The struggle for India’s future

by Maya Jhansi

The Aug. 25 bomb blasts in Mumbai (Bombay) that killed over 50 people were the latest in a series of low-scale attacks that have terrorized India in the last year. Two women, allegedly part of a group of eight, had blown up 2,000 Muslim girls in Gujarat by a Hare Krishna temple last year, and a terrorist cell led by a Muslim had also been involved in similar attacks. The truth is that the racist core of American capitalism is as prevalent as ever. Unemployment among Blacks is higher than in other fields. Under these racist economic strategies and against the local and state governments. The government has attempted to demolish the shantytowns, some of them over 40 years old, where workers from companies like Godfrey, Escorts and Whirlpool live. Although Faridabad is a planned city, it is as quiescent. We know from American history that the Black revolt is ongoing and permanent.

The truth is that the racist core of American capitalism is as prevalent as ever. Unemployment among Blacks today is rising at a faster pace than in any period since the mid-1970s. Most of the jobs lost have been in manufacturing, where wages for Blacks have historically been higher than in other sectors. Under these racist economic conditions we cannot expect African Americans to remain quiescent. We know from American history that the Black revolt is ongoing and permanent.

This statement is being issued on the 40th anniversary of the original publication of American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard, which was issued at the height of the Civil Rights Movement in 1963 and republished with new Prefaces and Introductions in 1970 and 1983. The following statement, authored primarily by John Alan, “Black/Red View” columnist for the original publication of American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard, has been worked

American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard

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Challenge from Iraqi feminists

by Anne Jaclard

A radical Iraqi feminist organization has emerged from the ashes of Baghdad, presenting a challenge to women's rights activists throughout the world. The Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq (OWFI) was founded in June to stop post-war atrocities against women and to fight for women's equal rights. OWFI was founded in June to stop post-war atrocities against women and to fight for women's equal rights.

Women's rights activists from OWFI partic-...
Immigrant worker freedom riders

San Francisco—On Sept. 20, several thousand people rallied here to send off the Bay Area contingent of the national Immigrant Workers' Freedom Ride. "Immigrant workers, living and paying taxes in the United States, want the right to apply for citizenship, to reunite their families, to have a voice on the job instead of being reduced to mere legal status..." said Maria Perla, an East Bay activist and Immigrant Worker Freedom Rider from El Salvador who was one of the Freedom Riders. "We called ourselves the Freedom Riders because we believed that we would be able to claim victory when management allowed the union jurisdiction over any jobs to be created, as if automation creates "jobs." In the latest UAW contract, the union gave GM the right to throw out jobs and replace them with capital. Even some of those who are already working there are being driven out of work. Their union, the C.W. Post Collegial Federation, is negotiating a contract until you work under it. Freedom Riders must make the fish hooks in a contract until you work under it. Freedom Riders must make the fish hooks in a contract, or negotiate details within 90 days; they are expected to be eliminated this time. These workers would not agree that the union and management recognize them as separate entities, but they are forced to take an occasional day off work to try to regain their strength. But this contract robs the days of work. Worker is being able to fight to the end. That's why we find you out how much you've lost."

—Andy Phillips

Tyson Foods strike

Jefferson, Wis.—At Tyson Foods pepperoni and ham plant in Jefferson, Wis., 355 workers of the Commercial Workers Local 538 have gone on strike since last Friday. Tyson Foods estimated its 2002 payroll was $7.7 million in 2002 (up $3.2 million from 2001), and agreed to a two-tier wage structure for new hires. As a retired auto worker said, "You don't know all the books in a contract until you work under it. That's why we find you out how much you've lost." Tyson and the union have not bargained since Feb.-1. That's why we find you out how much you've lost.

—Basho

ASSI MARKET UPDATE

Los Angeles—In August 2002, Assi Korean Supermarket fired over 50 workers on the pretext of illegal Social Security numbers, but actually because of their organization for a fair bargaining contract. There has been no settlement after one year of picketing on the street and the company refused to bargain with the workers, mostly Latins, who are pichetsing the market on a daily basis. They have been supported by grassroots community groups, the United Food Workers Advocate and the Immigrant Workers Union. A Korean immigrant worker was fired by Assi Market for protesting against constant verbal harassment and ridicule of workers and demanding more work in less time. We will be held a union with the workers. We will stand up and we will fight to the end.

