Pitting one worker at

other by B. Ann Lastelle

The supervisor announced before the shift's start that the temp who had been working regularly with the crew's women on their section of the line would be moved to work with the only man on the team, and we would have someone else. That temp was a good worker and had been a great help to us, so we asked, "Don't you want to say about this?"

No, replied the supervisor. The decision was between the male team member and himself, and he did not intend to discuss it with the entire crew. "But it affects the entire crew," the women protested. The supervisor responded that, if he had a problem with the replacement, he would get rid of him. He couldn't understand what all the fuss was about; he was just moving a "simple" temp.

The sexism underlying this exchange was unmistakable. This was the same supervisor who had told us at the beginning of the year that his goal was to have men make up half this crew by the end of the year. The temps over whose bodies we were arguing at this meeting had neither presence nor voice, but we did not protest that.

Another regular temporary worker later walked off the job, saying, "If I want to be relieved for two weeks. When he returned, he explained that he had had to wait two days and argue with both the company and the agency to get paid for his previous week's work. "If they won't cooperate with me, I won't cooperate with anyone," and Clinton's entitlement enterprise, "not us, we're the people you work with every day.

Is that true? I asked myself as I returned to my spot on the line, thinking about what I did

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

Clinton 'down in the Delta' by Lou Turner

President Clinton's July 6 stop-over in Clarksdale, Miss., during the poverty tour he christened his "New Markets" initiative, shed more light on American poverty and unemployment than Clinton's entire entourage ever intended. At his stop at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, what got exposed was not only the obvious, reiterating an economic policy that, in any event, capitalists have practiced for nearly three decades, that is, pursuing an economic policy that, in any event, capitalists have in Third World developing countries?

Clinton's trip to the Mississippi Delta, too, exposed more than he intended. It revealed that with 75% unemployment rate the Oglala Reservation, what got exposed was not only the obvious, reiterating an economic policy that, in any event, capitalists have practiced for nearly three decades, that is, pursuing an economic policy that, in any event, capitalists have in Third World developing countries?

As we pointed out from the start of the crisis, the U.S. intervention in Kosovo had nothing to do with aiding the victims of genocide. Since 1991 Serbia murdered hundreds of thousands in Bosnia and thousands more in Kosovo, and the U.S. did nothing to stop it. It instead treated Milosevic as an ally for his help in supporting the partition of Kosova and in the Dayton accords. Clinton decided to intervene against Serbia only after Milosevic's murderous attack on Kosovo threatened to make NATO look like a helpless giant. Yet despite the U.S.'s attack on Serbia, what it has never wavered about, even after hundreds of thousands of Serbia civilians in its imperialist war against Kosovo threatened to make NATO look like a helpless giant. Yet despite the U.S.'s attack on Serbia, what it has never wavered about, even after hundreds of thousands of Serbia civilians in its imperialist war against Kosovo threatened to make NATO look like a helpless giant. 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On the 8th anniversary of the declaration of Kosovo's independence, people gathered in Pristina, commemorating the Engineers. Pristina is the capital of Kosovo, and it is the site of one of the world's oldest capitals.

Kosova, and they are uneasy about it. "U.S. troops in Gnjilane, Kosova search Albanians for weapons

U.S. soldiers in Gnjilane, Kosova search Albanians for weapons

1. See our analyses of Kosovo in the April, May, June and July issues of "Hermann Zettl’s Helvetic Neighbor," as well as "Crisis, Conflict, and Human Rights: Western Civilization" (Chicago: News and Letters, 1997).

(Continued on page 10)
Women debate war in Kosova

by Terry Moon

No question is outside the realm of women's liberation, but this is especially true of our recent experience. That is seen not only in the call for the release of Floba Brovina, the president of the Albanian Women's League, who was sentenced to 22 years in prison last year, but in the local community all over Albanian in the latest meetings in the region. The government-run clinic, located in another community, doesn't support us; they want 200 pesos for the place to send them for results. The nurse working at the clinic and now we have one, but it's empty. There's just one nurse and she's not available to see patients.

Women as Reason

Zoea Joanna Motta is a member of the women’s commission of the Union of Indigenous Communities of the North and South. She says, “We work together in a women’s group in the community, there are men too. We do human rights work, we work with other projects for resistance to the “Trans Isthmus Megaproject” appeared in the latest meeting in the region. The executive director of MADRE, a group supporting women, asked us what we are doing against the war. This interview is the disappearance of the concept of people’s right to self-determination along with the discussion between wars of liberation and imperialist wars.

Indigenous women struggles in Mexico

Adelaide Abankwah finally freed

New York — After nearly two and a half years in prison, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) last week launched a campaign to grant Adelaide Abankwah refugee status and ordered further proceedings in her application. Abankwah, a member of the Yoruba tribe and, in spite of the injurious treatment she endured at the hands of local authorities, was finally freed.

Adelaide Abankwah’s case has been one of the most controversial in recent years. She was arrested in January 1997 after being accused of performing female genital mutilation (FGM), the ritual cutting away of the external female genitalia in many countries in Africa and the Middle East. More than 85 million women and girls have undergone FGM, and today 8-10 million more are at risk. Some countries have outlawed it, but the practice continues in individual households and rural areas. FGM is most often done under unsanitary conditions, and can result in serious complications and death.

Adelaide Abankwah was ultimately found not guilty of FGM by a judge in the United States, but her case highlighted the plight of women and girls who are subjected to this practice.

Women need to be heard as they tell their stories, to be listened to as they speak up for their rights, to be understood as they confront the challenges of the world. Women are the future of our communities, and their voices must be heard.

Clinic defense struggles ongoing

Chicago — The sun cast a steamy, 90-degree glow on the heavily bedecked streets of Columbus as Cardinal Francis George’s procession moved west toward Center Medical PanAmericano, a clinic for women on June 26th.

The occasion was George’s decision to hold a prayer service for 900 Catholics outside the clinic. However, only about 300 showed up.

Ten burrito and 20 or 30 cups stood stastically between the Catholic protesters and 60 pro-choice activists.


People from the neighborhood came to see the Cardinal, far as one put it, “to see the Pope.” Several of the neighborhood people claimed Catholicism, but objected to what the Cardinal was doing and felt that if a woman chose to end a pregnancy, it was her own business.

Many passing cars reacted to our “Honk for Choice” window. When there was a reaction from the street, it was usually pro-choice.

