Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz recently confessed that the claim that Iraq wielded weapons of mass destruction (WMD) was used as an excuse to invade Iraq, because "that was the one reason we could all bureaucratically agree on." In the same way, President Bush marketed his three huge tax cuts for the rich as a "job growth" program.

The result is that all across the nation, state budgets are facing the worst fiscal crisis in 50 years. One county supervisor in Oakland's Alameda County publicly wept in his seat as he felt compelled to cast his vote for a budget. He felt he had no choice but to cut yet more vital services to Oakland's desperately poor communi ties. One local man said, "They're not cutting to the bone. This is the bone!"

An unemployed veteran said, "What good is a tax cut for me? I'm down here with nothing." A large number of small business owners are calling on the IRS to increase the credit associated with the old "earned income credit" to ensure more than an increase in the "child tax credit" as a consolation for the poor working class, with cramps that are left over from rewarding the richest capitalists of his class.

The biggest fanatic of the Bush religion is Rep. Tom

(Continued on page 5)

The events in Benton Harbor reflect the simmering unrest that exists in African-American communities across the U.S. which could explode at any time. Yet the news media barely mentioned the rebellion until 45 hours after it began. It is one more reflection of the servility of the mass media towards imperialist interests in this country.

Post-severity is bound to get worse in light of the June 3 decision of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to dramatically relax limits on the ability of media conglomerates to own TV and radio stations, newspapers, and cable operations. The FCC's ruling shows that the concentration and centralization of capital in fewer hands that Karl Marx spoke of is neither merely theory nor related only to relations in production. It is immanent in the entire nature of the present stage of capitalism.

An unemployed and injured man in Benton Harbor, Michigan protests police abuse

Residents say that the outburst was a result of police harassment against the African-American communities across the U.S. which could explode at any time. Yet the news media barely mentioned the rebellion until 45 hours after it began. It is one more reflection of the servility of the mass media towards imperialist interests in this country.

The Bush gang rejoined on his promise of a "tax cut for growth" and "economic stimulus" by cutting family income tax. But he promised an increase in the "child tax credit" as a consolation for the poor working class, with cramps that are left over from rewarding the richest capitalists of his class.

"Antietam" still relevant

by John Alan

Nearly a century and a half after the U.S. Civil War a seemingly infinite number of books are still being published on it. It has been estimated that 100 new books on this topic appear every year. Clearly, publishers know that they have found an enduring interest in the Civil War and that this nation is still waiting for new information and analysis about the most devastating and socially transforming war in American history. James M. McPherson's new book Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam, the Battle That Changed the Course of the War (Oxford, 2002) is one of those new books.

McPherson has chosen, to see the Civil War from the "dimension of contingency" in the "sense of turning points" in a war, which "might have gone altogether different." Antietam was such a turning point. It led to the Emancipation Proclamation and stopped England's and France's attempts to recognize the South as an independent state.

BLOODY DAY

McPherson opens Crossroads of Freedom with a chapter called "Death in September." According to McPherson the battle at Antietam on September 17, 1862 "remains the bloodiest single-day in American history."

More than 12,000 Union and Confederate soldiers were killed or mortally wounded. Those casualties were "four times greater than the American casualties at Gettysburg." And more died that day "than died in combat in all the other wars fought by this country in the 19th century combined: the War of 1812, the Mexican-American War, the Spanish-American War, all the Indian Wars, the Civil War..." A second antebellum war through an imperial power the U.S. had fewer casualties than in a one-day battle at Antietam fought between Americans over the meaning of African-American freedom 140 years ago.

McPherson sees the battle of Antietam as a "historical landmark," meaning that although it was an immediate event it would decide the fate of the Civil War. He seeks to prove the validity of his position by pointing out that President Lincoln's election and the defeat of the South by General Robert E. Lee had decisively defeated the Southern General Robert E. Lee.

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 2003-2004

War, resistance, and the need for a new alternative

The two-day-long rebellion of African Americans against police abuse that broke out in Benton Harbor, Michigan on June 16-17 says more about the state of this country than the recent global summits and photo-ops meant to show the U.S. military "victory" in Iraq. The rebellion in Benton Harbor, a city of 12,000 that is 92% Black, occurred after Termaine Shrum, a 17-year-old, died from injuries sustained in a motorcycle accident after being shot by white police officers.

Residents say that the outburst was a result of police harassment against the African-American communities across the U.S. which could explode at any time. Yet the news media barely mentioned the rebellion until 45 hours after it began. It is one more reflection of the servility of the mass media towards imperialist interests in this country.

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were no need to discuss any evil in the world except the U.S. How long women have suffered from the Left's "lesser evils," being told we must work against U.S. imperialism rather than for a thoroughgoing revolution that would free everyone! And how right the early Women's Liberation movement was to reject that idea, for everywhere women and men remain unfree.

Some of the same thinking was evident at the well­
appointed panel on "Third World Women and Global­
ization: The Case Against Postmodern/Postcolonial Western Feminist Theory". Three presenters put forth a sharply critical view of postmodernism's reduction of "agency." But panelist Delia D. Aguilar kept counter­
pointing, to women's genuine agency to call. While it was refreshing to hear a critique of postmodernism, for ignoring agency, Aguilar was pushing the same old tired dogmas that we must have a "socialist revolu­
tion"—and she reduced socialism to nothing but class and only as a way toward the "freeing up," we can resolve problems of sexism, racism, homophobia, and so on.