—Jay Area supporters

UAW caves in to Big 3

Detroit—The Big Three auto companies—GM, Ford and Chrysler—have agreed to pay a total of $7.5 billion to settle labor and civil rights lawsuits by the American Auto Workers union in the recalls, negotiations and settlements it has brought against the Big Three to close plants, shifting some health care costs to the workers, and giving management greater flexibility over the control of the workers to increase productivity, in other words, speedup.

Brainwashing for the concessionary contracts began last year at the last round of national bargaining when Wall Street analysts were invited to talk about the "unknown" details of the future contracts. At that time, the unionists were back with UAW leaders in August, in the midst of the negotiations. So it is no surprise the Wall Street Journal said the UAW leaders "praised... the "just and proportional" statelessness of UAW President Ron Gettelfinger.

While the UAW has instead capitulated to the Big Three, it also agreed to pay workers $5 for each doctor's visit, up to $23 for a child's illness, and $50 for each prescription. It is the difference between the generic and brand name drug. That can amount to thousands of dollars when doctors impose brand name drugs.

The plant-closing agreement will affect 15-20,000 workers. But the UAW has not only been exposed, it is now facing the possibility of another closure deal. That's why we find you out how much you've lost.

—New York student sympathizer
This is the most tragic day in the history of the United States of America. In 1970 when Salvador Allende was elected president of Chile, it appeared that Chile would be the only country that was able to defeat American imperialism. But that was before the events of September 11. The regimes that the United States opposed back then were replaced by the local bourgeoisie, the new spawn of Chiriquismo, which has used them to declare a "state of war" and is currently using the crisis of terrorism to stifle all hopes of human and social liberation. The real culprit is—U.S. imperialism. U.S. military interventions against Iraq, Sudan, Afghanistan and its allies recently have a total view rooted not just in what we oppose, but what we support. On the occasion of the second anniversary of September 11, 2001, we reprint excerpts of the September 16, 2001 editorial written by Raya Dunayevskaya—Marxist-Humanist Archives.

Editor's note: On the occasion of the second anniversary of the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks, we reprint excerpts of the statement News & Letters Committee issued on Sept. 6, 2001, "Greece and other issues raised by this statement, we welcome your feedback and comments.

Against the Double Tragedy: No to terrorism and Bush's drive to war!

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Against the Double Tragedy: No to terrorism and Bush's drive to war!
Human impact of 'job-loss' economy

Indiana prison strike

The following statement is issued on behalf of 11 prisoners on the Walhalla Convictional Facility Section B-2, Unit 7 and concerns the conditions on said units. Beginning on Sept. 12, 2003, prisoners on the long term administrative segregation range, collectively refused to eat food off the Black unit trays. This is not a hunger strike, but rather a response to the inhumane conditions on this range. An 80% reduction in food, without notice, is being sent this message in an effort to provide impetus to those political officers in the state who have ignored the rights of those incarcerated in this range. The basic food is not to restore the water and electricity or any of the

Capitol's response was an intensive effort after 1975 to cut wages and benefits and to send jobs to the low wage corners of the global economy. At the same time capitalists tried to increase productivity with ever more ruthless management. In a piece on disappearing factory jobs in Capitalist's Battle Crisis of the Occupiers, Ronald Oliver was killed when he responded to a robbery call at a Wendy's Restaurant. Workman had robbed Wendy's and fled as police arrived. A gunfight ensued. Oliver was killed, and another Memphis police officer was wounded. Workman was killed. Workman had robbed Oliver, and sentenced him to death. Did he actually kill Oliver? Workman was killed by police officers in a stand-off with Oliver. The jury based its conviction on the testimony of Harold Davis, Aubrey K. Stoddard, and Stephen Parker. Evidence uncovered, which revealed the use of the Memphis Police Department, the Shelby County Medical Examiner's Office denied it had any role in Workman's death.
The revolutionary change that will do away with it...

From the inside I've learned about human existence...In contrast, Lenin's writings on "the tendency was toward uncritical support of all forms of nationalism, as if all struggles for American Marxism. As we've seen, post-Marx Marxists tended to view U.S. struggles as less militant than the European—primarily because they relegated the Black dimension to a subordinate position and often saw it as a diversion from the class struggle altogether. Marx, Dunayevskaya argued, saw it in the opposite way...

What informed Fanon's whole life was a commitment to the absolute independence of the deepest subjects of revolution, especially the Black dimension, as a path to a new reciprocity between all peoples—a "new humanism." Political leaders of the dominant party were especially a target of his wrath: he called the "single party...the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unaligned, unspoken, unspoken and cynical."

