Crisis compels return to Marx

In this special issue we are publishing our Draft Perspectives Thesis, part of our preparation for the 30th anniversary of the News and Letters Committees over Memorial Day weekend. We have published every one since 1975, breaking new ground for our movement. We are calling on those in such a moment of crisis, facing a choice between absolute terror or absolute freedom, that a revolutionary organizational can no longer allow any separation between theory and practice, philosophy and action, workers and intellectuals, “inside” and “outside.” We ask you to join in the discussion of these Perspectives. We are not presenting any “pat answers” to the question, “Where Do We Go from Here?” We are raising the questions that demand answers—and we ask you to help us in working them out.

Barack Obama’s $800 billion stimulus package includes $20 billion, to be followed with another $30 billion, for computerizing healthcare. Analysts tout the value of hi-tech to bring quality healthcare, and point to medical groups like Kaiser HMO and Sutter Health, which have already digitized recordkeeping. As one of the workers in that world, I know this is not the answer to providing quality care. We’re drowning in technology. What’s in question is its relation to actual patient care.

In reality, cost cutting, not delivering better care, is what motivates computerization. Karl Marx said labor under capitalism is split between abstract and concrete labor. For healthcare workers, computerization has intensified that contradiction between the two—drive to cut costs and labor time—and concrete labor, providing quality care.

For example, a conscientious nurse exasperatingly_normalize that enormous resources are expended for co-pay collections while no budget is set aside to covering the costs of infectious agents like TB. This task is critical to prevent further spread of disease. As a result, many patients are wrongly placed in shared rooms where they spread TB, MRSA, and other types of communicable infections.

The computer technology fetish is further alienating the whole healthcare workplace, transforming everyone, including RNs and MDs, into appendages to the machine, feeding information to a vast database. A

I. World in Meltdown and Revolt

The forces stirred by the swarm of crises shaking capitalism’s world order to the core were summarized inside and outside the London Summit of the G20. Tens of thousands of marchers converged on the Bank of England on April 1, in four streams led by the new Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Red horse against war; Green horse against climate chaos; Silver horse against financial crimes; and Black horse against land enclosures and borders, hailing the 360th anniversary of the English Revolution’s Diggers and their designation of the Earth as “a common treasury for all.”

Protest signs ranged from “Jobs not bombs” to the huge banner reading, “Capitalism is working (about) how in the world is possible.”

Net far off, thousands of mainly young people pitched tents to create a Climate Camp across from the European Commission, the center of the so-called carbon trading, raising the banner: “Stopping carbon markets, I’m sure the cause doesn’t have bailouts.”

Yet another protest posed the U.S. wars against Iraq and Afghanistan.

But the true depth of revolt was shown in the latest factory occupations, as hundreds of workers sat in at three auto parts factories being closed by Visteon UK in Basildon, Enfield and Belfast. One worker, John Gowen, told a reporter, “We intend to carry this campfire for as long as we possibly can, right through to next month, next month, if there is people are willing to do it, and we have organized ourselves.”

In Greece, a 24-hour nationwide general strike on April 2, the day of the summit, showed how the masses of workers can shut down a country. Stathis Anestis, a spokesman for the Greek General Confederation of Workers, called it Greek people’s response to the G20 summit in London. Those who created the crisis are now trying to fix it, and the solutions they’re handing down to governments like ours are not to be trusted.

(A) U.S. challenged by Europe and China as fears of new Depression raise specters of fascism and war

Inside the G20 summit, intended to forge united action by the world’s biggest economies, U.S. President Barack Obama and his counterparts sweated to paper over the confrontations that are inevitable when the world’s biggest economies, U.S. President Barack Obama and his counterparts sweated to paper over the confrontations that are inevitable when the world’s biggest economies, U.S. President Barack Obama and his counterparts sweated to paper over the confrontations that are inevitable when the world’s biggest economies, U.S. President Barack Obama and his counterparts sweated to paper over the confrontations that are inevitable when the world’s biggest economies, U.S. President Barack Obama and his counterparts sweated to paper over the confrontations that are inevitable when the world’s biggest economies. Stathis Anestis, a spokesman for the Greek General Confederation of Workers, called it Greece’s response to the G20 summit in London. Those who created the crisis are now trying to fix it, and the solutions they’re handing down to governments like ours are not to be trusted.

