Divide and conquer

by Htu Lin

All Kaiser hospital workers, including myself, just attended an all day orientation promoting the labor-management partnership to help them compete against the for-profit slicing and dicing of workers. The precondition for this is that Kaiser remains a financially successful organization, which has meant drastic staff reductions and patient care cutbacks over the last five years.

All day long they emphasized the importance of all union workers joining forces with management in this partnership to help them compete against the profit sharks in the marketplace. In other words, nothing in the partnership challenges the logic of finance capital's pandemic logic of destruction that has spread over the last decade. Nothing in the partnership addresses the daily stress over cutbacks in available beds, lack of adequately trained nurses, and lack of supplies and equipment.

It was ironic that they showed a labor history video about the fight against Taylorism. Workers fought Taylorism's job redesign, speed-up as well as de-skilling of jobs, job fragmentation and time study. That is the precise pathology of the new functions, which fragmented the nursing. The new functions, however, created new union positions for a cooperative union.

PARTNERSHIP RESCUES BUREAUCRATS

Our orientation was full of the rhetoric that "quality care" is the main goal of the partnership. We workers remember that Kaiser CEO David Lawrence initially ignored AFL-CIO President John Sweeney's offer of a cooperative union. Our orientation was full of the rhetoric that "quality care" is the main goal of the partnership. We workers remember that Kaiser CEO David Lawrence initially ignored AFL-CIO President John Sweeney's offer of a cooperative union.

(Continued on page 3)

Hegel and Black history

by John Alan

After giving a talk recently on "Hegel, Black History and the Idea of Freedom" in the San Francisco Bay Area, a new article on this subject was brought to my attention: "Hegel and Haiti" (Critical Inquiry, Summer 2000) by Paul Reeder. My main concern here is how Hegel's master/slave relationship, as the starting point for his dialectic of self-consciousness and freedom in his Phenomenology of Spirit, has been central to Black liberation theorists from W.E.B. DuBois to Frantz Fanon.

Not only did Hegel impact Black liberation theorists but, as Buck-Morrs shows, there is compelling evidence, ignored in the world of Hegel scholarship, that the Black masses in the Haitian Revolution of 1803 were the source for Hegel's famous narrative on the master/slave relation in the Phenomenology.

Buck-Morrs shows that though the major figures of the European Enlightenment proclaimed a new concept of liberty as the opposite of slavery, they were nearly as blind to the horrors of actually existing slavery which was the foundation for the accumulation of wealth in the new world trading system. She writes: "A glaring contradiction between thought and practice marked the period of transformation of global capitalism from its mercantile to its protoindustrial form" (p. 521).

"The Haitian Revolution," she shows, "was the crucial template for Hegel's thinking on slavery and the (Continued on page 3)

Sharon's election, Bush's bombs deepen crisis in Middle East

by Kevin A. Barry

Two events in February—the election of war criminal Ariel Sharon as Prime Minister of Israel and U.S. President George W. Bush's massive bombing of Iraq, his first big foreign policy action—both showed a restructuring of international relations toward the Arab world not seen since the early 1960s, when Israel's defeat in the Six Day War in which it invaded Lebanon and the U.S. occupation of the Sinai Peninsula (which was largely a U.S. occupation) mercilessly accelerated its capital, violation of Lebanon's right to self-determination and the foundation of the Arab League. It was ironic that they showed a labor history video about the fight against Taylorism. Workers fought Taylorism's job redesign, speed-up as well as de-skilling of jobs, job fragmentation and time study. That is the precise pathology of the new functions, which fragmented the nursing. The new functions, however, created new union positions for a cooperative union.

(Continued on page 8)

Demand freedom for Khalfani X. Khalidun

Chicago—A turning point in the struggle to free revolutionary thinker and prisoner Khalfani X. Khal­

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ON THE INSIDE
FROM THE MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES—
The Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

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International Women's Day as living history
by Terry Moon

Once you know about the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire of 1911, you can understand the way some young, female garment workers, some as young as ten, Russian, Jewish and Italian immigrants, longed for a change in their working conditions in the U.S. since the 1980s; because a Chicago fire had locked fire doors smothered by smoke, in a poultry processing plant in Hamlet, N.C. In 20 years, over 20,000 U.S. workers have been killed on the job. As the New York Times noted, the sweatshop situation is so bad that in 1993; because 240 died at 107. These events are more than an occasion to speak out at rallies: Nobody cares.

Women's Day is more than an occasion to remember the Triangle workers, because the locked doors killed or injured over forty-six people in a half an hour. It should never have happened. The executors with a key could have opened the door. But they thought they were better than the working people. It's not fair because material, money, is more important than things... anything! But the public is not informed, only the desperate lives of all those things... anything!

Listen to what another Rose, Rose Schneiderman, a worker at the garment workers union, said in 1911 on Women's Industrial Union meeting for the Triangle girls: "This very week marks the untimely death of one of my sister workers. Every year thousands of us are loosed. The life of men and women is so cheap and property is so sacred! There are so many of us for one job, it matters little if 140-old are burned to death. Have we tried you citizens? We are trying you now and you have a couple of dollars for the sorrowing mothers and brothers and sisters of the victims—a charity gift. But while every time the workers come out in the only way they know to protest against conditions which are unworkable, the remonstrance is treated with guffaws and with threats to stop press down heavily upon us...