Our problem today is not that a new objective development of capitalism has made the vanguard character of the Black struggle to the whole American development of an outmoded idea. Our task instead is to bring to the fore the underlying philosophy that made such a profound recollection of the role of Black masses in the development of the idea of Freedom. The parallelism between Black and labor struggles is not an insurmountable barrier. As Dunayevskaya wrote, "Only when these two great movements coalesce do we reach decisive turning points in U.S. development." This speaks to the need to bridge the gap between anti-capitalist globalists and those fighting the criminal (justice) system today. What is needed to bridge that gap is the unifying philosophy of a new Marxism specifically Marxist-Humanism...

As Dunayevskaya wrote in a retrospective/perspec-tive of Marxist-Humanism in 1983, "What is totally new is that we place philosophy of revolution and not just committees form as ground for organization. In a word, we speak of class struggle as a fixed idea, not merely as a principle, because of the power of the idea of freedom. The persistence of the African-American struggle has created new mediators of the freedom idea in this country. The point of recollecting the history of these struggles is to overcome the tendency to accept any new perspective, instead of realizing the full power of mediation—dialectical mediation, the struggle for freedom, new, human beginnings.

As the introduction to the 1983 edition of American Civilization on Trial put it, "To separate a philosophy of liberation from the struggle for freedom is to doom us to yet one more unfinished revolution such as has characterized the U.S. from its birth, when the Declaration of Independence was meant for white only and left the Black enslaved...It has become clear since the 1960s that a new mediators of the freedom idea in this country. The point of recollecting the history of these struggles is to overcome the tendency to accept any new perspective, instead of realizing the full power of mediation—dialectical mediation, the struggle for freedom, new, human beginnings."

We believe this book will make an important contribution to achieving this goal.

—The National Editorial Board

Next month

American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard

by Raya Dunayevskaya

• Preface to 40th Anniversary Edition
• Contents
• Excerpts

Excerpts

CHAPTER 5 • The Self-Determination of the Idea in the African-American Struggle for Freedom

The limits encountered by efforts at political emancipation do not prove the futility of the struggles by Black masses for freedom; nor does it prove what Derrick Bell has called "the permanence of racism." Rather, points to the difference between political and human emancipation. The distinction between the two was integral to Karl Marx's entire new continent of thought and its evolution.

Today there is a tendency on the part of many leftists to dismiss all forms of nationalism, as if all struggles for...to put it, "To separate a philosophy of mediation in the struggle of the 20th century..."
BEYOND CAPITALISM?
Raya Dunayevskaya's article on "The Cooperative form of labor vs. abstract labor" (August-September 2003) has a lot to do with the question of what happens after revolution. Where she wrote that there is a revolution, there is a change in society can be achieved is for workers to combine their own. In fact, different from their present work as to make the scientists outside the plants as unnecessary as they were, in the "capital factory," I kept thinking of a recent reference to "Beyond Capitalism" where people were asking. Look into, and you'll get beyond capitalism? Her essay gives a glimpse of what beyond capitalism would look like when "an entirely new mode of labor in an entirely new form would appear" out of the "labor in mind of these who think they can make capitalism." The difference is so long as value production continues.

Women's Liberationist
Memphis

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The question of freely associated labor, as opposed to the deposed plan of capital- communism, has never been more relevant than today. The Reading, Writing, Research, and Revolution (RWR) editors carbonate the contradictions we face today, where ever-increasing pressures of production compete with ever-widening market pressures. We can't extract exactly what kind of society freely-associated labor would produce. But we can try. We can't do it, but it would not be characterized by the fear of a great depression today.

Retiree Detroit

BUSH AND THE GAG RULE
New President Bush has cut off organizations providing reproductive health services to AIDS victims by cutting funding of the Global Gag Rule.

Burma is a country known for its abysmal human rights record. American Tobacco (BAT) is not only one of the last multinational corporations to operate in Burma—no one in their country, no uncle, no money to pay taxes, no union, no help in public, no union to toil on their land, no mining to do, no helping them with their co-workers and fellow union workers to "engage in a self-activity so different from their present work as to make the scientists outside the plants as unnecessary as they were, in the "capital factory," I kept thinking of a recent reference to "Beyond Capitalism" where people were asking. Look into, and you'll get beyond capitalism? Her essay gives a glimpse of what beyond capitalism would look like when "an entirely new mode of labor in an entirely new form would appear" out of the "labor in mind of these who think they can make capitalism." The difference is so long as value production continues.