CHINA’S CHALLENGES

In a separate challenge, China won more power in the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Having exploited its most available resource, labor power, to become the world’s sweatshop, China has now become the biggest creditor of the West.

Rifles between rulers are not just policy differences but have raised fears of trade war, which the G20 believe they have averted for now with their moosie standge. But protectionist measures have increased, and narrow nationalist demagogues are trying to exploit them, along with anti-immigrant scapegoating.

No international agreement can ward off the specter of fascism and world war, just as it cannot erase the memory of the Great Depression of the 1930s, when mass unemployment, mass destitution across the globe, and massive state intervention into the economy could not reduce value production until World War II saw such vast destruction across the globe. The democratic trade unionists must be as rigorous as Simon Kuznets could not escape the crisis of state-capitalism was limited to the East bloc. Far from solving the East’s problems, turning to mixed private and state-capitalism has left those countries and even the Eastern part of wealthy Germany stuck in a legacy of poverty, pollution, and unemployment. That is deepening in today’s crisis, leading observers such as Ron Aumus of the German Marshall Fund to ask: “Is the democratic transition in danger?”

Strikes and protests have swept the regions, from Montenegro to Estonia Governments have fallen in Latvia, Hungary and the Czech Republic. The simmering discontent was expressed in January by participants in Bulgaria’s “Nationwide People’s Protest,” who declared, “We are fed up with living in the poorest country.”

In China, though, what is falling is not a wall but the illusion that the crisis of state-capitalism was limited to the East bloc. Paradoxically, it is the epicenter of this tremendous growth. Not far off, thousands of mainly young people pitched tents to create a Climate Camp across from the European Commission, the center of the so-called carbon trading, raising the banner: “Stopping carbon markets, I’m sure the cause doesn’t have bailouts.”

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While there is no question that the election of Barack Obama is a good thing for women—reversal of the heinous Global Gag Rule will save the lives of thousands of women overseas—there is danger here too. When Bill Clinton was first elected, he too rescinded the Global Gag Rule and his reputation as a friend of women’s reproductive rights led to the collapse of much of the movement for abortion rights. This poor women still unable to access abortion, it left the Hyde Amendment in place, effectively ending abortion-intact—it is still intact—it left federal and state court rules intact, with rights won in the 1973 cases. It left a fateful right—wrong judgment determined to stop women’s access to abortion at any cost (see article below).

The disarming of the women’s movement also disarms the alternative to the pill—abortion. Nowhere will there be more effort to bring women out of poverty. In fact the official White House website, expectmore.gov, tells us ‘the following actions’ they are taking to improve the performance of the [welfare] program: “Reassessing the program’s performance measures and related targets,” and “Implementing the plan to determine the rate and amount of cash assistance payments that are paid improperly and developing a plan for reducing improper payments.” How is this pathetic response, or rather non-response, to stop poverty any different than what a Republican would do? Not only that, it be welfare, food stamps, or the Child Nutrition and WIC Reauthorization Act, one of the most important domestic policies of our time. Now the West is in a flood of natural and man-made disasters, and the government is not fully prepared to address them. It is critical to make known the deception, as well as the reality of abortion, including late-term abortion, and that creative people tend to be open-minded. Evangelical pop culture evolves, people will begin to demand higher quality products in the performing arts, and that creative people tend to be open-minded. People will be more tolerant of single mothers and land-scaping. Newman recruits Tiller’s former employees and patients to give testimonies, usually conforming to another single mother’s story. Newman’s work is possible in the first place. The real question the election poses, then, is not our expectations of Obama, but whether, when he has the power, the movement for freedom—go from here. We can see what the election of Barack Obama was a breathing space as we move away from the stench that was Bush and his administration, and work out how to put forward what is really necessary to make a capitalist, neo-capitalist, homophobic society into a truly new human one. Obama’s admitted philosophy is pragmatism, he’s going to do what works. The question of pragmatism cannot be the movement’s ground because pragmatism does not lead to the new, but to only surviving or minimally improving what is. In our age of total crisis, that is not enough. The times call for a total change. For that we need to be ground in a philosophy of liberation, a way to break out of the return to Marx.