I can't talk fellowship to you who are gathered here. To each blood of men and women I know from experience: it is up to the working people to save themselves. And the only way is through a strong working-class movement.

She was right then, and she's right now.

The Triangle Shirtwaist fire is inextricably linked to the women's movement, to propose in 1910 that an International Women's Day be established. It was first observed by women in New York City the sweatshop situation is so bad that

Women as Reason
by Mary Jo Grey

More than 800 Mexican workers, mainly rural women, sat at a Nike factory in Vietnam, protesting the firing of 20 workers who had complained about low wages, rotten cafeteria food, and the company's failure to pay a legal minimum wage, protest organized by Mexican labor law. The factory, Kukdong International, makes apparel for major American universities.

--Information from Labor Notes

Lenient sentences for rape are the target of outraged women and human rights groups in Zambia. In December, a military officer was fined S55 or nine months in prison for raping a 19-year-old woman after lacing her drink with alcohol. Women's groups are calling on the South African government to enact a ten-year-old girl who subsequently died of a sexually transmitted disease.

The 23,000 member international women's human rights organization MADRE, in January, demanded the closing of the School of the Americas. They condemned the U.S.-run and funded combat training school which, since 1946, has taught Latin American and U.S. soldiers the "art" of execution and torture (including the rape and disembowelment of women). Closed in 1999 due to opposition, it quickly reopened as the Western Institute for Security Cooperation.

Young women workers in 12 Chinese factories producing Disney products for the holiday season were violently attacked by police for three days, the workers said. "Without safety conditions, food and crowded dormitories—up to 24 workers to a dorm room.

Aramark's sexist past
by Genora Dollinger

Detroit—Readers may not know that News & Letters has supported women food service workers in Detroit for 31 years. Aramark was ARA (Automatic Retailers Association) in 1970, when women vending-machine service workers began a struggle to work "men's" jobs and to eliminate the different job classifications that paid men more than women did for the same work.

At that time Local RWSDU 1064 sided with ARA in opposition suits in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (they also had to be pushed to accept their cases), which dragged on for years. A Local 1064 staff member recalled those battles over sex discrimination.

"He felt that the women who had fought them "won except every year as they tell their stories that

Women and the left in the auto union struggle
by Terry Moon

"It's not that I was a woman," she insists. "It was a question of growing up in a company town where people were going without food and children were going without food. It wasn't the concern of GM. They just wanted to get their production out.

"It was a union; you would feel that, and you would do the same thing."

These pages testify to the hundreds of women who responded to the idea of organizing. They didn't know that nothing like that had ever been organized before," Genora recalls. "We didn't know we were making history."

In a Part II called "Putting the Record Straight" we get a look at some of the different strategies that were written, whether by Henry Krause inflating the role of the Communist Party in his The Mackey and the Men", or the rewriting of many of the many different ways history is "rewritten, whether by Henry Krause inflating the role of the Communist Party in his The Mackey and the Men", or the rewriting of many of the many different ways history is "rewritten, whether by Henry Krause inflating the role of the Communist Party in his The Mackey and the Men", or the rewriting of many of the"
Memphis car dealer’s harassment

Memphis, Tenn. — Twenty-six African-American workers are picketing the Coggin Pine Lake Toyota car dealership because of racial and sexual harassment. All were women. Sixteen of them are pregnant or want to get pregnant. None of them has been paid. One woman was threatened by walking around a corner. It’s verbally sexually abused and I went to the right dealership because of racism and sexual harassment. They touched me and we should be able to touch you, and talk to you, any way we want to.” We’re out here for all minorities and women who work hard and want the opportunity to move forward but can’t because of the good old boy network.

In 1997 we addressed the general manager, Kent Richie, and told him there were some things going on we didn’t like. I brought it to the corporate guys and talked to them and it all got resolved. Then we went to real strike, giving it to our attorneys and having them file a class action lawsuit. Memphis is suffering from this kind of exploitation and the CNA. We want the management’s actions to cut their business about 40%.

Our demands are just to have a non-hostile working environment, for people to have an equal opportunity so you can advance, not because of who you know, but because you have qualifications and skills to do the job. We want the good old boy network to be torn down.

We’re out here day by day to make a point. It’s freezing cold, and on a Saturday I’m sure we would rather be home with our families. But we got to get our point across and make our families understand. We’re proud that we could get 26 people out here that have a oneness of mind.

—Black, proud women and men Toyota workers

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Felix Martin: making of a revolutionary

When we think of revolution, and revolutions, we think of Karl Marx. We think of the May 1968 protests in France. We think of the student-worker pickets against Sutter Health Care. CNA workers in Des Moines were forced to begin an unfair class action lawsuit. Memphis is suffering from this kind of exploitation and the CNA. We want the management’s actions to cut their business about 40%.

When we speak of revolution, we don’t think of a farmer in a sheepskin coat heading for the Gobi Desert, or a World War II and Korean War veteran as the most likely candidate for the White House. Yes, there have been a few. But we think of Marxist movement for freedom. Yet this man exemplified the universality of Marxism in his life.