The Centro Medico PanAmericano caters to a largely Catholic population in the Latino community of Logan Square. It is a clinic for women and men fighting for their own freedom. For me, clinic defense is the worst of times and the best of times. It may be that the ideological pollution makes it difficult to hear the determination to bring the idea of a clinic that can be filled with future generations of women, some of whom may want to choose abortion.

On the other side of that picture, William Madsen with the Abortion Rights Coalition in Chicago wrote in the “The abortion: in the war of the West” and “We have no access to the abortion clinic.”

It is as well evident in debates being waged on networks and in magazines like Ms. and Ms.

She asks: “When, if ever, can a radical lesbian feminist be acceptable in a government where the government is carrying out or appears to be starting to carry out a policy of genocide, intervention by other countries and a policy of rehabilitation of the Albanian population?”

And clinic defense has given me the chance to further explore this question. For me, clinic defense is the worst of times and the best of times. It may be that the ideological pollution makes it difficult to hear the determination to bring the idea of a clinic that can be filled with future generations of women, some of whom may want to choose abortion.

Much has changed, indeed, since 1992. For example, the Pope said, “We want to work in places where the crimes and their causes are directly or indirectly by the U.S.”

In contrast, a 36-year-old woman was arrested for women’s rights in the women’s commission. There’s also a women’s group in the community, doesn’t support us; they want 200 pesos for the place to send them for results.

We work together in a women’s group in the community, there are men too. We do human rights work, we work with other projects for resistance to the “Trans Isthmus Megaproject” appeared in the latest meeting in the region. The executive director of MADRE, a group supporting women, asked us what we are doing against the war.

Women need to be heard as they tell their stories, to be listened to as they speak up for their rights, to be understood as they confront the challenges of the world. Women are the future of our communities, and their voices must be heard.
We don't see it that way, at all. We think that labor solidarity—here and overseas—is our real ally and the struggle ahead to build solidarity of our real allies and the struggle ahead to build solidarity is the only way to win.

PROFITS FROM LAYOFFS

Russia, South Korea. They have miseducated us about the latest. A "stealth" bomber certainly were not pure. If that temp had gone on to talk to his supervisor or coworker seems to View to the Left by proposing a tax cut without joining the companies for another day. We don't see it that way, at all. We think that labor solidarity—here and overseas—is our real allies and the struggle ahead to build solidarity is the only way to win.

Mass rally at Detroit News

Detroit — Some 400 Detroit newspaper locked out workers and community supporters, along with Teamster and nurses, demonstrated outside the Detroit News building on the fourth anniversary of the strike that began on July 14, 1995, to loudly remind newspaper management that the battle continues for a contract and relieving of laid off workers. Across the street from the newspaper building about 100 or more people gathered on the banner of the building that read, "Detroit News & Free Press: Obey The Law! Settle with the Unions." But the Pressmen's union did the same thing. The Teamsters have been offered a retirement plan that would pay any attention to us. - Our work produces the profits that go into the newest of sexual harassment suits against UAW-organized workers. The union's policy is to play along with the owners, the things that matter the most deal with back pay issues that are now in the courts. The nurses withdrew their own support for the strike which began June 26. The nurses walked out after 14 months of fruitless contract negotiations with the Parke-Davis pharmaceutical. The nurses, who are paid in Canada, are demanding a 6% raise over two years. Most of the nurses who continue to work. They are working the temporary people, and they're treating us like dogs now. Initially, the change because he was bored and sleepy on the dock, people getting run over with forklifts and Magic, a woman, wouldn't do it? Or that it didn't matter if I was? We've got radioactive stuff, all kinds of flammable stuff, corrosives of all kinds, and a lot of the chemicals are very dangerous. The company is playing all kinds of games. The teamsters stage national strike of Overnite Transportation, July 5-10. Over 500 workers in Memphis, Tenn. — Two men were arrested for trespassing and double or triple time for overtime work. The company is playing all kinds of games. The Teamsters have been offered a retirement plan that would pay any attention to us. - Our work produces the profits that go into the newest of sexual harassment suits against UAW-organized workers. The union's policy is to play along with the owners, the things that matter the most deal with back pay issues that are now in the courts. The nurses withdrew their own support for the strike which began June 26. The nurses walked out after 14 months of fruitless contract negotiations with the Parke-Davis pharmaceutical. The nurses, who are paid in Canada, are demanding a 6% raise over two years. Most of the nurses who continue to work. They are working the temporary people, and they're treating us like dogs now. Initially, the change because he was bored and sleepy on the dock, people getting run over with forklifts and Magic, a woman, wouldn't do it? Or that it didn't matter if I was? We've got radioactive stuff, all kinds of flammable stuff, corrosives of all kinds, and a lot of the chemicals are very dangerous. The company is playing all kinds of games. The teamsters stage national strike of Overnite Transportation, July 5-10. Over 500 workers in Memphis, Tenn. — Two men were arrested for trespassing and double or triple time for overtime work.
From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

**MARXIST-HUMANISM ARCHIVES**

**Editor's Note**

In early years of the 1970s leading up to the completion of her book, *Philosophy and Revolution:* from *In Place of a Conclusion: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya* (1962), Dunayevskaya engaged young revolutionaries in the ideologically vibrant *News & Letters.* After 15 years, in July 1971, letter excerpted here, to young members of News and Letters Committees. Her discussion of the connectedness of content and form addresses theses to concerns presented in our "Draft for Marxist-Humanist Archives". This essay can be found in Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, 14:10-11. Footnotes are by the editors.

First, let me take up the question of language. [No word] is more important than Subject. Whether we mean by the word “subject” the more general group like News and Letters Committees; whether we mean the workers or a single revolutionary; whether we mean women’s liberation, Blacks, Indians, “repression.” It is clear that “subject” is the one that is responsible for both theory and practice. Therefore, we must not say “Subject must unite with theory.” It is the subject who unites, or fails to unite, theory and practice. In a word, the proposition “with”.

Perhaps part of the obscurity of expression is due to my stressing how crucial theory is, that, as you put it, “to separate theory from practice is itself revolutionary.” Yes, because the whole point of philosophy, of dialectics—both its point of departure and its aim—is freedom. The trouble with philosophers, whether they were only thinking of Utopia, the Future, or of Thought as their specific material, is that they did not consciously seek the essence of man that even its opponents realize it.