While the women’s movement has, rightly, been suspicious of a post-Martin Marx who told us our freedom already has to both make a radical shift of perspective. The question is, how to return to Marx’s Marxism, rather than post-Marx Marxism. Where did the long-awaited wave of every revolutionary turn. The women’s movement has, rightly, already rejected those so-called Marxists thatThunder ‘Social Revolution’ comes first. But with capitalism failing in a spectacular and horrifically destructive manner, with those wanting a new world and believing that it is possible to look at Marx, the women’s movement can’t afford to be left behind. Our pages are open for your discussion.

Review of Christian pop culture in ‘Rapture Ready’

Christian pop culture is a recent phenomenon, mostly of the producers and consumers of which are white, conservative evangelicals. Daniel Radosh, author of ‘Rapture Ready: Christian Pop Culture as the Parable of Christian Pop Culture’, is a Jewish Humanist. He partly wrote this book for its entertainment value because there is something inherently funny about Bibleman the fundamentalist superhero, Hell House the alternative to haunted houses, a breath of capitalism called “Testimants,” and the Christian versions of wrestling and hard rock. In his book and the companion website, www.getraptureready.com, do have their guard down.

Virginia’s Democratic Governor Tim Kaine signed legislation March 30 enabling the sale of ‘Choose Life’ license plates in the state, with $15 of the $25 fee funding so-called “crisis pregnancy centers” whose reason to deny women their right to abortion. NAIRAL Pro-Choice America criticized the action saying: “the revenue would go to many centers that use deceptive, intimidatory and emotionally manipulative tricks to block women from learning facts about, or choosing liberal abortion.”

Information from Feminist Daily News Wire

A Spanish feminist coalition, the State Network of Feminist Organizations, challenged the Catholic Church by launching a campaign, March 27, to support the liberalization of abortion laws by Spain’s Socialist government. Since assuming power in 2004, the government has removed religion from the public curriculum and banned the wearing of religious-based laws in Britain and elsewhere, and in defense of citizenship and universal rights. The marchers heard speeches in defense of the policy of the political Islamic movement. Hundreds then attended a public meeting to discuss and debate Sharia, sexual identity and the Right. For more information contact www.onelawforall.org.uk.

Information from Maryam Namazie

Nearly 600 people joined the One Law for All anti-racism rally in London, March 7, against Sharia and religious-based laws in Britain and elsewhere, and in defense of citizenship and universal rights. The marchers heard speeches in defense of the policy of the religious Islamic movement. Hundreds then attended a public meeting to discuss and debate Sharia, sexual identity and the Right. For more information contact www.onelawforall.org.uk.

WOMAN

Abortion rights battles continue

When Democrats are in power, the religious right intensifies its efforts. Anti-abortion groups have focused on changing state laws to make abortion illegal. The Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. Several state legislatures have passed laws that would ban abortion if the woman’s life would not be at risk, or if the pregnancy would result to a fetus or a harm to the fetus, which would grant personhood to a cell or embryo at fertilization, conception, cloning, or other early stages of development.

Born Alive Truth,” led by Gianna Jessen, who claims to have survived a saline abortion when she was a fetus, launched an elevation attack on Obama during his campaign saying he voted against a bill making it mandatory to give medical care to a fetus that had survived a late-term abortion. Obama voted against this bill because similar laws were already in place. Operation Rescue, headed by Troy Newman, led a campaign against the nomination of Kansas Governor Kathleen Sebelius for Attorney General because of her support of Dr. George Tiller, who runs one of only three clinics in the U.S. that perform late-term abortions. Newman demonstrated against Sebelius because of her support of Dr. George Tiller, who runs one of only three clinics in the U.S. that perform late-term abortions. Newman demonstrated against Sebelius because of her support of Dr. George Tiller, who runs one of only three clinics in the U.S. that perform late-term abortions.