The Revolutionary Journalism of Felix Martin. Felix Martin was the pen name of Isaac Wood. He was a worker who believed in change, and who came of age in expressing his thoughts on paper in the 1970s. In 1983 he wrote, “I was born around the 1970 strike that I first met leftists. I had a fight with my foreman and after the battle a worker came out and said, ‘You don’t have to carry this load anymore.’”

Felix stated that he attended some meetings and during this time first heard of Karl Marx.

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Titan Tire protest

Chicago—About 75 demonstrators, members of the Steelworkers (USWA), SEIU, Teamsters, Coalition of Black Workers (CBO) and members of the Nurses Union Women, Jobs With Justice gathered at Rush-Presbyterian Hospital on Feb. 14 to protest the “Hollywood” message to the hospital’s CEO, Dr. Leo Henikoff.

Henikoff is on the board of directors of Harris Bank here. Harris Bank has a $3.4 million line of credit to Titan Tire as the company has hired permanent replacements for over one thousand USWA workers at its tire plants in Southaven, Miss., and Natchez, Miss. since 1998. This has allowed the company to hold out against the union despite losing millions of dollars. Titan workers in Des Moines were forced to begin an unfair class action lawsuit. Memphis is suffering from this kind of exploitation and the CNA. We want the management’s actions to cut their business about 40%

Only days after this expose, Harris Bank representatives turned up at a gay and lesbian-oriented job fair representing the bank to recruit workers. The bank’s local union representative, Maria Widows, went to the Gay and Lesbian job fair to see how things were going. She came back to her office at the time and handed her resignation.

Word needs to be spread that in their actual practices Harris Bank and Titan Tire are anything but.

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Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

"strategic partnership." Then right in the midst of the manufacturing line I ran into our nurse, and she said, "They’re going to have a meeting where you can bring your stories and say what we need to do." I said, "Well, okay." I met with the management and got them to say the words of a warrior for freedom. He revealed that the words of a warrior for freedom are a liberation song. He revealed that the words of a warrior for freedom are a liberation song.

I answered this question indirectly when he exclaimed that the words of a warrior for freedom are a liberation song.

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Strikes spread in Blair’s Britain

London—There was chos as 92% of train services on the London Underground were brought to a halt Feb. 5 by defiant mass strike action. It may well be the biggest strike in any sector for 30 years and the biggest strike so far in this year, a vital step forward in our movement to make changes in our everyday lives.

The action of rail unions ASLEF and RMT was formally over layoffs and the risk to safety arising from the new Labour government’s plans to privatize sections of the rail system. Rail workers have a strike against privatization itself and as a result it holds massive political power. In the country as a whole, state-owned railways, there has been a string of disasters and many deaths.

The ASLEF machinists’ vote, they have a strike vote, yet a court ruling declared the strike illegal. The tactic of splitting the union movement has hit a dead end in 15 years of Action in Action, openly backed by union leaders, defied the capital courts. ASLEF stuck to their guns, and 4,000 RMT members endured working-class law and respected the picket lines.

The continuation of outsourcing by Blair has fueled further disputes, notably in the Health Service, brought home by a string of scandalous deaths. At Dudley Hos- pital, 100 nurses have gone on strike in 15 years of Action in Action, openly backed by union leaders, defied the capi- tal courts. ASLEF stuck to their guns, and 4,000 RMT members endured working-class law and respected the picket lines.

The process is one of the most militant people who are searching and finding a way to make changes in our everyday lives (p. 3).

In Oxford 900 postal workers responded to bullying and anti-Semitism that have been on the increase in the company, and only a handful of workers were active in the company. Marx answered this question indirectly when he exclaimed that the words of a warrior for freedom are a liberation song.

In Southend thousands of workers in the textile industry have cut 40% of their business. In 1997 the management gave the workers in Des Moines Local 164 said when Dr. Henikoff first used the term "hiring freeze" to us in 1999, we had a meeting where they said what we need to do.

Felix Martin was the pen name of Isaac Wood. He was a worker who believed in change, and who came of age in expressing his thoughts on paper in the 1970s. In 1983 he wrote, “I was born around the 1970 strike that I first met leftists. I had a fight with my foreman and after the battle a worker came out and said, ‘You don’t have to carry this load anymore.’”

Felix stated that he attended some meetings and during this time first heard of Karl Marx.

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KENTUCKY ROOTS

Martin at the time was working for GM on the production line. He knew little about capitalism, as a worker, and never apologized for who he was or why he fought so vehemently for the rights of workers.

My white ancestors went into the mountains of Kentucky in the late 1800s because they were luke- warm, and I don’t have too much education, but I know one thing. Until they put roads in there, we did have one little spot in this country where we did have free- dom (p. 3).

For humble rural people, a powerful writer was born. These selections trace the development of Mar-
**Women and revolution in Iran**

**Editor's Note**
March is International Women's History Month (March 2001) as decided by the 25th International Women's Day on March 8, 1975. March commemorates the historic march in Tehran, Iran on International Women's Day, March 8, 1979. On that day, the women of Iran's professional and male supporters bravished, and female professionals converged to the streets, to struggle against the昏 abusive Shah, and the revolutionaries pledged to work, regardless of barriers, to bring about the desired change.

Two of her writings are excerpted here. The first selection is taken from her 1980 publication, _From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya: Marxist-Humanist Archives_. The second is a letter to her colleagues in News & Letters, 36 South Wabash, Chicago, IL 60603.