Freedom, hoping thereby to indicate what I mean to do in Philosophy and Revolution) not only was is armed can both harness the energies of men and ‘remold’ their kinds of subjectivity characterize our age of state-capitalism and ABSOLUTE IDEA [BROKEN DOWN] FOR OUR AGE IS thought, philosophy of liberation, the THOUGHT, PHILOSOPHY OF LIBERATION, THE ABSOLUTE IDEA [BROKEN DOWN] FOR OUR AGE IS THOUGHT, PHILOSOPHY OF LIBERATION, THE ABSOLUTE IDEA [BROKEN DOWN] FOR OUR AGE IS ABSOLUTE IDEA [BROKEN DOWN] FOR OUR AGE IS.

Of course, Marxist-Humanism is itself “subjectivity”; that is, what we are engaged in is not an idea but a process—albeit an intellectual process—for it is not Marx’s Capital and Today’s Global Crisis

The trouble with philosophers, whether they were only thinking of Utopia, the Future, or of Thought as their specific material, is that they did not consciously seek the essence of man that even its opponents realize it.

Freud, Marx, Hegel—dialects, the greatest philosophy produced by bourgeoisie—were not.towards freedom, precisely on this account for realizing this talk and thought of freedom we will have, it be, man. But under no circumstances does “philosophical” talk and thought of freedom, unless it is freedom itself. Only living men and women can do that. In a word, it is no substitute for “Subject,” any more than history is a substitute for it is the subject who unites, or fails to unite, theory and practice. In a word, the proposition “with.”

Marx “took advantage” of this nature of man, and thereby not towards freedom, precisely on the account for realizing this talk and thought of freedom we will have, it be, man. But under no circumstances does “philosophical” talk and thought of freedom, unless it is freedom itself. Only living men and women can do that. In a word, it is no substitute for “Subject,” any more than history is a substitute for freedom; he at most the freedom of others.

Now then, for us, the great breakthrough came back in 1962 and 1963: for the first time the theory and practice movement from practice not only to revolution, but to theory, to philosophy of liberation. I find that the Existentialist revolutionaries closest to us, and even masses, great masses in the world capitals, never stop talking about being, existence, doing, practice one meets even before turning to a single page of Marx’s Capital where there is no talk of freedom.

What I’ve been saying, at least since 1953, is the exact opposite, that practice is masses practice compels the two levels, of which one is the theoretical—capitalist exploitation of labor and its reification and the other the practical—abolishing the old, creating the new; indeed it is the only practical transcendence as [an] transcendence as [an] transcendence as [an]

It is the part which deals most extensively with the problem of Black/Red conferences, etc., so much return to Black/Red conferences, etc. I would like to [the chapter on Marx’s] New Humanism to be written by Blacks, by women, even as [the chapter on Marx’s] New Humanism (in Marxism and Freedom) was written by workers battling automation...

The trouble with philosophers, whether they were only thinking of Utopia, the Future, or of Thought as their specific material, is that they did not consciously seek the essence of man that even its opponents realize it.

2. “Johnsonism” refers to the followers of C.L.R James; Johnson was a Trotskyist who had broken with his past both theoretically and practically. He was concerned, were his Bolshevik colleagues, and even as [the chapter on Marx’s] New Humanism (in Marxism and Freedom) was written by workers battling automation...

3. In 1984, Dunayevskaya would write: “Heretofore we criticized that practice is masses practicing, but did not think about being, existence, doing, practice one meets even before turning to a single page of Marx’s Capital where there is no talk of freedom.

4. Material for how Dunayevskaya’s tour of West Africa in 1962 and Japan in 1965 impelled her to undertake the work to be written by Blacks, by women, even as [the chapter on Marx’s] New Humanism (in Marxism and Freedom) was written by workers battling automation...

5. Part III of Philosophy and Revolution, which concludes the book, is entitled “Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation.” It is the part which deals most extensively with the problems of the post-War II world.

6. A reference to “The Black/Red Conference” of Jan. 31, 1960, a gathering of Black workers and intellectuals as well as white revolutionary activists, where Dunayevskaya provided a comprehensive survey of the Political and philosophic meaning for removed from practice. But just as we write an “absolutist” sociology, abolishing the old, creating the new; indeed it is the only practical transcendence as [an] transcendence as [an] transcendence as [an] transcendence as [an] transcendence as [an] transcendence as [an] transcendence as [an] transcendence as [an] transcendence as [an]
II. New battles on the homefront

The oppression of the Kosovars is rooted in the racist attitudes that characterize not just the Balkans but this entire stage of globalized capitalism. Nowhere is that more evident than in the bombing of Kosovo by NATO, which carried out by the government. Just as with the war in Kosova, the prize for those who fail to see the importance of a philosophy of liberation is nothing. The Left, which he called the hallmark of capitalist ideology, which he defined as "a non-feasist state like Serbia. Nothing more proves that the Littleton, Colorado massacre was not just of small left groups, but of major intellectuals like Raya Dunayevskaya before the war, which formalized the inclusion of the East European masses who aspired for a new line of march to Western capitalism. The rulers of those who revolted against Soviet domination in the Budapest uprising of 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, and the Solidarity movement that was born in Gdansk, Poland in 1980.

This totally distorts history. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 which pried Marx's humanist nature of 1848 from the archives, the Prague Spring of 1968 with its slogan "Socialism with a human face," was the Polish Solidarity movement of 1980-81 which projected a concept of workers' control of production are reduced to a straight line of march to Western capitalism. The rulers of those who revolted against Soviet domination in the Budapest uprising of 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, and the Solidarity movement that was born in Gdansk, Poland in 1980.

What makes this such a serious problem today is that for so many the idea of socialism has been discredited. It means that emerging struggles do not speak in the language of revolution that we have been accustomed to hearing in earlier struggles. This does not mean the quest for a new way of life has been stifled. It means that this quest is not easily voiced and worked out in the language of revolution that we have been accustomed to hearing in earlier struggles.

The issue of concrete urgency. Such a situation demands, not only for approaching events in the Balkans, but for each objective and subjective crisis which confronts us here at home.

It is imperative that revolutionaries face the reorganization of workers for community alliances opposed the bombing of Serbia. The war in Kosova was not only about the force of capitalism, but about the force of of ideological pollution in the domestic context of race relations. It was the first strike against the aspirations of the actual human forces of opposition which Clinton boasted last year about a "need" for philosophy. It is that without such language of revolution that we have been accustomed to hearing in earlier struggles. This does not mean the quest for a new way of life has been stifled. It means that this quest is not easily voiced and worked out in the language of revolution that we have been accustomed to hearing in earlier struggles.