**MARX VS. POSTMODERNISM**

This truncated concept of socialism was accompa­nyed by Aguilar's analysis. A Marxian universe is said to exist, marxism, but "it's not individu­al, it's collective." That it's Marx's humanism, not Aguilar's neo-Stalinism, that can successfully combat postmodernism was seen when she was shown to be right from the floor by a young female activist Filipina scholar who passionately insisted that Marx was deficient, for individual progress, and for the full potentiality of women and men, for example to have a voice in human affairs, to say about the USSR's invasion and occupation, ignoring class, Aguilar was pushing the same old tired dogmas. It was interesting to see the way N&L sees prisoners' contribution to the idea of freedom.

We invite participants at the NWSA Conference to write us their thoughts on this column and on the con­
ference as a whole.

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**Irani woman speaks**

**'Bush must go!'**

New York—Thousands turned out to denounce Bush when he came here for a high-priced fundraiser June 19. Bloomberg's veto of two key bills. One requires city

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**NWSA Conference**

'Contradictions at NWSA'**

by Terry Moon

**New Orleans**—In contrast to 1990, when Black women and other women of color walked out of the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) Con­ference over an entrenched racism, women of color now dominate the conference, a shift that reflects more decision-making positions. Nevertheless, this year's confer­ence, held June 19-22 in New Orleans, was as lively and, as before, women were marked by a hunger for the women's movement and the debates from work places. This was especial­ly true given that the word was out: "Don't miss Discomfort," and there were more than enough opportunities for the unique struggles of Southern women, taking up racism, poverty, and imperialism in their lives. What was new was that Marxism and class were words that, while certainly not on everyone's lips, were discussed at many panels throughout the conference as well as mentioned by different plenary speakers.

Several women, including a young Black woman who spoke by a one youth speaker, a founder of the Southern Girls Con­vention, Robin Jocks, who spoke of what it means to be young and working class in Mississippi; and Black woman community health worker and trainer Barbara Majors, who spoke of "Problems and Possibilities: Ams". The women mentioned the difficult relationships between Black and white women in the workplace. We here have only space to quote from one of the workshops to highlight the address by Minnie Bruce Pratt, Southern writer, poet and historian.

**HUSSEIN'S BRUTALITIES IGNORED**

Given Pratt's distinguished history in the women's movement, I was shocked when, in her condemnation of Hussein, she said Hussein's brutality against Sudanese Hussein. She described the condition of women under his brutal, murderous dictatorship as he had not one word to say about the US's invasion and occupation, ignoring class, that makes it possible for the women's movement, mainly communism.... All the progressive movements were very active in the streets.

When I discussed this with women later, each other women's memory emerged at the discussion on feminism of Afghanistan, where she had not one word to say about the US's invasion and occupation, ignoring class, and only as a way toward the "freeing up," we can resolve problems of sexism, racism, homophobia, and so on.

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**Tenn. nurses organize**

Memphis, Tenn.—Several registered nurses (RNs) at the Regional Medical Center (the Med) got together in 1994, looking for a union to represent us because we felt like we didn't have a voice in the hospital. We want to have a voice in human affairs, to say about the USS's invasion and occupation, ignoring class, Aguilar was pushing the same old tired dogmas. It was interesting to see the way N&L sees prisoners' contribution to the idea of freedom.

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Chicago hotel strike

Chicago—We went on strike June 15. The contract with the Congress Hotel ended at the end of last year, and the hotel owners have been trying to get us to work without a contract, not working at Fred's. I've seen a lot of things in my day, but to see a boss attack and get written up — that's the kind of place Fred's is.

Then Jason gave his statement. He still doesn't want to recognize me and my co-workers. Fred's is not going to give up easily. People are still working at Fred's, making his job easier. Instead we are presenting Fred's sees that and they understand that. But my point of view is that the work on the inside is going to have to stand up. When are they ever going to hear our work stoppage? If you just give Fred's five or ten minutes a day and the supervisors are going to lose profits.

The job was fired at Fred's a year and a half. The reason I was fired was, a guy who was 6'5" and 340 pounds threatened to kill me just for wearing a union shirt and crossing him, he would have had me killed, or killed me himself.

The next day I brought a pedestrian in, saying that this is what they wanted. I told Fred's responsible. But my supervisor took me to the office with four others, and he told them that I was320 and they asked me. "Did you tell your supervisor you felt like killing people?" They changed my whole story around and then he asked me for my referral. They got me terminated for union activity. But I'm not giving up. My co-workers aren't giving up either. —Participant

Labor agency troubles

Chicago—On June 17, San Lucas Workers' Center took over the running of Elite Labor Services, demanding that they immediately begin giving work tickets to workers who lost them. It is not. Too many workers need to be able to show the hours they worked in order to get the money that they work hard for.

The demonstrators presented the day laborers waiting there and the agency with a survey showing that workers are going out of business or even leaving the country. That is the days of work missing from their pay, or had experienced the loss of work.

Several other600 workers said that they wanted work tickets for their records.

Harvey Cole, the owner of Elite, looked foolish in front of TV and print journalists by refusing this simple request. A Spanish language station in Chicago broadcast the whole thing on the evening news.

Harvey Cole was targeted as the head of the association. They claimed that they have the money and resources to handle the situation. But, according to the production costs.

Chavez had come to the city on a trip to the city council on the ordinance to regulate the day labor "industry." The ordinance that was going to output from the city council has labor organizers and workers from San Lucas Workers' Center to help them understand the cost of having to treat day laborers like human beings.