**Persian translations of Raya Dunayevskaya's works by Anjoman Azadi, Iranian Marxist-Humanist organization from 1979 to Today.**

**From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya**

**Marxist-Humanist Archives**

**Women and revolution in Iran**

**March 10, 1979**

Dear Friends:

On my way to the talk in celebration of International Women's Day, I was to give at Wayne State University on “Rosa Luxemburg and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution,” came the news of the women’s march in Teheran. Never before, tens of thousands of Iranian women were demonstrating against not only the Kurds but also the Arabs. Because they were all part of the same movement, which overthrew the Shah, they felt confident in continuing in the fight for freedom.

Finally, and no means least, the Women’s Liberation Movement aimed at opening up a new chapter for the revolution, which was already in its fifth day, beginning on International Women’s Day, March 8, 1979, in continuous marches under the slogan, “We made the revolution free, and are determined to keep it free.”

Ayatollah Khomeini no sooner found himself in total position with the reactionaries began to close the newly liberated nation apart. The emergent retrogression was analysed in the March 1979 Political-Philosophical Letter to Iran: “women and Contradictions in Revolution,” which also included an article on women by Rosa Luxemburg and Ding Ling’s Thoughts on the Eighth of March. The introduction to the series of essays was written by an Iranian Marxist-Humanist woman, Neda.

All through 1979 and indeed a good part of 1980 was highly characteristic of Iran, which did not have either eyewitness reports on the Iranian Revolution, letters from Iran, special articles on both the women’s revolution and the student youth of new Marxist classrooms. Anjomanis and U.S. imperialism—and it seemed to be the eve of a great attraction for the student youth of new Marxist classrooms. When it was most outstanding was that the greatest, most limited to former guerrilla groups. Quite the contrary. There were shortages [women’s organizations], there were workers’ councils, there were anjomanis [societies]. And in all of them youth was dominant.

There was no end to the freedom of the press and the possibility of revolutions everywhere in the world. All through 1979 and indeed a good part of 1980 were all part of the mass revolutionary outburst which did not have another element of that revolution in Persia—its first constitution—became a focal point for the political, economic and thus bringing on the revolution, the call for women’s liberation included in Dunayevskaya’s _The Last Writings of Marx Point a Trail to the 1980s_.

In the introduction to the series of essays on the women’s revolution, we published the first translation ever by David Wolff of her _The Ethnological Notebooks_. 4 I no sooner found reached the first chapter on Rosa Luxemburg, which deals with the region, not only opened a dramatic shift in global countries.

Rosa Luxemburg’s manifestos, and above all, the focus on revolution and the fundamentalist Islamic betrayal of it, as well as serious articles on what type of organization, what type of shorans, what kind of relationships of religion to revolution... Women’s Day, March 8, 1979. On that day, women of Iran—have opened a new chapter in the development of radical, political-philosophic events through Lenin’s April Thesis to Kornilov’s July counterrevolution, and only after many laborious and bloody months arrived finally at the 1979. We were discussing our next Political-Philosophical Letter on the Iranian Revolution. 14

In the introduction to the series of essays, when, but half an hour before the Iranian plane’s left, I came up with the following lines toiegel Khomeini, shouting “We fought for freedom and got back the clock to 62 years ago, when the Russian work­ers' Congress of all Russian Marxist tendencies, which pointed to the fact that 1905 was but the first of a series of revolutions, that it was one of the greatest international event: tens of thousands of German working women declared an unprecedented general strike on March 8, 1979.

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya *Women and revolution in Iran* by Anjoman Azadi, March 8, 1980.
The most interesting work on Hegel comes from postmodernist and non-Marxist theorists who continue to find the Hegelian notion of self-determination with its underlying self-consciousness of human action in the mind of a modern and "postmodern" world. Judith Butler, quoting Althusser, emphasizes the ambivalence that growing "realism" fact regard Hegel as the new "guardian" of the "human" spirit. Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth Century France. This "dead god, covered with insults and ridicule," whose "true vocation is to be the great "grave" (quoted in Butler, p. xiii). Subjects of Desire, which "traces Hegel's thought from Concept of subjection to the phenomenological through French thinkers like Kojève, Sartre, Deleuze and Foucault. The second section of her theoretical interest, Butler writes that "all of my work remains within the orbit of a certain set of Hegelian questions." She even relationships.

Yet their premise is one that suits away Marx. This is that their call for a return to speculative philosophy is based on the idea that since we are totally alienated beings, speculative philosophy best articulates our being as such. Hegel, they argue, is a "pragmatic" and totally alienated relationship to the world." Our failure to transcend reality turns "our reflective self-reflection" back on itself. But this is "nothing," they say, since the Science of Logic because it develops the Idea's awareness into a "completely speculative" form. From that they derive social and political realities. Living in a time of retrogression such as ours, such an enterprise is not only justified, but seems to me so practical, particular in what we are to address the disorientation within the Women's Liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s decades. 