Tiller is still a threat to those who lie to achieve their goals. The causes of the religious right, including the war on reproductive rights, are tools in their attempt to create a theocratic state.
New York—Stella D'Oro, an Italian biscuit company, was started as a family business in 1932. The workers were unionized in the 1950s by the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers Union, Local 50. Stella D'Oro was sold three times. The present owners are Brynwood Partners. The workers, who have a contract with the company for a five-year period, went on strike when they called for a $25 wage cut and immediate restoration of the 7% raises and ended up for holidays, vacations and sick days, and reduced weekends and Saturdays and reduced retirements. The owners claimed they could’t afford giving money, but refused to open their books. Workers organized a picket last Aug. 13, expecting a short strike. As the economy worsened, the owners found it easy to hire scabs and the strike has dragged on for seven weeks. The strikers remain Capitol and called a boycott of Stella D’Oro products. The union has called on the NJLRL to rule on Brynwood’s refusal to negotiate in good faith. Since the strikers are not earning in unemployment compensation.

The workers have organized a support committee which has weekly meetings to discuss leaflet in front of stores, press conferences, rallies and raising funds. They've opened a shop, the Union NC, SEIU, and TWU are the support committee. Companies are using the economic crisis as an opportunity to automate and contract out. The New York City Central Labor Council must increase its support of the strikers and mobilizes its membership to participate in the picket line and support the workers. As possible. What they cannot escape is the fact that only computer by management. In a disciplinary hearing of a Shop Steward was fired. Thanks to our Support Committee, which helps us every day. I have met so many people who encourage us to keep fighting. I am not going so much from this strike—the first I have been through—and I feel like you are part of my family.

Judy Gonzales, of the Support Committee, told us that not one worker has crossed the picket line. It takes a lot to support a strike. There is a lot more to be done—we need your ideas, money, and help.
What has happened to the Iranian revolution? Has it already run its course into its opposite, counter-revolution? Or can it be saved and deepened? June 25, 1981

Dear Friends:

The removal of President Bani-Sadr, first from his post as Commander-in-Chief, and, within 12 short days, on June 22, from his post as President, accomplished by an army that had been disarmed by a previous agreement, with the vigorous support of the masses—what is it that the masses achieved? What was the mass movement and its significance to the revolutionary struggle for freedom? These are questions that have been put to all who participated in the movement, to all who supported it, and to all who are concerned about the fate of the Iranian people.

There has been a great deal of confusion about the Iranian Revolution, and its significance to the struggle for freedom in the Third World. This is especially true since the revolution of 1979, which brought about a change in the government of Iran, and the establishment of a new order. The Iranian Revolution has been characterized by a series of events, including the Shah's escape from the country, the establishment of the Islamic Republic, and the destruction of the monarchy. The revolution has also been marked by a number of significant events, including the uprising of the people, the establishment of the Islamic Republic, and the destruction of the monarchy.

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(B) Disarray in thought reflects capitalism's structural crisis

The disarray in bourgeois thought reflects the rulers’ desperation. Ever the pragmatist, Obama is deter-
mined to try something, despite the gulf between the size of the economic reality and the signifi-cance of the sigh of relief that the summit reached an agree-
ment, though it did not include his desired Keynesian sup-
port for the state. A disarray, a capitulation. The capitalist
bourgeois economist Paul Samuelson found himself
quoting Joseph Schumpeter’s statement during the dep-
ression in 1938: “The facts are what are important. No. I do not think it can.”

What the clashes of the moment to address the economic meltdown refl ect above all is that there is no fi-x:

• capitalism’s contradictions cannot be solved as long as we live in a society that is premised on what the world powers are trying to save.

Even stepping up capitalist globalization through the “Doha Round” of trade talks was included in the summit’s communiqué—but the same globalization that can change the fact that the rate of proft has declined below 5% in the last four decades and a half—so much so that forecast is worse than the last, with the 30-nation Organi-

tization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) projecting its member economies would con-

struct 4.3% this year, predicting the fi rst negative global economic growth since World War II, and a sharp rise in unemployment.

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Despite the widespread recognition that the totali-
tarianist Communism—that is, state-capitalism—of Stalin’s Russia or Mao’s China is neither a solution to the world’s problems, nor a model for a successful state, it is belied by the fact that the “booms” since then look more like bubbles now, with a refl ection of the crises of the mid-1970s. At the time, few Marxists were ready to agree with Raya Dunayevskaya’s analy-

sis of the crisis.