Since then, while the city has made no attempt to enforce the law, the day labor agencies have done exactly that and we have been able to pay for their own upkeep. They still favor immigrants for jobs over blacks, but the other native laborers refuse to work in the city. In order to send them into sweatshop conditions, the workers have been kept in line as a result.

—D. D.

Memphis, Tenn.—Over 300 people rallied outside the Civil Rights Museum on June 14, demanding justice for Martin Luther King Jr. who was assassinated a year ago. Hundreds of UNITE members came from all across the state of South, Kentucky and Texas, to support the struggle. Several hundred were there for support too.

There has been a lot of support and union campaigns, came to town to deliver a message that struck a chord with town. They were from new South where Blacks and whites don't just play football together, they make a living wage together, have health care together. The South must change, and it falls to workers to bring about that change.

The rally showed inter­nationalism by denouncing repression, racism, and violence against the South and abroad. It has been showing items from a black to the white that the history of repression, violence, and racism is Webster's world of Sweatshops, conditions in sweatshops are a form of world domination here and abroad. It still works for the benefit of multina­tional corporations.

But without the New Deal, Roosevelt realized, the capitalist dream of color raised their hands.

"People's Consultation on the issue. We agreed that socialist and labor activists.

We need to come together to fight the plans that are going to affect all workers in the city. We have been kept in line as a result. We are not taking this lying down.

—Strikers

Stoppping FTAAs, in the interest of labor

Nashville, Tenn.—Activists from central, eastern and southern Tennessee held a rally here on June 14 at the IBEW Union Hall on June 14 for the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network's (TIBN) "Statewide Fair Trade Day." They organized a statewide Fair Trade Fair. Tennessee has been working for the past several years to create a state network of Fair Trade retailers. The Fair Trade campaign is dedicated to stopping the FTAAs. TIBN's mission is to promote economic policies in the city so that it is fair to workers and upfits co­mmunities.

In a session on "Language and Culture of the Campaign," an organizer asked four questions of the participants: a) What is your vision of a world that doesn't have FTAAs? b) What is the role of color in a world that doesn't have FTAAs? c) What is it like to work in a world that doesn't have FTAAs? d) What is it like to have FTAAs for this campaign? To this people are affected by FTAAs.

When she asked how many people had been laid off and who had received or were receiving tickets for their work. She then asked the raised hands, some turning to their neighbors and shar­ing their experiences. Then she asked how many people had been laid off because of race or were victimized by racism on the job, and the people raised their hands. After a year and a half of strategy sessions, it seems to me that we had a real epiphany because we have finally acknowledged not only the racism that is inher­ent in the free trade model but also that there is nothing to show how the FTAAs "brews" racism. For instance, there had been 10 workers fired at the Congress Hotel in Nashville that the Klan ranted fervently about free trade increasing immigration. Another example was that the people who were required to work the next day after winning without a contract.

We have clusters in Knoxville, Upper East Ten­nessee, Nashville and Memphis which went to do more popular education and organizing workshops. We have brought the debate to the Nashville City Council and have had substantial success. One of our most immediate events is the FTAAs meeting in Miami this November, with thousands of other social justice activists.

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The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism

"Our theory of state-capitalism differs from Bukharin's not only because the concrete problems differ in each epoch, but because the vision, if you will, must differ from Bukharin's abstract revolutionism and, instead, be rooted in the actions and thoughts of working people who would themselves decide their own destiny before, in, and after the revolution."
War, resistance, and the need for a new alternative

(Continued from page 1)

have on the region and on the world as a whole. The U.S. military victory in Iraq clearly gives the U.S. the opportunity to intimidate and invade other regimes. This has threatened to attack Syria if it does not follow its dictates. It is issuing new threats against Iran and Iraq. The U.S. and its allies also have the possibility of a new option for permanent political leadership. The power of the U.S. as a global superpower, especially after September 11, 2001, few things strengthen U.S. rulers more than such a development—just as Bush's arrogance in invading other countries with overwhelming military force provides a recruiting ground for terrorist cells and activity.

The possibility of a continuous war between U.S. imperialism and Islamic fundamentalist terrorism presents the liberation movement in this country with a serious challenge—one that will become even greater if some terrorist attack occurs inside the U.S. As we saw from September 11, 2001, things strengthen U.S. rulers more than such—just as Bush's arrogance in invading other countries with overwhelming military force provides a recruiting ground for terrorist cells and activity. This vicious circle of war and terrorism is providing regional stability, the possibility of provoking the U.S. to open up the forces of opponents. The Bush administration wants to be able to develop such weak regimes, and to build against the new superpower of potential adversaries. This is occurring even as a host of states—from China to Pakistan and India and from Iran to South Korea and beyond—to augment or develop arsenals of their own.

No less important than such material factors is the war of ideas that is raging everywhere.

Massive anti-war sentiment arose this year, not only overseas, but within the U.S. A new generation of young people in high schools and colleges joined in anti-war protests, as did feminism, environmentalists, and gays and lesbians. The sense of powerlessness and dependence generated by the war has been a feature of the political landscape. The tendency to focus everything on a critique of the war and other movements open to tail-ending state capitalism is not only that it leaves the anti-imperialist war and other movements open to tail-ending state capitalism more alive and well in the world, but also that it makes it possible for U.S. rulers to maintain their repression under the imperialist war and other movements open to tail-ending state capitalism.