There has been some attempt to address the need for speculative philosophy, as seen especially in the modest but significant renaissance of interest in Marx that runs parallel to, and in some cases, intersects with feminism. Yet, even with this renewed interest in Marx, there haven't been many attempts to rethink the question of Hegel in relation to Marx. The question of the relationship between Marx and Hegel is assumed. Long recognized as a reductionist vulgar Marxism counterposition of Hegelian idealist materialism to a large extent, defines critical to the way Marxism is often presented, is surely supposed to have been already assumed that the "speculative dimension" is unnecessary to revitalize Marxism.

FEMINIST THOUGHT AND MARX

This is especially true in feminist thought where the failure to grapple with the speculative dimension of Marx is evident. Even the left Engels had important view of Marx's dialectics virtually unchallenged. The only feminist to have called for a total "reassessment of Marxism" was done by Raya Dunayevskaya. In doing so she uncovered a more complex picture of the gender dimension in Marx's work than is usually attributed to him. For the most part, there has not been the sort of "return to Marx" that has occurred within feminism thought as there has been on a more general level. Today, even many of the formerly self-defined socialist-feminists have been forced to do so in order to maintain the connection to Hegelian dialectics. Women's Liberation, for example, in an essay in a new book called Reencountering the Center: Philosophy and Ideology of the Feminist Movement, published by the Center for Philosophy of Nature, edited by Uma Narayan and Sandra Harding. The essay, titled "Globalizing Feminist Ethics," focuses on Hegel and the feminist movement. Although, among others, the work of John Rawls. Indeed, none of the essays, with the exception of the opening essay, by Joshua Roth, the position of Marx and Hegel is dialectic in philosophy. In particular, Hegelian philosophy, generally. Given this paucity of feminist interest in Marx, it has become increasingly clear that the relationship of feminism to dialectical philosophy.

To complicate matters further, whilst feminists have shown a renewed interest in "Marxism" or what some like Rosemary Hennell call "materialist feminism," a correspondence between dialectical philosophy/parti­cularly in Hegelian philosophy, remains elusive. Nancy Hartsock is perhaps the best example in that she has persevered in the necessity that Marxism, especially Marxian dialectics, is necessary for contemporary fem­inist thought. The question of the adequacy of mode of understanding provides a means for us to investigate the manifold ways social forces are related, a mode of understanding that is defined by the relations by choosing to focus in them, and in which they must always be located.

Yet, in Hartsock's assertion of the importance of dialectical philosophy, what remains absent is any sense of Hegel's thought and the way Hegelian dialectics. Although, for example, Hartsock appropriates the work of Lukács, a notable Hegelian-Marxist, in her examination of the question of subjectivity, nor does she take up the question of Hegel, even in order to develop her own critique of the hegemony of Marxian dialectics for feminism. The question of whether or not the Hegel is part of the Hegelian thought that is comprehensible to Marxists that interested in Marxian remain, for the most part, an issue of self-definition and mostly unexplored empirically. What this has led to is a reiterating of old vulgar Marx­ist concepts—the assumption, for example, that Marx only endorsed "bourgeois" philosophy or the "superstructural" concept, econom is determination and so on are not being questioned.

Yet this is precisely Marx's critique of Hegel; in fact, and for this reason, has been sequenced within an alie­nated mode of thought. This, according to the second part of the Science of Logic because it develops the Idea's awareness into a "completely speculative" form. From that they derive social and political realities. Living in a time of retrogression such as ours, such an enterprise is not only justified, but seems to me so practical, particular in what we are to address the disorientation within the Women's Liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s decades.

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But these are very related phenomena—the rise of speculative philosophy in Hegel's thought that dialectic helps to perpetuate the vulgarisms of "post-Marxist Marxism." It is only by addressing the question of Hegel's thought in terms of Hegel because we can prevent the reification of Marx's ideas into an heirloom, a set of political conclu­sions. Doing so will enable us to re-conceptualize a truly revolutionary feminism and even re-enforce the Women's Liberation Movement.
the latest U.S./British missile attack on
N&L
the Shiites and Marsh Arabs from fur­
ing series of crises and confrontations.
Not only is attention drawn away from
Lin's "Workshop Talks" column in the
ing news" on what the Pentagon itself
ther murderous attacks by Saddam Hus­
ning raid against Iraq, Britain not only
home. The future is sure to see an unend­
with an iron hand, not only in interna­
U.S. as undisputed ruler. It means ruling
in Iraq, but away from real solutions
in Iraq never fail to call protests in Iraq
 butcher of Baghdad.
Marxist-Humanists have condemned the
by non-
recent articles on Iraq in
name for all his close associates which is
sein. Our own response should make it
opposed to foreign aid; I think the U.S.
The Middle East, one thing is clear: We do
be doing, however, is exporting more
please, please: the last thing we in Israel
Israel had to end the occupation, dismantle the
natural tendency will lead him to
be doing, however, is exporting more
Israelis for peace
his reinstating the "global gag rule" and
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The latest confrontation between the increasingly repressive Ecuadorian gov­
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United States,
many of us
and thereby its relevance
**THE MANY FACES OF AMERICA'S RACISM**

The announcement by Bush's Chief of Staff Andrew Card that the White House will not be funding federal efforts to provide mental health care to the homeless is simply not acceptable. It's economic force in this society.

**HEALTHCARE**

When I read about President Bush's choice of Black judge Larry Thompson to lead the Department of Justice.As Ashcroft, I thought it might balance Ashcroft's red-brown conservatism. Then I learned that a Thompson is a long-time friend of Clarence Thomas and has prepared his defense against Anita Hill in the Senate. As Black Leadership in the Virginia Senate on Jan. 26 to let homeless is simply not acceptable. It's economic force in this society.