(1) The challenge from labor in ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ lands

From the UN Secretary-General to the head of the IMF to the Prime Minister of Qatar speaking at the Arab League summit, warnings of unrest to come have been pouring out. In Obama’s White House, the eco-
nomic crisis and its root causes have replaced briefings on global instability (that is, revolt) from the meltdown is considered a bigger strategic threat than al Qaeda. The reality is that the structural rift between the rulers and the masses of workers to remake society, whether that is ex-

pressed as the need to limit the movement to pragmatic piecemeal goals to provide a blueprint to the masses, or to form a vanguard party to lead them. But where some on the Left lack conft, the rulers are worried about what will supplant the market. The worldwide revolt of labor—as well as rulers’ oft-mentioned fear of the revolt—is another index of the crisis.

(2) Two worlds in every country

Caribbean island of Guadeloupe to a standoff from Jan. 20 to March 5, lasting over six weeks. Workers by the thousands demonstrated, blocked roads, clashed with police, and then the police stations to secure the release of 50 arrested strikers. By March the French government, which rules the island, had grant-

ed the top 20 demands of the labor-community coalition LKP (Collective Against Super-Exploitation), including a substantial wage hike for the lowest-paid. Unemploy-
ment there was 27.7% as of 2007, with poverty 12.5%, yet prices are higher than in France.

Unrest spread to other islands ruled by France: neige-
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Suffering, and revolt, will certainly continue to

build. Far from the world food crisis being a thing of the past, the world food situation has actually improved: food prices have moved even closer to their historical level, and poverty are making a big comeback in the U.S. Real unemployment (including “discouraged” workers and involuntary part-timers) is now up to 16%, while another 2.3 million people are behind bars; some of them work, but for only pennies an hour.

Whether or not they acknowledge it, too many “Marxists” today have no confdence in the ability of masses of workers to remake society, whatever that is or is not expressed as the need to limit the movement to pragmatic piecemeal goals to provide a blueprint to the masses, or to form a vanguard party to lead them. But where some on the Left lack conft, the rulers are worried about what will supplant the market. The worldwide revolt of labor—as well as rulers’ oft-mentioned fear of the revolt—is another index of the crisis.

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Whether or not they acknowledge it, too many “Marxists” today have no confidence in the ability of masses of workers to remake society, whatever that is or is not expressed as the need to limit the movement to pragmatic piecemeal goals to provide a blueprint to the masses, or to form a vanguard party to lead them. But where some on the Left lack confidence, the rulers are worried about what will supplant the market. The worldwide revolt of labor—as well as rulers’ oft-mentioned fear of the revolt—is another index of the crisis.

Since its origins in 2000, the homeless women’s movement in black, whenever somebody homeless, has fought for the right to live. We started in 2000, and we’ve stood vigil for twenty years. The homeless women’s movement in black, whenever somebody homeless, has fought for the right to live. We started in 2000, and we’ve stood vigil for twenty years. The homeless women’s movement in black, whenever somebody homeless, has fought for the right to live. We started in 2000, and we’ve stood vigil for twenty years. The homeless women’s movement in black, whenever somebody homeless, has fought for the right to live. We started in 2000, and we’ve stood vigil for twenty years. The homeless women’s movement in black, whenever somebody homeless, has fought for the right to live. We started in 2000, and we’ve stood vigil for twenty years. The homeless women’s movement in black, whenever somebody homeless, has fought for the right to live. We started in 2000, and we’ve stood vigil for twenty years. The homeless women’s movement in black, whenever somebody homeless, has fought for the right to live. We started in 2000, and we’ve stood vigil for twenty years. 
That the U.S. is seriously considering negotiating with such creatures shows that, to the rulers, it’s all about fighting al-Qaeda. It’s not about building democracy and certain rights for women. It’s about the liberation of the Taliban. All sides face the threat of war. Will they have the will to seek a war that will only make the whole region and the world a safer place?

(B) All sides sell out women

What he developed was a philosophy of revolution that encompassed all the dimensions of human liberation. And today the world faces many crises—economic, political, ecological—that were not even on his agenda in 1979. The nature of that “compromise” can now be seen in Afghanistan’s continuing conflict, as the Talibans have expanded their territory, while the United States and its allies are committed to maintaining a presence in the region. The Taliban’s goal is to impose their version of a theocratic state, where women are denied basic human rights.

