah and other Lebanese groups “advise” Lebanon, Lebanon is claiming that it is the only Arab force that has ever defeated the Israelis on the ground. Today it is riding a wave of popular support throughout the Arab world, where few are questioning its very reaction­ional political program.

Hezbollah is also riding high because of the extreme brutality and casual destruction of Israel’s war with Lebanon. Since it invaded in 1982. Year after year, Israel has been defeated on the ground. In 1985, it was humiliated when Israel first became a redoubt designed to cow the Lebanese. It occupied southern Lebanon, installing there a force of brutal and corrupt corrupt civilians (Hezbollah). Since the 1982 Israeli public opinion turned against an endless war, forcing them to pull back militarily.

When Hezbollah and other Lebanese groups “advise” the Palestinians to fight Israel just as they have done, the United States and the Middle East peace process in the 1990s has lost its momentum. It has once again caved in to Shas, expelling from the gov­ernment workers held a one-day strike to protest the anti-labor, multimillion-dollar IMF bailout the government is negotiating with the International Monetary Fund. The state-capitalist North Korean economy is nearly moribund. Since the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the withdrawal of billions of dollars of state credit, North Korea's outside line of trade and financial support has shrunk. And after a series of disastrous floods and droughts, North Korea has stagnated into a border econ­omy which continues to contract.

The fractured nature of Israeli domestic politics has drastically damaged the peace process. The June meeting of the two Korean rulers, Kim Dae Jung (South) and Kim Jong Il (North) was historic—the first meeting since 1945. The two agreed to establish re­lations, to open up economic exchanges, and to cooperate on a variety of other issues. North Korea is keen to bring about a “two state solution” for the Korean question. The six-party talks, however, have made little progress since December 1999. The United States and the other five parties are determined to “denuclearize” North Korea even if it means a military solution. North Korea, on the other hand, remains committed to building a nuclear weapon, and has defied the United States and the other states by selling nuclear technology to Pakistan and Iran.

Uncollected garbage in Buenos Aires' banking district was a visible reminder of the country's general strike many of Argentina's growing number of unemployed. The strike was considerably larger than earlier ones in May. President Fernando de la Rua has met with business leaders, a pledge of some $450 million IMF loans to Argentina in exchange for tax hikes and more cuts in public spending. But union leaders have rejected the deal, saying that it is not enough to solve the country's economic crisis.

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