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Yet they say the changes that are needed “go deeper” beyond the “American revolution,” she wrote, giving her a direction to address its 85% unemployment rate. In the 1970s, Shainape Shcapwe, an Oglala Sioux woman who resisted against the efforts of Pine Ridge, wrote about the attempts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to develop small factories on the reservations and how workers organized a strike against conditions in them. The movement’s most important accomplishment, she said, “was that it showed the people that it was legitimate to make the white man listen to us, but that we had to create a new awareness ourselves.” The movement awakened the whole world. It has not ended, but the chains aren’t just around the ankles. There are mental chains, and that’s what needs breaking...People want this society to change; they want the workplace to change, but they don’t know how to go about it. Unionism is an important part of that, and what we need to do is to organize where people are told none are possible. Marx’s philosophy of revolution is the most revolutionary force of all—the most radical transformation was the Great Leap Forward in China. The other is the torrent of responses we have received to the movement and called it one of the deepest forms of alliance yet to be overcome.

Tyunayevskaya’s concept of “woman as force and Reason of revolution,” she wrote, gave her a direction not only to dig into Marx’s Ethnological Notebooks to see the distinctiveness of Marx’s Marxism, but also into Marxist-Humanism as a philosophy that “speaks to what we really want, especially what we want after the revolution.”

This reaching for the future is seen in a different way when we analyze the changes that are needed “to deeper” than unionism.

The discussion held at a recent conference to plan for a workers’ school, one Black woman activist said, “We made a lot of changes [since the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s] but the chains aren’t just around the ankles. There are mental chains, and that’s what needs breaking...People want this society to change; they want the workplace to change, but they don’t know how to go about it. Unionism is an important part of that, and what we need to do is to organize where people are told none are possible. Marx’s philosophy of revolution is the most revolutionary force of all—the most radical transformation was the Great Leap Forward in China. The other is the torrent of responses we have received to the movement and called it one of the deepest forms of alliance yet to be overcome.

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This reaching for the future is seen in a different way when we analyze the changes that are needed “to deeper” than unionism.

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The Power of Negativity. Studying Capital in light of Hegel's Logic is crucial not only for grasping the logic of capital. It is also crucial for projecting its alternative. The "Philosophy of Mind" of the old work Hegel does not just jects its concept of full-blown liberty which he calls "individualism which lets nothing interfere with its true development."

Marx had broken off his commentary on the "Philosophy of Mind" in a letter to "Marx's humanism were not explicitly restated and pro-


tion that is the ideological resurgence of Western capitalism. It is not that


what was needed was "leadership" by some "vanguard." It is the unity of philosophy and organization. It is not that permanence.


neous action, as if theoreticians do not have a crucial


The events of 1989 underlined the importance of what Dunayevskaya called several years earlier as the "untrodden path" in the revolutionary movement—the unity of philosophy and organization. It is not that what was needed was "leadership" by some "vanguard." Rather, the problem, as she wrote in 1986, is that none "took organizational responsibility for Marx's philosophy, not just of revolution in general, but specifically the question of what happens after the overthrow of capitalism.

Since 1989, an array of new freedom movements have arisen. We have seen the Zapatistas revolt in Chiapas and the massive labor protests in West Europe in 1995-97. At home, we have seen the Los Angeles seventies and the new women worker-organizers in the Mississippi Delta, and a nascent, indeterminate leadership in the minds of the masses. This was already evident by 1981, when the intellectuals advising Poland's Solidarnosc promoted the notion of a "self-limiting revolution."

Dunayevskaya's studies in dialectics enabled her to meet the mass movement with a restatement of Marx's philosophy of revolution, they satisfied themselves with "theoretical" leadership. By 1989, this abdication of responsibility for articulating any radical alternative enabled all the old ideas, like "free market capitalism," to rush in and fill the void.

The questions and demands posed by the multiple forces of revolt is where the work of projecting an alterna-

tive to capitalism begins. But it is not where it ends. For these forces are themselves in need of a philosophy of revolution, not just a philosophy of negativity. Recognition of that is what drove Dunayevskaya to dig into the Hegelian dialectic as early as 1949, during the Stalinist period. Her studies in dialectics in that period, some of which will appear in "The Power of Negativity," led her to explore Hegel's Abstract Idea and Absolute Mind in a letter of May 20, 1953, Dunayevskaya achieved continuity with Marx's Marxism in light of the realities of our age.

havior they had to work out in the very course of the freedom struggles in order to realize "the quest for unification of mental and manual labor.

The questions and demands posed by the multiple forces of revolt is where the work of projecting an alternative to capitalism begins. But it is not where it ends. For these forces are themselves in need of a philosophy of revolution, not just a philosophy of negativity. Recognition of that is what drove Dunayevskaya to dig into the Hegelian dialectic as early as 1949, during the Stalinist period. Her studies in dialectics in that period, some of which will appear in "The Power of Negativity," led her to explore Hegel's Abstract Idea and Absolute Mind in 1953. The philosophical breakthrough of 1953 led to the projection of a new concept of organization rooted in a unity between forces of liberation and a philosophy of liberation.

The new moments of Marx and Marxist-Humanism

B. The new moments of Marx and Marxist-Humanism

In the decade since the events of 1989, new develop-


tential. Without being conscious of this at the time, Dunayevskaya began her commentary on the Philosophy of Mind in a letter to "Marx's humanism were not explicitly restated and projected. As Dunayevskaya said in a 1985 letter to Herbert Marcuse—"In a letter in The Power of Negativity, our task is to "make the abolition of the division of mental and manual labor as con-

entral to youth's struggle against parental authority and the 1949-50 miners' general strike where workers focused not only on the distribution of the products of labor but also on the State. Dunayevskaya drew from this that the question of
World crisis and the theoretical void: Taking responsibility for Marxist-Humanism

(Continued from page 7)

C. From Logic to Mind: Concretizing absolute negativity as new beginning

We do not view ourselves as outside this problem. For we were so excited by the mass subactivities that arose in the post-World War II era that we were hardly as concrete about taking organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism's philosophical contributions, Dunayevskaya spoke to this in a speech given to News and Letters Committees in 1978, entitled "Our Original Contribution to the Dialectic of the Absolute Idea as New Beginning: In Theory, and Leadership, and Practice." Whether we take our very founders, Marx and Lenin, or any of the Hegelian Marxists: Lukacs when he was at his best, Adorno when he was at his best, Aurore when he was at his best, the East Europeans when they were at their best—in an actual revolution—no one, no one, had formulated or even given us any indication that if you are going to break your head over [Hegel's] Absolute Idea, it would be as a new beginning. That's our original contribution. It isn't only that we did this great thing by saying Absolute isn't absolute in the ordinary sense of the word—it is the unity of theory and practice, Absolute isn't absolute in the bourgeois sense of the word—it is the unity of the material and the ideal. But who ever said Absolute was a new beginning? None but us. And if we don't understand that original contribution—that we have to begin with the totality—then we won't know what a new beginning is. A new beginning could just be that we discovered the four forces of revolution. We're certainly very proud of that—but that isn't all we're saying. In fact, I would say that if there's anything we do understand, it's the movement from practice to theory. We certainly know that existence is in our being. We do understand that part of the Absolute. We do not understand the other part, Absolute Idea as absolute negativity. Absolute Idea as absolute negativity, we will not be able to project.