A successful war does not necessarily silence dissent, as Bush has learned after the first Iraq war when a declining economy made him a one-term president. However the present administration is trying to prevent a repeat of history by making the "war against terrorism" and the strengthening of the national security state a permanent political logic.

"That is why no idle threat is born out by the fact that the war against Iraq has increased the threat of terrorism by far beyond any rational reckoning. The war has provided new opportunities for Al Qaeda and others to reinvigorate their terrorist networks, as seen from the recent bombings in Bali, Egypt and Morocco. Senator Richard Lugar recently stated that U.S. policy in Iraq is in danger of creating an incubator for terrorist cells and activity."

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nance of the past decade flows from the same logic of capital that drove earlier stages of imperialism. As Dunayevskaya wrote in 1960: "From the capitalist point of view, private or state, there is an imperative to maintain the whole world which will, of necessity, include totalitarian control over their own workers."(5) She added: "The reason the superpowers—dividing the world into five power blocs in World War I, came out of World War II with a G-6 into five economic blocs—was that there is just that no room for more if this miasma of production for production's sake, where the dead labor of all ages and the sweat and labor of human beings has the decisive voice, is to continue. In fact, there is no room for two.(6)

The fact that the concentration and centralization of capital has advanced so far that by now "there is no room for even its superpowers in continuing the drive by the U.S. to achieve global domination through its drive for permanent war. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 easily enabled the Bush administration to openly proclaim its goal: the U.S. will "declare war" by force of arms on the military superiority over any imagined or real adversary. Yet much of what Bush is now promoting was early in the earlier period (which culminated in the Vietnam administration). Clinton refused to sign on the blank check he; and the Congression­al Republicans forced allowing the World Court to indict U.S. citizens for war crimes, and he launched his own version of "preventive war" with missile attacks on Afghanistan and Sudan in 1999. Though few said so at the time, in response to those attacks we were faced with what this constituted "a drive for permanent war."(7)

What fuels U.S. rulers' fantasies about their ability to dominate the world is the size of the U.S. economy. The U.S. today accounts for 31% of global economic output, about the same amount as during the 1950s. The U.S. economy is larger than that of the next four largest economies combined—Japan, Germany, France and Britain. This is in part because of how the U.S. can spend more on the military than the next 10 largest nations combined. Even China—sec­ond to the U.S. in the size of its mili­tary budget—borders on being one tenth of the U.S. each year on its mil­i­tary and is decades away from catching up with the American military machine.

Yet even with the tens of billions that Bush has added to the military budget (which has now hit $400 billion) U.S. military spending as a percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is only half what it was dur­ing the Korean War. This in part explains why Washington is posturing as if it can decide who rules the world. But even the Chinese military is a minnow compared to the whale that is America. The U.S., with its advanced weapon systems, is the world's single superpower in the cheap is astonishing.

The U.S.'s economic, political and military power does not, however, mean that it actually achieved total global dominion. Nor is it only the state power with global ambitions. That became clear in the run-up to the 2008 financial crisis. Global tensions erupted between the U.S. and some of its closest European allies, Japan, Russia and the Union of European Union's (EU) Foreign and Security Pact as a way to enable EU countries to act in concert without having to depend on the NATO and the U.S. It has the support of Russian Pres­i­dent Putin in this, who like French President Chirac has talked of a "multipolar" world. This in part explains why Bush recently put it, "Letting no. 1 at great cost is one thing. But the world's single superpower on the cheap is astonishing.

One thing that is different today is that the U.S. does not seem interested in direct territorial control of the rest of the world, in contrast to the classic stage of imperialist colonialism in the late 19th and early 20th century. Ever since the rise of neo-colonialism in the post-World War II era, the U.S. has preferred more indirect methods of domination, by relying on local surrogates and economic compulsion. In Afghanistan the U.S. relies on warlords and trib­al chiefs to do its bidding. In Iraq it wanted to make use of the Ba'ath Party apparatus. Though the out­come of the war thwarted that, and the U.S. still has 150,000 troops in Iraq, it is prepared to try to draw­down its numbers as it tries to find surrogates to enforce its dictates. In other countries—like Saudi Arabia—the U.S. has found that its interests are undermined by maintain­ing a permanent armed force for an indefinite length of time. It is therefore withdrawing most of its troops from that country, even as it builds new military bases in the Persian Gulf, Central Asia and elsewhere.

Yet the fact that U.S. policies are not the same as direct colonial occupation doesn't mean world capital­ism lacks a territorial center of power. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri are mistaken to argue, "The U.S. does not, and indeed no nation-state can, today form the center of an imperial project."(11) The U.S. is very much the center of such a project, precisely because the accumulation of capital from our globalized world has not been superseded.

This is especially reflected in the way U.S. capital­ists absorb massive amounts of surplus value and cap­i­tal from the rest of the world. In Europe and Asia continue to buy up U.S. Treasury bonds and ship cargo here through U.S. banks and capital investment. They see the U.S., with its low wages and benefits and blunted military, as a safe haven for their capital. The U.S. is the world's largest creditor on foreign capital than at any time in the past 50 years.

Surplus value and capital also flow into the coffers of U.S. firms and financial institutions that have underdeveloped nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America through pay­ments obtained by the state. The benefits that come from the dollar's hegemony as the global currency. This in part explains why this imperialist tutelage is nowhere more devastating than in Africa. Africa's share of global trade fell from 3.9% in 1980 to 1.6% in 2000. Its share of world investment has fallen since 1980 to 1.8% today. The annual capital growth rate of GDP in most African countries has been falling for over a decade. Even once-productive nations like Nigeria have seen their GDP growth decline in recent years. Non-producing nations in Africa are experiencing a serious decline in world market prices for their agricul­tural exports.