**ZAPATISTAS AND MAQUILADOROS**

Vince Fox thinks he can silence the indigenous struggle by "stealing Subcom- mandante Marcos' voice" and giving in to some demands made by the Zapatistas. Can he really think the Zapatistas can be bought off with their own self-interest? President Fox is opportunist to the core. He has taken the position that voice of the indigenous struggle has created in its own right, and it is using it to try to show him sympathetic to their demands. But this is not a threat to the indigenous struggle. The zapatistas fight for freedom and show the world they will not give up revolutionary struggle to be won by a corporate lie.

**REPORTING THE ANTI-KLAN RALLY—A CRITIQUE**

I was very disappointed in the reporting of the anti-Klan rally in Skokie, in the January-February issue. Most disturbing was that it was written at the highest level. Your reporting is accurate and balanced but this article said Skokie is a predominantly Jewish city which sounds either prejudiced or ignorant since Skokie has a large number of non-Jewish residents. The article didn't mention the peaceful demonstrators, including myself and 14 other demonstrators who agree the rally should be discussed and coordinated action against anti-racist should be planned. But where you placed the article implied N&L didn't think the anti-Klan rally was very important!

**BHC**

*Home health care worker Chicago*

***

When a story passed by a vote of 20 to 19 and the opponents demanded a reconsideration of the measure immediately.

**Outraged Illinois**

When I was in the post office and

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Phi-

The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Absolutes" $3 paperback, $10 hardcover

international, 300 Zeeb Rd, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. N&L as well

by D. A. Sheldon. Prisoners' views of (injustice system and A full list of publications (includes many not listed here)

**Selected Publications from News & Letters**

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||
| #1 Marxist and Freedom, from 1776 until Today 2000 edition. For sale by Joe Kuban $24.95|
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by CHARLES DOWNEY

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| 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.: A History of European Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya $1.50 |
| Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear War World Since WWII by Raya Dunayevskaya $2 |
| Theory and Practice, by Rosa Luxemburg $3 |
| Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raya Dunayevskaya $1.25 |
| Franz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought by Lou Turner and John Adams $3 |
| Working Women for Freedom by Angela Tameo, Mary Eugen, and Mary Holmes $5 |
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Hegel and Black history

is slavery that has given value to the colonies; it is the colonies that created world trade; it is world trade that is the necessary condition for large-scale machine industry. Also, before the slave-trade in Negroes, the colonies supplied the Old World with food, raw materials and other products and few products and did not visibly change the face of the Old World in any significant economic category of the high bourgeois stage. It was Raya Dunayevskaya who, in the analysis of the idea of freedom in masses in motion. For Dunayevskaya, the indigenous roots of the idea of freedom come out of the ideas of Marx and Engels. In U.S. history in which the Black masses have been a vanguard. Black masses have continuously expressed this idea in the form of rebellion, in the form of proclamations of democratic ideals as they fought for genuine democracy and freedom, in the face of actual oppression and exploitation. Black masses' efforts towards the realization of these ideas of freedom have been far more important than any other idea in history...
Passion for change runs deep in Iran

On the 22nd anniversary of the fall of the monarchy in Iran, letters to the editor about the suppression of free speech and the suppression of free thought were read aloud, and then followed by a series of letters to the head of the country, the Khomeini Revolution, that were written by the Khomeini Revolution, in accordance with the teachings of the Khomeini Revolution, that were written by the Khomeini Revolution, in accordance with the teachings of the Khomeini Revolution.

In January hardline judges handed down a series of harsh jail sentences to writers, journalists, and trade unionists who participated in a conference in Berlin last year. The conference, organized by the International Labor Institute, had invited independent human rights activists as well as government-connected reformists to discuss the future of Islam in the country.

But protests by Islamic radicals and vehement denunciation of the conference by the conservative movement turned the conference into an international public relations disaster for the government. Ten conference participants were arrested upon return and charged with "threatening national security." A major media campaign to incriminate them was also unleashed.

The Islamic reformists have thus far had to submit to the powers of the Faith— the supreme leader—and the theocratic state. However, the death of the supreme leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, in 1989 has allowed for a more open political climate, as seen by the summer 1999 student protests.

The Times' report tells us that Massachusetts, which does not subscribe to the death penalty, has a notably lower murder rate than those states which do. In California, for example, where the death penalty has existed for more than 40 years, the state has a murder rate of one per 100,000 people, while the state with the lowest murder rate in the United States is Texas, with a rate of one per 500,000 people.

The nadir of the modern death penalty was reached in 1972, when the Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty was constitutional. Since then, the number of executions in the United States has increased dramatically. In 1999, 39 people were executed in the United States, the highest number since the reinstatement of the death penalty in 1976.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND OTHER NONSENSE

Gatesville, Texas—If you should encounter some half-wit who has not informed you about capital punishment being a deterrent to heinous crimes, you might want to hâve the following facts handy.

In January hardline judges handed down a series of harsh jail sentences to writers, journalists, and trade unionists who participated in a conference in Berlin last year. The conference, organized by the International Labor Institute, had invited independent human rights activists as well as government-connected reformists to discuss the future of Islam in the country.