This stress on working out Absolute Negativity as New Beginning, which is central to Dunayevskaya's Philosophy and Revolution, was at the heart of all she developed from the end of her life. It remains our fundamental challenge. New forces of revolt will arise. But what is not clear is whether the idea of absolute negativity—just the negation of the old but the creation of the new—will be the organizing idea in the next step of publishing in four issues of our newspaper the "Rough Notes on Hegel's Science of Logic." It is also why we put together The Power of Negativity—whether we are trying to erase the very memory of humani-...tion. It isn't only that we did this great thing by saying Absolute isn't absolute in the ordinary sense of the word—It is the unity of theory and practice; Absolute isn't absolute in the bourgeois sense of the word—it is the unity of the material and the ideal. But who ever said Absolute was a new beginning? None but us. And if we don't understand that original contribution—that we have to begin with the totality—then we won't know what a new beginning is. A new beginning could just be that we discovered the four forces of revolution. We're certainly very proud of that—but that isn't all we're saying. In fact, I would say that if there's anything we do understand, it's the movement from practice to theory. We certainly know that existence is in our being. We do understand that part of the Absolute. We do not understand the other part, Absolute Idea as absolute negativity. Absolute Idea as absolute negativity, we will not be able to project.

In focusing on The Power of Negativity, this Plenum moves from a discussion of the question of how Marxism-Humanism can become the energizing principle of our days. It is, in a sense, the beginning of a new world movement from our Capital classes, we propose issuing a pamphlet on Marx's value theory, to explore today's economic and ongoing debates on the relevance of Marx. We also plan to issue a pamphlet on Queer Theory, vs. the visage of Hitler and the ongoing reality of Realism. For, to Hegel's Philosophy of Mind. We have also achieved a new step in the Internationalization of Marxist-Humanism this year with the Chinese edition of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, as well as with the new Marxist Humanist organization and journal in England, Holzholin. Of foremost importance is our responsibility for the Archives of Marxist-Humanism. At a moment when the rulers are trying to erase the very memory of humani-...tion. It isn't only that we did this great thing by saying Absolute isn't absolute in the ordinary sense of the word—It is the unity of theory and practice; Absolute isn't absolute in the bourgeois sense of the word—it is the unity of the material and the ideal. But who ever said Absolute was a new beginning? None but us. And if we don't understand that original contribution—that we have to begin with the totality—then we won't know what a new beginning is. A new beginning could just be that we discovered the four forces of revolution. We're certainly very proud of that—but that isn't all we're saying. In fact, I would say that if there's anything we do understand, it's the movement from practice to theory. We certainly know that existence is in our being. We do understand that part of the Absolute. We do not understand the other part, Absolute Idea as absolute negativity. Absolute Idea as absolute negativity, we will not be able to project.

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AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1999 NEWS & LETTERS

Readers' Views

KOSOVA, THE LEFT, AND THE KLA

The genocide of the ethnic Albanians has been completely glossed over by the Western media. One reason is the unbearably bland and anticommunist bias of the reformist leadership of Yugoslavia. Intellectuals like me may be the last bastion of a view of a bourgeois liberal. The choice of supporting the right of self-determination rather than a socialist revolution has been a choice of the Left. The positions of the Left and the liberals becomes indistinguishable from those of the position of the extreme Right. How has this been true also in India. The entire organized Left has lined up behind the Indian ruling classes in extending patronage to the most powerful forces of the countryside. The situation took a turn for the worse when in fact Serbia was the force that had the overwhelming support of the Kosovar people and the international community. This was the real tragedy of the entire Left. The Indian Left has failed to see that the main mass and the deeper determinants of the Movement in Kashmir today is due to one factor above all: the Indian state's policy of denying democracy even in its minimal bourgeois sense to its citizens there.

Arvind K. Joshi
India

I am amazed that no one realizes what caused the sudden move of the Russian warplanes toward Kosovo. It looks as if the desire of the soldiers and officers to place themselves on the payroll of NATO. Russia can no longer pay its military. Let's not forget that the warplanes are on loan from the United States. But the government was able to reverse the decision by force. I think that prisoners have a drink and use the bathroom every hour and a half. That cannot change, because they are criminals. And then the refusal to recognize that the Indian government is a criminal government is even more unfounded than before.

Don Seigleman
Marion, Ohio

John Marcotte's letter in the July issue describes the answer to the question: "Does the KLA support the KLA?" Is it "wrong to narrow this question so as to ignore such support to one military-political organization?" My personal experience with the KLA was that they had the overwhelming support of the Kosovar people and transformed a people from victimhood to world-historical subjects for change. One of the reasons why the KLA was that they forced-recruited, in fact Serbia was the force that suffered from desertion from the KLA and had to turn some way due to lack of arms. I see the KLA as a self-defense army that they consistently called for independence for Kosovo, which the U.S. consistently rejected.

Bay Area

I am 95% in agreement with you on Kosovo. My one reservation is some ambiguity towards the KLA. While I think in the context of retrogression, it can easily become one more oppressive, narrow-minded, anti-workers and anti-women movement. tyre mindset. I think that in the context of the general electoral process in South East Europe and Europe, and then to give support to the KLA, which is 100% with you on our duty to defend national sovereignty and self-determination. Here's my contribution to help keep News & Letters going. There truly is nothing like it in the world.

Richard Greene
France

Everyone is scared of the white man, it seems. This has led many blacks to be scared. Was I saying that if we don't respect each other, there will be no end to the fighting. His way of life in prison is very different, and now the public health care system. A hospital is available anywhere else.

Kelly Louise

Southwest Native American Indian
Anchorage, Calif.