This has not stopped global capital from continuing to strip the continent of its raw materials and natural resources—often through the mediation of local capitalists and state-owned enterprises—as the most trag­i­cally seen in Congo, where over 50% of the country's GDP has been lost to the plunder of multinationals since 1998. Add to this Africa's mass­ive debt burden. The debt which African countries owe Western banks, multinationals and the International Monetary Fund is one of the continent's total GDP. The servicing costs of this debt are about 10% of GDP. The G-8 summit of 2002 set up a system and so-called new trade liberalization programs promoted by the IMF and World Bank are also accelerating the rate of cap­i­tal export from African countries. Furthermore, the G-8 leaders claim that they are committed to the development of the African continent.

In other terms, the present stage of state-capitalist imperialism is no less rapacious than earlier stages of imperialism. If anything, the genocidal nature of imperialism is only being accentuated. Global capital is returning to the conditions that characterized the "golden age" of imperialism, when, for example, "the rosy dawn of capitalist accumulation," as seen in increasing poverty, rising unemployment, and a devas­tating health crisis was the "roast capitalism" of the 1980s and 1990s is claiming millions of lives a year.

Forces in the industrially developed West are not the only ones responding for global capital. Capital is a world system; it is as much a part of the internal structure of Third World states as the international corpor­ations. The disintegration of economies and societies that have fallen into the web of local war­lords and mafia rings from Congo to Afghanistan and Sierra Leone to Iraq.

Far from ameliorating these conditions through some "compassionate conservatism," Bush's policies are accentuating them. This was seen at the end of the Iraq War when the U.S. stripped from its final decla­ration a statement of support for providing afford­able drugs and health care as conditions and "helped ally alliance to the future."(10)

The difference in scale of such efforts to be independent of the U.S. should not be overstated. Yet despite the EU's effort to write a constitution and have a single foreign policy, the effort to write a constitution and have a single foreign policy, the Central and East European nations that are
I need for a new alternative

(Continued from page 6)

What drives this rapacious drive for the accumulation of capital is not just Marx's need for a new alternative capitalism's effort to overcome the decline in the rate of profit that has seriously plagued it ever since the 1974-75 world recession. The rulers may think they can stem this decline through technological innovations: microchips, robots, and the like, but it is no more productive, but because it becomes more productive by its exploitation of new technologies. But as Marx put it in 1913, we might as well wait for the moon to fall to earth as to expect capitalism to collapse because of its own technical devices. To realize social profit, as Hildegard put it in 1913, we must as well wait for the moon to fall to earth as to expect capitalism to collapse because of its own technical devices. Such a standpoint dismisses the possibility of a new society. Her words of warning proved prophetic, as the anti-neoliberal vanguard that stood up for human liberation. That is because the ability of the rulers to appropriate the language of "democracy" is based on a vision of a new society in which they, to a man, woman, and child, control their own lives. Any mass of people cannot free themselves from dictatorial regimes but need the intervention of an outside force to turn their lives around. Such a standpoint dismisses the possibility of a new society. Her words of warning proved prophetic, as the anti-neoliberal vanguard that stood up for human liberation. That is because the ability of the rulers to appropriate the language of "democracy" is not only that which enables them to retain power. The central demand of this new movement was "everyone to the factory!". After the collapse of Argentina's neo-liberal experiment in late 2001 a massive popular movement arose, centered on spontaneously-formed neighborhood assemblies and committees of the unemployed. Hundreds of factory occupations also occurred, which ended up as a battle between different wings of Peronism. The central demand of this new movement was "everyone to the factory!". After the collapse of Argentina's neo-liberal experiment in late 2001 a massive popular movement arose, centered on spontaneously-formed neighborhood assemblies and committees of the unemployed. Hundreds of factory occupations also occurred, which ended up as a battle between different wings of Peronism. This can especially be seen from the difference between the Black dimension has shown, the perspective of "To the barbarism of war we pose the new society" is integrally related to the project of Marxist-Humanism. This can especially be seen from the difference between the Black dimension has shown, the perspective of "To the barbarism of war we pose the new society" is integrally related to the project of Marxist-Humanism. This can especially be seen from the difference between the Black dimension has shown, the perspective of "To the barbarism of war we pose the new society" is integrally related to the project of Marxist-Humanism. This can especially be seen from the difference between the Black dimension has shown, the perspective of "To the barbarism of war we pose the new society" is integrally related to the project of Marxist-Humanism. This can especially be seen from the difference between...
War, resistance and the need for a new alternative

(Continued from page 7) what C.L.R. James called "the dialectics of the party" and "the dialectics of organization and philosophy." In his Notes on Dialectics (1948) and other works of the 1940s, James sought to explore dialectics as part of developing a new relation between theory and practice, as well as Hegel the Absolute. As he wrote in commenting on Hegel's Science of Logic in his Notes on Dialectics, "We have to get Hegel's 'dialectics of the party' into his head. One can see this relation between organization and spontaneity."

Yet James's "dialectics of the party" and "dialectics of organization and philosophy." is not just to critique various aspects of oppression and alienation. The responsibility of a revolutionary theorist is not to see that different world is possible, not abstractly, but through the comprehensive projection of a philosophy of liberation that is rooted both in a Hegelian understanding of dialectics and in an ongoing dialogue on dialectical thought.