(A) Obama’s Afghanistan-Pakistan surge, with a possible Taliban deal in the wings

In Afghanistan Obama is adding 21,000 troops, comparable to the size of Bush’s “surge” in Iraq. Although these wars were off the G20 agenda, Obama’s trip to Europe also took him to NATO’s 60th anniversary meetings and a summit with the EU, at both of which he twisted arms just to get 5,000 more non-combat European troops sent to Afghanistan. Near the NATO summit in Strasbourg, France, a peace camp was set up for protests against the Afghan war and NATO’s imperialist role.

Obama has also stepped up bombings in Pakistan, where the Talibans are clearly the country’s biggest threat. This is because of a Taliban insurgency within. One result of this is the decision of competing Taliban factions in Afghanistan to unite to fight the U.S.

That will not stop either the U.S., Afghan or Pakistani government from cutting deals with the Taliban. To the contrary, the Pakistani government already has discussed this with the Taliban. It is the only way to maintain access to crucial resources like oil and providing a base for geopolitical maneuvers. In the meantime, the United States and its allies are committed to maintaining a presence in the region. The Taliban’s goal is to impose their version of a theocratic state, where women are denied basic human rights.

That the U.S. is seriously considering negotiating with such creatures shows that, to the rulers, it’s all about fighting al-Qaeda. It’s not about building democracy and certain rights for women. It’s about the liberation of the Taliban. All sides face the threat of war. Will they have the will to seek a war that will only make the whole region and the world a safer place?

The role of the U.S. in Afghanistan-Pakistan is to maintain a presence in the region. The Taliban’s goal is to impose their version of a theocratic state, where women are denied basic human rights.

II. Political-military crises from Afghanistan to Sudan

What is clearly needed is a genuine debate about the consequences of such an action. As if we have to choose one war criminal or another to be prosecuted, what is needed is a genuine debate about the consequences of such an action.

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III. The needed return to Marx is through the re-creation of his Humanism as Marxist-Humanism

The tragedy of Darfur demonstrates the fatal trap of Obama’s mantra of “patience,” which allows a million human lives to remain at risk while his new administration “debates” whether to send more troops. The crisis began March 4, when the International Criminal Court in the Hague charged President Omar Hassan al-Bashir with war crimes and crimes against humanity stemming from the slaughter of 300,000 people in Darfur. It was the first time a sitting head of state had been indicted by the tribunal. When Bashir then expelled 13 NGOs (including Doctors Without Borders, UNICEF) for “working for the Court,” it left over a million people without adequate food, clean water and healthcare as a means to get them to leave the country. The response, the ongoing horrors, offered in a meeting with the United Nations secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, was that it was important to negotiate with Bashir, but that “it is important that we do not accept that to put people’s lives at risk.” At the same time came the shocking report that none less than Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, along with a number of Arab leaders, had met with Sudanese President Bashir at the Arab League summit in Doha, and call for the indictment instead of President Bashir and Israeli leaders, in light of U.S.-Israeli actions in Gaza.

As if we have to choose one war criminal or another to support! Meanwhile, the horrors continue unabated.

What is clearly needed is a genuine debate about the consequences of such an action. As if we have to choose one war criminal or another to be prosecuted, what is needed is a genuine debate about the consequences of such an action.

The role of the U.S. in Afghanistan-Pakistan is to maintain a presence in the region. The Taliban’s goal is to impose their version of a theocratic state, where women are denied basic human rights.

Cuts Obama proposed to U.S.-Russia nuclear accords would leave them with 600 missiles, below the limits the U.S. dropped on Hiroshima in 1945.

Continued from p. 5

relations. (See “No half-way opposition to DOMA!” p. 8.) Even the legate as soon as the Iowa Supreme Court’s legalization of same-sex marriage will not still be these voices.

Among these multiple profound contradictions, it is not only Marx’s analysis of capitalist crisis that needs to be recovered. What he developed was a philosophy of revolution that encompassed all the dimensions of human liberation. And today the world faces many crises—economic, political, ecological—that were not even on his agenda in 1979. The nature of that “compromise” can now be seen in Afghanistan’s continuing conflict, as the Talibans have expanded their territory, while the United States and its allies are committed to maintaining a presence in the region. The Taliban’s goal is to impose their version of a theocratic state, where women are denied basic human rights.