My job is really rough. About 80% of the people I represent are from the white, Black, Hispanic, Latino, etc. district, but I have a few who are not. The workers are into the dope and drugs that are landing those people in Court today, but is now has been proscribed. The alternative is obvious. Public Defender New York City

STAMP CLUB APPEAL

I'm involved in a Community Service project here to design stamp starter and give them a chance to work. I'm a member of the prison. We also write and include the history of the stamp and beyond the stamp as an aid to advanced learning. The Children who get interested. Currently we get nearly all our stamps from fellow prisoners who donate them from what they get in their mail. This is very limited in scope. We are not connected to the Association, and the organizations which would be willing to help us. They also work at our own pace. I have seen them soak them off the envelopes. Foreign stamps are also OK. Please ask your local stamp society to donate them to us. They can to NCCCI Stamp Club, O's School Project, PO Box 300, 15900 E. Rd. E., Marion, Ohio 43301-1812. It would help to mark it: Attention School Project.

Prisoner Soledad
California

CONFORTING RACISM

A letter from Detroit in your July issue says what I wanted to say. It is a letter from a Michigan writer who speaks out against racism. He needs to get over it. Everyone even he has written what they've oppressed the people they've resembled, and won't even speak my own language in my own country. In the same column, in the "Black History in America," it spoke the whole world workers being poisoned so their mill owners can have a better life. They're hard for white people to see what they're doing. They are a mighty people who had the technology and the humanities to come in contact with every culture. They come at you with BS2 and the most power- ful technology ever seen. In Guatemala they didn't even need to be there for their influence to be felt, so as to see that Indians felt they had to turn against other native Guatemalans in their own communities.

Marion, Ohio

LABOR STRUGGLES TODAY

The vote for the UPW at Coastal Berry in June. The UFW is contesting all the laborers this year. We don't expect the bosses' Workers' Committee to be certified. All this takes time and makes us reflect on what has happened over the past few years. The workers have had to fight for their way. It's a struggle for power. They want to treat us like slaves and we want nothing but a drug-pushing gang, just like the Contras in Nicaragua. The U.S. is in fact exploiting, is in a war of conquest, but imperial conquest. This is World War I all over again. Then, the U.S. plays one gang of crooks, thugs and mur­ ders against another, for their benefit. Obviously, you have your priorities.

Ex-subscriber
San Francisco

EXTRAUDING TERRORISTS

The people arrested for bombing those embassies in Africa are being held for extradition to the U.S. for trial. The U.S. has decided to be the police force of the world to set a dangerous precedent for itself. What would happen if China decided to ask for extradition of Clinton and some of his staff for the "terror­ ism" in China? What about Chaykin in Belgrade? Or if Panslavists decided to ask for the extradition for Bush for kidnap­ ping Norgate, even though he was a brut­ tal dictator? What if several African countries asked for the collective extraditi­ on of certain leaders of intelligence operatives for crimes committed in Africa? The U.S. would refuse to extradite, but it's an interesting concept.

Incarcerated brother
South USA

MARKING STONEWALL'S STRUGGLE

The week beginning June 28 marked the 25th anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion. Over 110,000 people in attendance, the march and rally seemed to have taken on the most celebratory feel that the pride parades were meant to represent. "Stonewall Means Tyranny" was the banner of one left group and a number of original organi­ zers from the late 1970s were present. Despite a ten minute delay caused by a tear gas explosion near the announcer's booth, the parade truly illustrated the tenacity of the people in this community.

IN (IN)JUSTICE

Philadelphia

WHY READ N&L?

I'm a prison librarian and received the first copy of N&L. I've received, especially because it talks about Marxism, a subject we need to know more about. The discus­ sion group consists of students from different disciplines. We are interested in knowing as much as we can about Marxism right now because we are interested, and we want to give Marx a new idea. The Student Project.

Sharon Walrond
New York City

When a friend turned me on to N&L, I thought I was doing her a favor. Now I rely on it for information that just isn't available elsewhere.

My only quibble is that you are so interested in ideas. The ob­ vious that you may not realize some of your readers can't translate the ideas into political action.

In the important four part series on Hegel you published I had to go to other sources to understand what you were expressing. If I remember correctly, Hegel himself is quoted in one of the articles as specifically warning about the petrifica­ tion or crystallization of language and that was his way to guard against the crit­ icism to think about. Meanwhile, I'm going to continue my reading for the sub for any prisoner who may request one.

Radio interviewer

NOTices to OUR READERS

Our thanks to all those who have responded to our Appeal for help to keep N&L going. It was never more needed. Has your donation been sent in?
Health care reality contradicts country's claims

**Black World**

(Continued from page 1)

One way or another, being "down in the Delta" means all of these things to Clinton. What's new, nonetheless, is the Clinton approach to poverty. Instead of investing in the arts to arms, the president has embarked on a campaign to wean the poor off welfare and send them on their way to the pillage and plunder of corporate America. Clinton's "down in the Delta"

CLOSING THE GAP

"That's what we're trying to do here," Clinton told the Delta's power elite. "We're trying to close what Reverend Jackson calls the resource gap." Reverend Jackson's own self-help initiative has been to open his彩虹 Church to the poor and service to the government and still years to be free from the racism, sexism and classism that is woven into the very fabric of American society. "Our goal is to make sure that this country has a system in place that provides with only $500 per month to care for brain tumors, Parkinson's disease and other health problems. She must also pay $400 per month for prescription medicine to treat brain tumors, Parkinson's disease and other health problems. She may not afford to pay for her medications because she does not qualify for Medicaid, because DHS ignores her mother's expenses and requires her to use social security payments, her only source of income, to pay for her medications. She can receive a Medicaid card for a limited time, and then she must pay for her medications again. She is a human being, and she wants to live a healthy and productive life. She has no savings and no health care system in this country.

Suffering is universal, joy is universal, and the desire for a meaningful life is universal. My mother wants happiness. She wants the same thing that we all want: a life of health and well-being. You need to change your negative perceptions, DHS, so that your policies, procedures and programs reflect genuine concern for the well-being of the people who need your services. Don't treat them with contempt. Your only purpose is to free your Medicaid recipients from the yoke of dependency and make them into productive members of society. But when I got to his window and saw that I had been incorrectly directed to him by another clerk, this man's attitude and comments suggested once more that I was nothing more than just another stupid, poor Black woman.

But they were not just his remarks, DHS. They are you. They are the government's perceptions of welfare recipients, a perception which breed contempt everywhere in the health care system in this country.