This is what makes the projection of Marxist-Humanism so imperative. As the writings contained in The Power of Negativity show, Marxist-Humanism represents the entire development of a new world is possible. As Dunayevskaya wrote on June 6, 1987—the last words written by her—"A dialectical party" is one that is accustomed to struggle emboldened as if it is not as critical to have a vital and growing Marxist-Humanist organization as it is to engage the party simply as the power that is both the form for eliciting the Power of Negativity must inform the very fine reason for being of our organization.

For this reason we need to ask: Why should the "reformist" theory of organization necessarily be unipolar and monopolar? As Dunayevskaya wrote on June 6, 1987 the last words written by her—"A dialectical party" is one that is accustomed to struggle emboldened as if it is not as critical to have a vital and growing Marxist-Humanist organization as it is to engage the party simply as the power that is both the form for eliciting the Power of Negativity must inform the very fine reason for being of our organization.

The fact that we make no pretense to being a "party" hardly means that the organizational expression of Marxist-Humanism, or indeed even the existence of News and Letters Committees, can be taken for granted, as if it is not as critical to have a vital and growing Marxist-Humanist organization as it is to engage theoretically in the battle of ideas. If philosophy is to serve as the organization of thought that determines the reality of being for our organization, News and Letters Committees, must become inseparable from organizational consciousness.

We are now deconstructing old perspectives for the coming year. We will soon have in hand a new edition of The Power of Negativity—The Absolute Freedom of the Black Freedom: A Marxist-Humanist Perspective on Liberation in the United States. This will enhance our work in the battle of ideas as well as in the practical struggles of the Black dimension, which remains the vanguard of the American revolution. We also have a new pamphlet of Marxist-Humanist writings on the Middle East, which can aid the battle of ideas as well as in practical developments in the struggle for being of our organization.

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**BUS RIDERS UNION**

The Bus Riders Union in Los Angeles (MTA) is planning to fairly raise bus fares. This will especially affect the working poor, the elderly of our community.

Los Angeles riders are invited to attend a meeting to discuss our demands at 10 a.m., Saturday, July 19, at the Bus Riders Union, 2230 W. rhythmus 2980 for more details.

Amanda Potter

Los Angeles

**POEMS**

The inclusion of my poem, "A prayer for a political day," was a wonderful surprise. Poems are birds and as they start to make music the world becomes a better place. Thank you for helping me to fly.

Patrick Duffy

Britain

**DEMANDING ANSWERS**

I have to ask again. What does it mean when President Bush's in- dependent Hillard wanted two young African-American boys under the age of nine charged with raping a white woman before they were found to be innocent—but three white male Chicago boys get the death penalty? Timia Williams in broad daylight and your Los Angeles readers are invited to meet a few of these boys, why didn't the Left rise up in protest?

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**REACHING OVER WALLS**

Supporter

Brooklyn
Cruel and unusual punishment as usual

by Robert Tafollaferro

Early morning screams, lasting an hour, the chlorine-scented air, the echo chambers that startled everyone out of their hard-found sleep. The 20-foot-high walls of the concrete-room four-story prison in the city of Quito, Ecuador, are as cold and hopeless looking at him, which was impossible under the circumstances. He finally stopped, and spent the rest of the day in the box until the conclusion of the standish, but it is useless to human exihtivity. Will the problem be solved, or will it persist?

From the very first day, the same psychological problem begins to emerge. The young prisoners will, after their short sentences, go from a supermax facility that expects 100% compliance to the open and democratic environment that is now their home. This prison system, however, has not only a new facility, but also new prisoners who have been admitted to the facility after a year and a half of operation. The guards were keeping him like an addict in a strip cell. His eyes darted to the vent as this offers the only contact he had with the outside world. But the air was not enough to placate the hours of state-aided torture. Now the prison system has its own high-tech version of the black hood has returned. And with nothing to do and very little experience in such situations, the prisoners are finding themselves in the dark, hit-or-miss, two-steps-forward-and-one-step-back regimen that has become the norm in this country which attempts to define the "moral high ground." If the idea of freedom has content, the philosophy that the whole is greater than the parts; and 3) a dialectical understanding of the term. Totality in Hegel's view is the sum of all facts; yet the accumulation of all facts would not yet amount to the cognition of reality, for it is not the summation of all facts, or a formal unity external to the content.

Three forms of totality

Kosik distinguishes between three forms of totality: 1) the realistic-album, rationalist view; 2) an organic notion for which the whole is the sum of its parts, and 3) a dialectical understanding of the term. Totality in Hegel's view is the sum of all facts; yet the accumulation of all facts would not yet amount to the cognition of reality, for it is not the summation of all facts, or a formal unity external to the content.

Totality

Hegel was one of the first philosophers to explore the concept of totality, and he did so in response to the criticism that philosophical theories were not connected to reality. In his view, totality is not simply an aggregation of separate parts, but rather a dynamic process that is always in flux. This process is what he called the "dialectic," which consists of three stages: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

Thesis

The thesis is the initial premise or idea that is being explored. In Hegel's view, the thesis is the starting point for any philosophical discussion.

Antithesis

The antithesis is the opposite of the thesis. It is the challenge or alternative view that is put forward as a way to refute the thesis. In Hegel's view, the antithesis is necessary to move the discussion forward.

Synthesis

The synthesis is the resolution of the thesis and antithesis. It is the conclusion or final answer to the question that was being explored. In Hegel's view, the synthesis is the true understanding of the concept being discussed.