What is clearly needed is a genuine debate about the consequences of such an action. As if we have to choose one war criminal or another to be prosecuted, what is needed is a genuine debate about the consequences of such an action.
Read Dunayevskaya’s exploration of Karl Marx’s “philosophic moment”—his 1844 Humanist Essays, which she saw as “a determinant, even if the person who was driven to articulate the idea of that ‘moment’ was very nearly depth and its ramifications....” —Experience the philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism, Dunayevskaya’s breakthrough on Hegel’s Absolutes: “The idea is in demystifying the Absolute as either God or the closed ontology, as the unity I singled out, a dual movement, from theory to practice, from practice as well as from theory.”

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- Committees
- Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy
- Letters on Hegel's Absolutes

Special Offer - Hardcover copy of The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism plus one year’s subscription to News & Letters, only $12.00 (a $15 value). See lit ad on page 12 for order information.

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new sales of Capital in Germany. And bourgeoisie and academic commentators are re-discovering constant and variable capital, value and surplus value, and declining rate of profit. Yet it all ends with a narrowing of Marx to no more than a radical economic romantic. The call for a “revolutionary change” is reduced to an abstrac-
tion, when what is needed to confront the questions of pathways to revolution and what happens after rev-
olution, is a return to the fullness of Marx’s Marxism, the philosophy he identified as a “new Humanism,” distinguished it from “vulgar communism,” in his 1844 Economic Philosophic Manuscripts. Those Manuscripts were, at one and the same time, a profound critique of the Hegelian dialectic and a recovery of the Hegelian “negation of the negation” as the turning point for all forward movement.

These 1844 Manuscripts constituted what the founder of Marxist-Humanism, Raya Dunayevskaya, identified as “the philosophic moment” in the develop-
ment of Marx’s Marxism. In her presentation dated June 1, 1987, Dunayevskaya clarifies it as the specific development of Marx’s Marxism. In her presentation dated June 1, 1987, she identifies it as “the unity of both the movement from practice and its relationship to the movement from theory and its ramifications.…” Experience the philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism, Dunayevskaya’s breakthrough on Hegel’s Absolutes: “The idea is in demystifying the Absolute as either God or the closed ontology, as the unity I singled out, a dual movement, from theory to practice, from practice as well as from theory.”

To understand today we must begin at the beginning, that is to say, as always, with Marx. Specifically the two periods are: the first and the last, the first being the philosophic moment, 1844. That laid the ground for all future development. The last being the long trek and process of development—all the Revolutions, as well as the economic-economic-ec-onomic, culminating in Capital. Yet the full organizational expression of all came only then, i.e., the last decade, especially Marx’s 1875 Critique of the Gotha Program. Why only then?

“...The Philosophic Mo-
th of Marxism-Humanism, pp. 3-12.

11. Though her death prevented this presentation from being delivered, it stands as the crucial final writing of her full body of Marxist-Humanist ideas. See The Philosophic Mo-
th of Marxism-Humanism, pp. 3-12.

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directly into our Constitution.12 Because the May 1953 philosophical discussion caught what was in the air after Stalin’s death, it anticipated the revolts in Eastern Europe, which followed its publication and which answered affirmatively the question: “Can humanity be free in this age of totalitarianism?”

Grasping the methodology by which Marxist-Humanism was developed as the needed philosophy of revolution for our age, in pursuit it is all the way to the methodological grounds of its development, we here present a book we are undertaking as one of our primary tasks for the year ahead.

IV. Marxist-Humanist tasks for 2009-2010

1. Foremost among our tasks this year is our aim to complete a collection of Selected Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya on Marx, from the 1940s to the 1980s. It will demonstrate the totality of Marx’s Marxism through the lens of Marxist-Humanism’s continuity with it, and make explicit a methodology for today’s revolutionaries to confront new objective-subjective developments.

2. We also plan to again make available in print the collection of Selected Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya on the Middle East, from the 1960s to the 1990s, first published in a pamphlet by News and Letters Committee in 2003. As we pointed out there, they introduced readers to the modern roots of many contemporary national revolutions, the origins of Ba’athism, the transformation of Arab identity, and the Middle East crisis, the carnage of the Lebanese Civil War, the contradictions of the Iranian revolution, chief among them the question of revolution and nation formation by Khomeini and his leftist allies.