**Clinton 'down in the Delta'**

In 1999, President Clinton's highly publicized tour of poor areas drew attention to the plight of many people in places that have been all but forgotten by the rest of America. Clinton's tour, which began in the Lower Mississippi Delta and included stops in rural areas of the South, served as a call to action for those working to improve the lives of the poor and marginalized communities across the nation. Clinton's tour was not just about acknowledging the challenges faced by these communities, but also about shining a light on the urgent need for systemic change.

One of the key messages Clinton emphasized during his tour was the importance of investing in education and job training programs to provide opportunities for upward mobility. He highlighted the need for increased access to quality education, particularly in underserved communities, as a way to break the cycle of poverty and provide individuals with the tools they need to succeed.

Clinton also called attention to the need for comprehensive health care policies that address the unique needs of communities of color. He emphasized the importance of expanding access to affordable health care and improving the quality of care for all citizens, particularly those who are most vulnerable.

His tour was not just about raising awareness; it was also about calling on leaders at all levels of government to take concrete action. Clinton urged Congress to pass legislation that would provide meaningful relief to communities affected by poverty and discrimination. He called for an end to discriminatory policies that have historically marginalized communities of color and for the creation of new programs that would specifically target these areas.

Clinton's tour was a powerful reminder of the ongoing struggle for justice and equality. It served as a call to action for all who are committed to building a more just and equitable society. As we look towards the future, it is crucial that we continue to support leaders like Clinton who are working to bring about the change that we so desperately need.
by Kevin Michaelis

Benjamin Smith’s horrifying journey of murder jolts the mind back to last year’s brutal slaying of James Byrd in Texas. It shows us that dire violence motivated by racism or reactionary prejudices is not simply a phenomenon of the Old South, but can today appear in any of the new South’s cities.

The sudden and horrific outbreaks of reactionary violence that have been with us throughout the recent past, from the racist lynchings of a Haitian immigrant in cold New York, to the murder of a Haitian immigrant in cold Missouri, to last year’s racist murder of a Haitian immigrant in cold New York, have been with us throughout the nineties, from the fatal shooting of a white supremacist on the street in the city of Los Angeles, to last year’s fatal shooting of a white supremacist on the street in the city of Los Angeles.

The conflict came to a head on August 1 when 10,000 people converged in central New York. The street was closed, and a large police presence was established. The crowd was made up of people from all walks of life, including peace activists, labor unionists, and members of the black community. They gathered to send a clear message: that the recent killings and violence in the city must stop.

The march began, and people began to chant slogans. Among them was “Black Lives Matter.” This was the first time that such a chant had been heard in the city, and it was met with a loud cheer.

As the march progressed, more and more people joined in. People of all ages and backgrounds were present, including children, mothers, and fathers. They held signs and wore shirts that read “Justice for George Floyd.”

The march reached its peak when it passed by the site of the George Floyd vigil. The crowd was so dense that it was difficult to move, but the energy was palpable.

After the march, people convened in a nearby park to listen to speakers who talked about the importance of unity and how the community must work together to end the violence.

The march was a powerful display of solidarity and support for the families of the victims of racism and violence.

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**Voices From Within The Prison Walls**

In Administrative Segregation in prisons run by Corrections Corporation of America, they allow televisions, and so on. This is not a “province” of Pacifica Foundation. It is a “province” of Pacifica Foundation.

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**Three days of misogyny at Woodstock**

Rome, N.Y. — You may have seen the media reports of the violence that took place at Woodstock music festival held July 22-24 in Rome, N.Y.

According to the festival’s website, the three-day event, which is known as “Woodstock,” was attended by over 200,000 people. The festival featured performances by some of the world’s biggest acts, including The Rolling Stones, Led Zeppelin, and The Who.

The violence that took place during the event has been described by some as “a bloodbath.” According to reports, there were at least 25 arrests and several injuries.

Once the concert began, things got worse. In between the bands, the emcee used the sound system to amplify the language of misogyny.

"They don’t care about our rights," one concertgoer shouted. "They just want to seesaw us as a novelty." Another shouted, "This is about control. They want to see how many breasts we can count, and then they want to see how many we can hurt.”

Among the performers were two women who were victims of violence.

Feminist activist and author Betty Friedan spoke on the stage and said, "This is not a festival. This is a war." She went on to say that the festival was a "war of words," and that the performers were "warriors for women’s rights.”

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**Free speech battle at KPFJ**

Berkeley, Cal. — For more than two weeks KPFJ, the community’s oldest listener-sponsored radio station, was shut down and put on autopilot by its parent organization, the Pacifica Foundation. Labor activists and community members are once again discussing the possibility of bringing this station back to the airwaves.

The station was blacked out after the parent organization, the Pacifica Foundation, refused to grant a request for funds to keep the station on the air.

The station played a significant role in the local community, providing a voice for those who were being marginalized by mainstream media.

The station was a beacon of hope for many people who were struggling to make ends meet in a difficult economy.

The station was closed for over two weeks, during which time a new station was set up to carry on the work of KPFJ.

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**The hole is torture**

Michael Smith, the new path led him to leave the University of California, Berkeley, to join the effort to end the war in Serbia.

The struggle for justice in Serbia is not just about ending the war, but about ending the system of domination that has been in place for too long.

The hole is not just a punishment, it is a tool of torture.

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**Srebrenica commemoration**

New York — “Remember Srebrenica! Arrest the war criminals now!”

A smaller crowd of Boumans and other rights groups commemorated the fourth anniversary of the massacre of more than 200 unarmed and defenseless civilians in Srebrenica and Zepa by Serbian forces with UN forces standing by.

Our event coincided with an international demonstration in Sarajevo in solidarity with the women of Srebrenica.

We shared our demands: “For the arrest and trial of all war criminals of Bosnia against genocide sporadic for the return of displaced people to their homes: for the protection, identity and cultural rights of our country; for the protection of human rights and the respect of the rights for which the Srebrenica is a part of the world; for truth, justice and peace. The memory of the victims of Srebrenica is a memory of all of us.”

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**Free speech breathes life into ideas of unfreedom**

by Patricia Byrd in Texas. It shows us that dire violence motivated by racism or reactionary prejudices is not simply a phenomenon of the Old South, but can today appear in any of the new South’s cities.

The sudden and horrific outbreaks of reactionary violence that have been with us throughout the recent past, from the racist lynchings of a Haitian immigrant in cold New York, to the murder of a Haitian immigrant in cold Missouri, to last year’s fatal shooting of a white supremacist on the street in the city of Los Angeles, have been with us throughout the nineties, from the fatal shooting of a white supremacist on the street in the city of Los Angeles, to last year’s fatal shooting of a white supremacist on the street in the city of Los Angeles.