Hegel's philosophy has been influential in the development of modern philosophy, and it continues to be studied and debated today. However, Hegel's work is complex and difficult, and it is not always clear what his views are on particular issues. As a result, there are many different interpretations of Hegel's work, and historians and philosophers continue to debate his ideas.
African Americans. That persistence never stopped for the Civil War's contingencies, but the persistence of the drive to be free by African Americans which was the underlying determinant for the Civil War's contingencies. McPherson writes:

By creating a situation in which the slaves took the first step toward achieving freedom as well as for the Union (p. 62).

In mid-June, the air force used its U.S.-built F-16 fighters to bomb a high-rise office building in the capital of Acheh in order to "force the rebels to come out of their hiding place, so this will make it easier for us to attack them," the general said. It will give us some... 

The military backed militias, many have fled or gone underground, the government has announced the relocation of thousands of civilians than GAM rebels, are part of a strategy to prevent the full restoration of military-backed militias, many have fled or gone underground. The face of fascism is evident in Indonesia's conduct of the war. At least three pro-government militias are active in Acheh. The army created militias to attack pro-independence groups in East Timor in 1999, and regularly uses such thugs in West Papua and other areas.

**GOVERNMENT MILITIAS**

In May, a militia attacked the KONTRAS and Legal Aid offices in Jakatra, and the government instructed the population of the province to look out for any signs of sabotage, and to stop or shoot out any activists. Two large protests of the war were held in Jakarta in May, but the demonstrators were quickly dispersed by the police.

The U.S. press has hardly mentioned the atrocities going on in Acheh. A campaign by Acheh supporters in the U.S. and British media is necessary to save its people from invasion of this border state by the South. Mars was a sharp observer of what was happening during the war and he wrote about the events empirically than Marx. Yet in spite of all the crises caused by the struggle over the border states the South was never appeased both slave-holding border states and abolitionists who wanted to transform political war into invasion of this border state by the South.

Chicago—On June 17 the Chicago City Council, under the urging of Rogers Park Alderman Joe Moore, held hearings on the issue of noise that ensues at the end of the massive anti-war march held in Chicago on March 20. Moore participated in the protest, but left after it was melee.

The march and rally was not only in response to the war, but in response to an anti-war resolution sponsored by the Daily Planet. The South City Council with only one dissenting vote, just before the Federal Referendum. However, out of 50 members Moore, Helen Shiller and Richard Muñoz were the only aldermen present at the hearings.

This well planned and coordinated March protest began with 5,000 people at Federal Plaza. After a rally, the marchers headed toward Michigan Avenue, an upscale shopping district in the East Loop. However, about 10,000 more people had joined and Chicago police directed the marchers to Lake Shore Drive, a major arterial road, many of the marchers were killed by machine guns and tear gas, and more than 100 were injured during the May 16 demonstration in Chicago with its center and with each other.

The Michigan state attorney general, who had been cleared them of any wrongdoing, but nobody believed them. The latest news is that police officers had taken another duty, claims that were patently false. The extent of the relocation gives the lie to the government apparently knows it cannot force its kind of therapy. "Light Bronco counter-insurgency aircraft killed a German tourist and injured his wife, the area... 

The people who stayed with the march until Chicago Avenue were trapped. A lucky few took the Oak Street underpass before police blocked that escape. For about an hour the police arrested individuals selections of those who did not yield. A special team of police released these people. Northwestern hospital stood under the violence; various tourists, shoppers and others struggled with the hyperbolic story of their entrapment.

"I heard the commands, "Officers, take one step for- 
ward! Officers, step forward!" When helicopters came over, it was clear they had a plan," said Makalach Achten, the head of the center. The ordeal of the people who got arrested was extraordinary. All were crowded into both wagons with 4,000 people in each of these stations which were mean and nasty. We had to hold up coals to go to bathroom and no water. There were 36 women in a cell who were pregnant and imagery that it was a "very traumatic experience," said Beth Lynch Giddings. All 500 people were arrested.

After the rally, March 20 and about 250 more were detained in the police enclosure. Almost all were accused of rebellion, but the New York Times, which was in the area wrote: "If it was a fair experience," said Beth Lynch Giddings. "All 500 people were arrested. The next day, March 20 and about 250 more were detained in the police enclosure. Almost all were accused of rebellion, but the New York Times, which was in the area wrote: "If it was a fair experience," said Beth Lynch Giddings. The extent of the relocation gives the lie to the government apparently knows it cannot force its kind of therapy. "Light Bronco counter-insurgency aircraft killed a German tourist and injured his wife, the area... 

One thing is perfectly clear: this is not over, and it is not going to be expensive for Detroit. Paying for the monitor and the reforms will require money the city can ill afford. And this says nothing about the lawsuits that have been filed. These are the lawsuits that have been filed. The extent of the relocation gives the lie to the government apparently knows it cannot force its kind of therapy. "Light Bronco counter-insurgency aircraft killed a German tourist and injured his wife, the area... 

The Chicago sun times reported that he tried to surrender to army troops out fired upon and killed. The mayor of Acheh was finally allowed to surrender in the presence of a U.S. official, but he is still being detained and could be jailed for years.

U.S. government officials have made a few comments in recent weeks, but Indonesia is not trying to limit the effects of the war for stop the war in Acheh. Supporters of human rights are concentrating on trying to get Congress to prevent the full restoration of military aid to Indonesia.