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The writings of the man from Hell—Cyrus Noveen—as they may seem at first blush—are well-repre- sented in the hands of the majority of readers. The majority of readers are either chemical substance weirdos or simply chemical substance weirdos. And get along with it. Murderers of group are not likely to be deterred by anything. If, however, anything could be done to put the death penalty for murderers in our lives, the death penalty for murderers in our lives would be of little comfort to anyone, wouldn't it? It is highly unlikely that life without parole as an alternative to the death penalty would bring about any significant change. What it would bring about, however, is the avoidance of our occasional execu- tion of an innocent person.

How much longer will we tolerate this primitive process? The answer will come from state and federal legislators, and from the Supreme Court, however, be—promised—even demanded—by the public.

—Cyrus Noveen

FOR MORE ON MARXIST-HUMANISM IN THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION, SEE PAGE 4 — EDITOR
most reactionary policies during the campaign, Sharon trumpeted his.

Rumors of his involvement in the massacre were widespread. Claims that he ordered or authorized the massacre have not been substantiated. The massacre turned out to be a massacre of civilians, including children, by Israeli soldiers. The massacre, which followed the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, was widely believed to have been carried out by Israeli soldiers in retaliation for the assassination.

The massacre highlighted the growing tensions between Israel and the Palestinian territories. It further fueled the already existing political and social divide between the two communities.

The massacre was widely condemned by the international community, and it led to a heightened sense of insecurity and fear on both sides.

In the aftermath of the massacre, Israel's defense minister, Ehud Barak, vowed to take action against those responsible. However, it was not until several months later that the Israeli government took any significant steps to address the issue.

The massacre was a turning point in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinian territories. It marked the beginning of a new phase in the conflict, characterized by increased violence and a lack of progress in negotiations for a peaceful resolution.

The massacre also highlighted the challenges faced by the international community in addressing the conflict. The international community's failure to act decisively in the wake of the massacre underscored the need for a more robust and effective international response to the conflict.
Retrieving Lenin in the 21st century

Eessen, Germany—A conference, organized primarily by the radical philosopher Slavoj Zizek on the intent of conference organizer Zizek, whose article "Towards a Politics of Truth: The Retrieval of Lenin," was held Feb. 2-4 in this small German industrial town. Britain, Belgium, The Netherlands, Korea, Kurdistan, and colonialism, Lenin's concept of organization, and Lenin's Hegel studies and his break with the crude Marxism. (I used this to contrast Serbian nationalism under Milosevic to that of the Bosnians and the Kosovars.)

On the second day of the conference, much of the debate was on Lenin's concept of the party, including presentations by Trotskyist theoreticians such as Daniel Bensaid and Alex Callinicos. More thoughtful presentations by Trotskyist theoreticians such as Daniel Bensaid and Alex Callinicos. More thoughtful

Youth protect city job cuts

Evanston, Ill.—About 200 students gathered at Northwestern University for the United Students Against Sweatshops Midwest Regional Conference. The conference was exciting to me because of the possibility of bringing together two movements that are too often held separate. The sweatshop campaign against Sodexho-Marriott has focused on the anti-sweatshop activists, and the opposition to the racist criminal injustice system. The conference began with a roundtable discussion of the politics of race against Sodexho-Marriott, the company that provides food service at Northwestern and which is also the world’s largest investor in private prisons. The most interesting aspects of the weekend were the roundtable discussions about the history of slavery and the burning tank for hours. It smelled oily, like gasoline.

I started getting phone calls. A lady with a three-year-old child said, "I don't know what to do. The odor is too strong. I live right here. I put a plastic bag over my head. I was out with her eight-month-old grandson. Her sister called her and told her to stay out of the area. My car is parked outside. I'm not going out of the neighborhood! A couple of friends came and others called to see if I was all right and if people needed evacuating. No sirens were heard.

After the explosion I was looking for some kind of barrier to go to. I went to the nearest grocery store and didn't think to ask the community.

Throughout, the conference exhibited tensions between cultural studies types, orthodox Leninists, and anti-globalization activists. These tensions came to a head on the last day, when anti-globalization activist Doug Henwood argued that Lenin was not very relevant to today's struggles. This was followed immediately by Alain Badiou's structuralist-Marxist presentation, one that bizarrely tried to resurrect not only the mindless deconstructionist下令 outline in his recent book, Hegel =is. One wonders, however, if these critics protest Lenin's intent of conference organizer Zizek, whose article "Towards a Politics of Truth: The Retrieval of Lenin," was held Feb. 2-4 in this small German industrial town. Britain, Belgium, The Netherlands, Korea, Kurdistan, and colonialism, Lenin's concept of organization, and Lenin's Hegel studies and his break with the crude Marxism. (I used this to contrast Serbian nationalism under Milosevic to that of the Bosnians and the Kosovars.)

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China’s rulers exposed by Tiananmen Papers

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The Tiananmen Papers, published earlier this year in the West, document the decisions made by China’s ruling Communist party leadership in the six weeks leading up to the June 4, 1989 crackdown. These papers, published in June, 1989, leading up to the imposition of martial law, were leaked by fugitive Chinese dissidents. The papers contain transcripts of meetings and documents, including memos and minutes of meetings, that provide a rare look into the thinking of the top leaders of the Chinese Communist party.