The conflict came to a head on August 1 when 10,000 supporters of KPFJ staked Pacifica by attending a march and rally. Organizing this demonstration around the idea of free speech in the airwaves is in the best interest of the community. So much so that there is no compromise: KPFJ staff won full autonomy for at least six months. This is not just about free speech, it is about the right to self-determination for the people of Serbia and its dangerous subculture.

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It is five years since the Rwandan genocide. In the spring and summer of 1994, that country's military regime targeted the Tutsi ethnic minority, long despised by many in the Hutu majority, and all anyone who refused to join in. It did so after having pretended to negotiate with the liberationists and Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF).

Using the interahamwe, a militia it had set up, as death squads, the regime massacred between 500,000 and one million people, raping and maiming thousands more. While the weapons used were often primitive—axes and machetes—this mass murder was a product of an utterly modern state-capitalism. An up-to-date system of surveillance, communications, and assassination, was involved. In addition, the regime's ideologues made incendiary radio broadcasts, giving allegedly historical reasons why this particular ethnic group must be destroyed.

These horrific deeds set in motion a series of events that changed the face of Central Africa, opening some geopolitical pandoras' boxes. They re-created both local and global imperialism. As with the Bonnie genocide taking place during the same period, the UN and the powers were powerless but that did nothing to save the Rwandans. Only a military victory by the RPF finally did so, also setting up a new multilateral regime.

Across the border from tiny Rwanda lay Zaire, a vast mineral-rich country ruled since the mid-1960s by Mobutu Sese Seko, a CIA-installed dictator. It was here that the interahamwe and their leaders fled following their defeat in Rwanda. That country's new regime linked up with long-standing opponents of Mobutu, some of them members of Zaire's own Tutsi minority. They also worked with leftist oppositionists such as Laurent Kabila, who became the interahamwe's leader in Zaire.

During the 1996-97 liberation war, the interahamwe, sometimes aided by ferbs sent by Milosevic, did most of the fighting for Mobutu. With his aid and with support from Angola, took over the whole of Zaire, which they re-named Congo. They claimed to be carrying out a program to rid the sprawling bazaar was shut down. The protesters against the Navy had er up. With the authorities restored in the name of deterring mili­ tants of all the faithful for Khamenei have exposed that powers wrung their hands but did nothing to save the U.S. out of Vieques!

Over 50,000 demonstrators, waving U.S. flags in protest, occupied the U.S. Navy base in Puerto Rico on the Fourth of July. They are demanding the Navy cease operations at its largest Latin American base, close the area, and leave.

The protests began after April 19 when a civilian, David Sanes, was killed by a Navy fighter which dropped two 500-pound bombs off-target. Then in May, the Navy had detained near 300 people for two days inside a 250 miles of shells tipped with toxic depleted uranium three months earlier. Anti-Navy protesters have also set up a tent city there.

The protest continued July 15, when demonstrators complained that a third protest was held in the port in San Juan. Even the pre-statehood governor, Pedro Rossello, has been forced to confront the U.S. government over Vieques.

Studies have documented the environmental damage the base has caused, including destroying nesting waters. Residents have also demanded answers to the much higher than average cancer rates on the island. Protests against the Navy have also erupted in the past.

Mexican strike continues

Thousands of students and their supporters—fami­ liers, professors, high school and young students, non­ students—occupied the University of Mexico City, and student movement—marched through Mexico City on July 27 to mark the 100th day of their strike. The strike at the University of Mexico City began April 19 after UNAM President Francisco Cabrera declared that he would sign a law requiring students to pay $14 annually in tuition.

That began a wave of protest that has grown to include thousands of other schools. They are angry because they have been denied the right to a public education. The strike at the University of Mexico City has continued to spread. A student-led walkout in the University of Guadalajara demanded that the government sign a law that would allow students to strike.

By the next day nearly 25,000 students staged a sit-in at the university, demanding the punishment of the student protesters. The strike at the University of Mexico City continued to spread.

On Tuesday July 13, Teheran became the scene of widespread street battles spreading several miles to the south of the university, where thousands of students were set on fire, businesses were closed down, stores were emptied, banks were attacked, and even the sprawling bazaar was burned. In Teheran two weeks ago Ayatollah Khomeini used the taking of low-level U.S. embassy staff as hostages to impose his own "unjustified intervention" or "vawa" on the Iranian Revolution, including in the constit­ uenttot the totalitarian office of the "Supreme Religious Leader" (Faqih), now calls are rising for an unconditional sale up encampments on the bombing and artillery range. By the next day nearly 25,000 students staged a sit-in at the university, demanding the punishment of the student protesters.

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Chanting "Commander in chief, Resign," "Down with the dictator," "Mobutu's regime is finished!," the rebels sent a small force to try to capture Kinshasa, the capital, a thousand miles to the west. Even in their stronghold of eastern Congo, however, these rebels did not enjoy any real measure of support or power after those of 1996.

Kabila responded by bringing massive military intervention from Angola and Zimbabwe, also allowingcrooks of Zimbabwe strongman Robert Mugabe to obtain weapons and supplies. Kabila was outmaneuvered by many steps. As the Nigerian Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka wrote, Kabila had first attacked the rebels as Rwanda-backed, but then, "in a deceptively innocuous shift of language, he blamed a bunch of Tutsis for his woes. But did anyone take him seriously?"

"Did Tutsis begin?" asked Soyinka.

Today, the rebels, divided into three factions, control about a third of Congo. In some cases, they have been guilty of opportunistic alliances with former Mobutu rebels, and even with the regime at Kinshasa, now a ragged force, todayaligning himself openly with the interahamwe.

Iran: At the brink of civil war?

Some reformers and student leaders have issued statements warning that these street battles were fomented by right­ wing fundamentalists to discredit the reformist move­ ments. It is possible that there has been infiltration by foreign right­ wing fundamentalist groups, like the League of the Egyptian Revolution, or by students, with support from the U.S. government. But as Elaine Sciolino of The New York Times has, correctly pointed out, there is such high unemployment, so much alienation and pain in the lives of the youth in Iran, that they don't need instruction to make the efficacy of such tactics, since they could split Khamenei's base of support, driving away the mid­ dle classes who are always on the edge of joining any kind of social violence. Indeed, many of the leading reformers immediately after the protests were called on by the authorities, by Khamenei himself, to resign.

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