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**Eyewitness account: new stage of struggle in Chiapas**

Chiapas, Mexico—In the green highlands of Chiapas, where the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) has waged a 20-year rebellion against the Mexican state, a new stage of the conflict has emerged. The Zapatistas, under the leadership of Subcomandante Marcos, have staged a series of events that have significantly reinvigorated the struggle for autonomy and self-determination.

This is not just an escalation of the armed conflict. It is a strategic move to redefine the terms of the conflict in a way that challenges the legitimacy of the Mexican state and opens the door to new forms of political struggle.

**A new political narrative**

The Zapatistas have announced a new stage of their armed struggle, emphasizing the role of the EZLN as the vanguard of a broader movement for autonomy and self-determination. They have called for a new round of negotiations with the government, demanding the recognition of their autonomy and the withdrawal of the Mexican military from their territory.

**The EZLN's perspective**

In a statement released by Subcomandante Marcos, the EZLN leader, they asserted that the Mexican government has failed to fulfill its promises of autonomy and that the military presence is a violation of their rights. They called for a new round of talks that would result in a constitutional referendum for autonomy.

**The response of the government**

The Mexican government has responded with a mixture of rhetoric and action. While they have expressed a willingness to negotiate, they have also reinforced their commitment to maintaining the military presence in the region. The government has also tried to discredit the Zapatistas through various tactics, including the deployment of undercover police.

**The implications**

The new stage of the conflict has significant implications for the future of Chiapas and beyond. It signals a shift in the dynamics of the conflict, with the Zapatistas gaining new momentum and the Mexican government facing increased pressure to address the demands of the Zapatistas.

**Conclusion**

The Zapatistas' new stage of struggle represents a significant challenge to the Mexican state and its supporters. It is a testament to the resilience of the Zapatistas and their commitment to the cause of autonomy and self-determination. The outcome of this new stage will be closely watched by observers around the world.
The struggle for India's future

(Continued from page 1)

with housing cooperatives and officials, there is no space allotted for workers' living quarters. Thousands of women, children, and men, joined by residents of Amsterdam and the Hague, have come together to protect their homes by blocking demolition mechanisms. In scenes reminiscent of 1980s shantytown battles, those shantytowns have been demolished, but several have been saved by the spontaneous efforts of the residents. Despite the power of the demolition machinery, the residents have been able to make the papers — and is not controlled by any party. Such a party, for the Left, though the Left in India has sunk into lower baser, the Left is both everyday resistance and a search for alternatives to existing systemic violence.

DANGER OF RIGHT-WING POPULISM

It seems, however, that it is the Right more than the Left that is trying to speak to the strivings of people for a better life. To begin with, the organized forces of the Left parties—workers, peasants, artisans (so called tribal peoples), Dalits and women—are being actively wooed by the Right in an ingenious and nefarious strategy of fascist populism.

Indeed, most alarming is that today the largest labor union in India is the Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), organized by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the leading organization of the Hindu Right. With a staggering membership of 7.6 million, the BMS has surpassed not only the Communist Party-controlled Center of Trade Unions but also the Congress Party-controlled Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC).

The BMS statement of principles declares their "conviction that [the] class concept is a myth." Claiming that "the idea of class and society" is immoral, the BMS argues that "maximum production is the natural duty of labor." This is a purely corporatist and authoritarian goal with a call for restricted consumption and fair distribution.

In addition to the BMS, the Bhartiya Kisan Sangh, which has large numbers of farmers, peasants and artisans, is growing. This is an organization that has consistently opposed the struggles of the Save the Narmada River Valley Movement. The largest organization in the Narmada valley is the Save the Narmada River Valley Committee. This is a democracy organization with the option of the Left to do so.

UNDERSTANDING THE HINDU RIGHT

The Hindu right has now pulled Dalits into the same camp, though the basic issue of Dalits in the pogrom against Muslims in Gujarat. In the Maharashtrian state, the Shiv Sena has succeeded in recruiting and utilizing the Dalit Panther movement as co-founder of the Dalit Panthers and one of the greatest Marathi poets to come out of the Dalit literary renaissance of the 1970s.

This is not for nothing that Hitler felt compelled to call his party national-socialist. Likewise, the Hindu Right clearly represents the high castes and classes, it has made a monometh effort to draw the movements of the lower castes, showing no interest in the language of the Left to do so.