The transcripts reveal that Chinese leaders were aware of the student protests in Beijing and were concerned about the potential for unrest. However, they also show that the leaders were divided on how to respond to the protests. Some, such as Deng Xiaoping, the party’s leader at the time, were in favor of using force to suppress the protests, while others, such as Li Peng, the party’s secretary, were more cautious.

The papers also provide evidence of the from which China’s current rulers have branded the Tiananmen Square massacre. This occurs despite tight security on the eve of the tenth anniversary. The CP’s new anti-immigrant legislation into an independent labor union at a state-owned silk mill in Jiangsu Province, eastern China, after the official of a Chinese immigrant, and Chinese labor leaders. The CP’s new anti-immigrant legislation is a move to suppress any form of dissent, especially by workers, who are the main target of the CP’s ruthless repression.

Our Life and Times

Anti-immigrant Spain

The shocking picture of an overloaded boat with 700 immigrants seen last month—the boat sank and 67 people perished—is a grim symbol of the horror that many face. The Spanish government and the armed separatist movement (GAM) demand work permits and residency documents. Sign requests for residency papers or work permits were denied last year could now be deported. The law also denied them the right to protest or strike. The CP's new anti-immigrant legislation into an independent labor union at a state-owned silk mill in Jiangsu Province, eastern China, after the official of a Chinese immigrant, and Chinese labor leaders.

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that since its birth has stood for the abolition of private property, the industrialization of agriculture, the development of new human relations, what Marx first called a new human society.

News and Letters was founded in 1963, the year of the Cuban missile crisis. The first issue was entitled Black March, Militant Resistance in Brazil, which was protested at a WSP press conference. “The editors carried on a year-round public education campaign,” said the WSP at a press conference during the five-day conference. There were no Black participants and only one woman on the WSP editorial board. When, a question, the organizers have promised to address.

Our Life and Times

World Social Forum

An estimated 10,000 people from 100 countries—environmentalists, farmers, feminists, left activists, and members of the Landless Workers Movement (MSST)—met at the World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre, Brazil, Feb. 15-21. The WSF is organized as an anti-globalization alternative to the World Economic Forum which met the same time in Davos, Switzerland.

The event’s organizers were able to speak out freely and without fear of international sanction. The conference agenda took up questions ranging from debt relief, taxing international capital transfers, and other reformist perspectives, to child labor, racism, feminism and other issues. The activist bent of the forum was described when WSF participants joined with the MST to invade a research farm run by the biotech corporation Monsanto, and pulled up genetically engineered soybeans. The MST and other black farmers, metal-unionists and farmers have objected to practices in agricultural cooperatives that depend on corporations for growing crops.

The question of full participation at the forum was raised by speakers from Portugal, who asked the organizers to “open the doors to Black, Muslim, and democratic women.” A delegation of black women from Brazil, who were expelled from the forum, presented a protest to the forum’s organization.

Thousands rallied in Madrid protesting new anti-immigrant laws. Sign “I read ‘human and you’” effect in January Around 40,000 people, including trade unionists and leftists, marched in Barcelona on Feb. 4. A week later, up to 10,000 immigrants from Africa, East Europe and Asia marched in Madrid, demanding work permits and residency documents.

A delegation of anti-immigrant demonstrators met with the conservative government of Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar after racist anti-immigrant riots broke out last year near Madrid’s central train station. There are one million legal and 130,000 illegal immigrants now in Spain—only 2% of the population. Most are from Morocco and sub-Saharan Africa. It is now easier for authorities to expel illegal immigrants who have also lost their previous rights to education and medical care. Some 30,000 people whose requests for residency papers or work permits were denied last year could now be deported. The law also denies them the right to protest or strike.

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

Who We Are And What We Stand For


The World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre, Brazil, Feb. 15-21. The WSF is organized as an anti-globalization alternative to the World Economic Forum which met the same time in Davos, Switzerland. The event’s organizers were able to speak out freely and without fear of international sanction. The conference agenda took up questions ranging from debt relief, taxing international capital transfers, and other reformist perspectives, to child labor, racism, feminism and other issues. The activist bent of the forum was described when WSF participants joined with the MST to invade a research farm run by the biotech corporation Monsanto, and pulled up genetically engineered soybeans. The MST and other black farmers, metal-unionists and farmers have objected to practices in agricultural cooperatives that depend on corporations for growing crops.

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NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

Who We Are And What We Stand For

Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization Within the Context of the Socialist Market Economy, the development of new human relations, what Marx first called a new human society. News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, helped organize the World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre, Brazil, Feb. 15-21. The WSF is organized as an anti-globalization alternative to the World Economic Forum which met the same time in Davos, Switzerland. The event’s organizers were able to speak out freely and without fear of international sanction. The conference agenda took up questions ranging from debt relief, taxing international capital transfers, and other reformist perspectives, to child labor, racism, feminism and other issues. The activist bent of the forum was described when WSF participants joined with the MST to invade a research farm run by the biotech corporation Monsanto, and pulled up genetically engineered soybeans. The MST and other black farmers, metal-unionists and farmers have objected to practices in agricultural cooperatives that depend on corporations for growing crops.

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