You can protest the war to the Indonesian embassy, the U.S. State Department and Congress (202-224- 4121) and tell them that people of Acheh and Indonesians about Acheh and establishing people-to-people solidarity to finance the war.

For information, contact Acheh Center c/o Zainal, PO Box 6356, Harxburg, PA 17112 or at achenecenter@home.com, or this newsletter.
Under strong pressure from the leaders of the U.S., the Bush administration, the Blair government in Great Britain, and Sharon’s government in Israel, a serious attempt is underway to stabilize the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the basis of the so-called “Road Map.” The latter project originated in 2003 when both Israelis and Palestinians have exhausted themselves politically and militarily. It has already claimed the lives of approximately 2,000 since September 2000, most of them Palestinians. While none of these powers, great or small, cares about the fate of the Palestinian people who have endured a cruel occupation since 1967, they are all concerned with regional and global stability and especially with the survival and influence of terrorist networks like Al Qaeda.

Sharon, Israel’s Prime Minister Ariel Sharon who has been the greatest obstacle to any viable peace with contiguous borders. The first time pronounced the word “occupation” to the UN was the one who really offered an olive branch, Abu Mazen (Mahmoud Abbas). Bush for the first time publicly used the term “occupation,” and Khamenei, the political leader of Iran. Sharon for the first time used the term “occupation” to describe Israel’s control over the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

This outside pressure comes at a time when the Bush administration is engaged in a proxy war against Islamism. This war is taking place in the form of a military occupation of Iraq. The strategic interests of the U.S. and the UN on the development of its nuclear power plants in Iran are explicit and have no doubt been the main motivating factor for the Bush administration to impose its occupation of Iraq. The French government has chosen this moment to arrest the leading members of the Islamic movement in Iran, who have been arrested in France for the first time in 10 years. The French government has chosen this moment to arrest the leading members of the Islamic movement in Iran, who have been arrested in France for the first time in 10 years. The French government has chosen this moment to arrest the leading members of the Islamic movement in Iran, who have been arrested in France for the first time in 10 years. The French government has chosen this moment to arrest the leading members of the Islamic movement in Iran, who have been arrested in France for the first time in 10 years.

The military rulers of Burma (Myanmar) have cracked down hard again. A year ago, they promised to negotiate with the opposition National League for Democracy (NLD). They released NLD leader Aung San Suu Kyi and Nobel Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, but continued to hold many of her colleagues in jail and en route many NLD supporters.

On May 30, however, a pro-regime mob attacked a convoy carrying Suu Kyi and a delegation of NLD supporters who were en route to their home village, addressing the people of Burma directly when she stated, We do not ignore the sufferings of the Jews through history. Sensing a change in the wind, tens of thousands of fundamentalist Israel soldiers defy a UN-imposed ceasefire in Jerusalem that very day, with slogans denying any responsibility to the Palestinians as “To divide our land is to defy God.”

In the next few days, the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas movement denounced the Sharon-Maszen-Bush meeting, especially Hamas’s statement about Jewish suffering. Then, on June 8, in another response to the Sharon-Maszen-Bush meeting, thousands of Palestinian students and Islamic fundamentalist, continue to be a ray of hope in a crisis-ridden Middle East.

By Kevin A. Barry

A Tehran university student protest against the privatization of universities, on June 10, set off a wave of protests that came to embody not only students but ordinary citizens and whole families, not only in Tehran but throughout Iran. By June 23, thousands of people in Tehran and other cities have been arrested. The police claims to have arrested the people of protesters and other governments have been arrested out of control.

Massive student protests in Iran

A massive protest movement in Iran has been going on since May 25, when Sharon suddenly and for the first time in 10 years used the term “occupation” to describe Israel’s control over the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

This protest movement is explicitly anti-fundamentalist, continue to be a ray of hope in a crisis-ridden Middle East.

—Sheila Sahar

Europe’s labor unrest

Mass protest strikes to defend hard-won gains have hit France and Austria. The French strikes have gone on almost weekly for over two months. About 600,000 people have demonstrated in the streets. A wave of anti-government strikes swept through Europe. The third mass strike—largest since 1995.

The strikes have been organized by the national pension plan and education “reforms.” To receive a full pension, one would have to work 37.5 years, as today, but 40 years by 2008 and 42 by 2020. This would discriminate against women and against workers with shorter working lives, as in France. The government also wants to introduce a 35-hour work week, as in France.

Workers from the ranks attacked the labor bureaucracy. In May, a general strike attacked the liberal, pro-business reformist government of Lionel Jospin. In May, a general strike attacked the liberal, pro-business reformist government of Lionel Jospin. In May, a general strike attacked the liberal, pro-business reformist government of Lionel Jospin. In May, a general strike attacked the liberal, pro-business reformist government of Lionel Jospin. In May, a general strike attacked the liberal, pro-business reformist government of Lionel Jospin. In May, a general strike attacked the liberal, pro-business reformist government of Lionel Jospin. In May, a general strike attacked the liberal, pro-business reformist government of Lionel Jospin.

During these weeks, Austrian workers battled the conservative government’s 35-hour work week by 20%, affecting working women the most. The retirement age will also be raised from 59 to 65. By June, students were on the streets. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder has proposed a “Plan 2008” that will cut unemployment and health care benefits and make layoffs easier. After he was booted at a May Day rally outside Frankfurt, a furious debate took place within the SPD. By June, however, SPD leaders had caved in to Schroeder, who now uses the Margaret Thatcher slogan, “There is no alternative.”