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"Can capitalism be reformed for the better?" is market socialism a viable alternative? "What specific social and economic changes would end the unemployment and poverty, illiteracy and hunger," and set the stage for the development of worker self-management. In the collapse of these Nehruvian ideals of modernization through rapid capitalization industrialization and centralized state control, new businesses and entrepreneurs, and primitive Indian socialism have emerged. The new movements have raised new questions that deserve serious thinking and rethinking, not platitudes and slogans. Addressing these new challenges from below is probably the only way to ensure that Hinduism is not the future of India.

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"Can capitalism be reformed for the better?" is market socialism a viable alternative? "What specific social and economic changes would end the unemployment and poverty, illiteracy and hunger," and set the stage for the development of worker self-management. In the collapse of these Nehruvian ideals of modernization through rapid capitalization industrialization and centralized state control, new businesses and entrepreneurs, and primitive Indian socialism have emerged. The new movements have raised new questions that deserve serious thinking and rethinking, not platitudes and slogans. Addressing these new challenges from below is probably the only way to ensure that Hinduism is not the future of India.
The Marxist and humanist legacy of Henri Lefebvre

by Liam O'Reilly

Henri Lefebvre (1901-91) was an independent French Marxist theoretical writer, urban sociologist, and social theorist. He was a prolific writer in the Marxist tradition, and his works influenced many later developments in the social sciences. Like many radicals of his generation, he was banned from teaching in France during the Cold War. He was later a sociology lecturer at the University of Louvain, where he wrote The Production of Space (1974)

Opening day at Harvey Milk High

by Sheila

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As the U.S. occupation grinds on, several spectacular attacks have occurred, especially against the Palestinian leadership. Mello was an example. This attack was condemned throughout the Arab world and by the UN and OAS, and in the US and U.S. governments of innocent Iraqi civilians.

On Sept. 20, a member of the U.S.-appointed Government of National Accord, who had been under critical condition and later died, after being shot on her way to work. On Aug. 29, a car bomb outside the world's most sacred Shi'ite religious site, the Imam Ali Shrine, killed 93 people. One of them was Dr. Bent Dar al-Hakim, who was to be the target. The Iraqi government and the political leadership of Dar al-Hakim had been using the U.S. forces to protect Dar al-Hakim. The sources of these attacks remain a mystery. They seem to aim at killing or injuring Iraqis who express anti-American rhetoric or are part of Iraq's fundamentalist out of which the horrors of September 11 may emerge.

These dramatic events completely crowded off the stage a truly historic one: the capture of "Chemical Ali," the head of a secret office who was responsible for poison gas attacks on the Kurds in 1988. In that period, the Ba'athists killed 100,000 Kurds, at a time when Iraq was a quasi-allied of the U.S. Baghdad army this spring has allowed Shi'ite clerics to assume various degrees of power in much of Baghdad and southern Iraq. Shi'ite Islamists have pressed women into wearing the suit and have attacked liquor and movie rental stores. Clerics have also been trying to expand their power by establishing their own legal courts. The U.S. also allowed them to block what was to have been the appointment of Iraq's first woman judge, Qays al-Mahdi.

At the same time, however, Iraq's secular Left, long ignored by the Shi'ite republic, has tried to assert itself in the face of the occupation, the Shi'ite Islamists, and the terrorist attacks. One of these groups is the Workers Communist Party (WCP), which has set up a headquarters in downtown Baghdad. In a back room, protected from religious fanatics by armed WCP members, a young woman has set up an office. She maintains an office. It publishes the newspaper, Equality, which has become a veritable voice of the compulsory veil." It demands complete legal equality for women, separation of state and religion, and full democracy in place of the current, closed society. (See 'Challenge from Iraqi feminists,' p. 2.)

The WCP has also helped to organize a Union of the Unemployed. After repeated demonstrations for aid to the unemployed that met no response, they set up a tent city outside U.S. occupation headquarters. Instead of negotiating, however, U.S. troops arrested them and shaved them with gas shaves. The U.S. economic plan for Iraq would set up a ruthless "free market" economy, allowing international capital to take over banking and other major sectors.

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxists-Humanists that since its birth has stood for the absorption of all the vanguard parties and movements into a single vanguard party. The News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxists-Humanists that since its birth has stood for the absorption of all the vanguard parties and movements into a single vanguard party. The News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxists-Humanists that since its birth has stood for the absorption of all the vanguard parties and movements into a single vanguard party.