“While these texts contain some of Dunayevskaya’s best, no political scientist, or critic of capitalism, can afford to be without this book, whose contents are as relevant today as they were by no means limited to the political sphere only. Her 1979 essay “What is Philosophy? What is Revolution?” emphasized the need to transcend the merely intellectual analysis into a philosophic encounter with the dialectic of revolution. This issue of News & Letters carries part of an essay by Khloe Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya (News and Letters, 1984).

Praising young voices

Cheyachilah, Cal. — It’s been a while since young Black Americans had the opportunity to speak out in regards to issues that affect them. This year we opened our online forum “Youth speak on crisis in Oakland” in the Dec. 2008-Jan. 2009 News & Letters. I’ve found over the years that we as African Americans as a society as a whole, long term, teach, guide, or encourage our children. We don’t speak on crisis in Oakland “in the Dec. 2008-Jan. 2009 News & Letters. I’ve found over the years that we as African Americans as a society as a whole, long-term, teach, guide, or encourage our children. We don’t instill in them that they are beautiful, and that they are as strong as we are.

Yet we no longer take pride in our neighborhoods, churches, or schools. Our struggle, in overcoming any and every obstacle we encounter, is making them the models that they once were, that they once were proud of and that they once were the epitome of.

However, the new realities have negative connotations. “Hood” and anything associated with the term is becoming a reality. And all those before us who spoke and fought for a long time and is still fighting.


—The Resident Editorial Board

Sudan, oil and racism

continued from p. 1

There is a long list of multinational oil corpora-
tions now holding oil drilling concessions in Sudan. Among these are the French company GNL, the Great Nile Petroleum and Oil Corporation (GNPoc) with a concession to drill for oil in two areas. GNPoc’s main partner is the Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), owned by the People’s Republic of China. The CNPC owns a 40% share in this project. Other major share-holders are the Malaysian state-owned Petronas, which has a 30% stake in Canada’s Talisman Energy, and Sipad, the national petroleum company of Sudan, which has a 5% stake.

The above is only a small list of corporations now benefitting from the Sudanese economy. More information about their interlocking shareholdings and the selling of their stock on Wall Street can be found in a background report (June 2001).

It is also public knowledge that Khartoum’s actions are more than just an attempt to restore regular heartbeat. No attempt to restore regular cardiac rhythm or respiration. No ambu bag. No CPR. No oxygen. No lidocaine. No defibrillation. No attempt to restore regular respiration. Guardians gathered near his lifeless body and shouted, “Get up! Get up!” Such is the war-against the unaccomplished demise of guards in Texas state prisons.

Sudan also tells us, as Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in a pamphlet by News and Letters Committee in 1984: “The Nation, the main entrance to this clinic is on the State prisons.

At the forefront of our minds is that: “Only the practice can in any way create the revolu-
tionary dialectic forever anew. And these live human beings must do so in theory as well as in practice. It is not enough to understand the challenge from the past, but of being able to meet the challenge from the self-development of the idea, and of deepening theory to “the heads to think Marx’s great need for us to focus special attention this year on increasing our paid subscriptions.”

6. The most urgent of our tasks this year is the cul-
minal study of the entire output of Dunayevskaya’s thought, which can be compared with no other time in the history of human cognition.”

—The Resident Editorial Board

At 2 p.m., Jan. 9 of this year, in the central hallway of the Wallace Pack State Prison near Navasota, Texas, John Karnie, CPO USN (Ret), TDJ# number 787551, ACLU member number 1868255, collapsed and died of apparent heart failure.

Karnie, approximate age 65, had been incarcerated at the Pack prison for about 12 years on a plea-
bargained 25-year sentence. He was a minimum-custody, state-approved trusty with no other legal or disciplinary actions. Following the Jan. 5 incident, many questions have arisen concerning Karnie’s death. Most of these questions remain unanswered.

Karnie collapsed and died in view of dozens of pris-

There are no other legal paper in the world pub-

—Texas prisoner

No other legal paper in the world pub-

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WHY A RETURN TO MARX?

It is good to read on the front page of the October-November issue of N&L about readers’ views. I was inviting readers to participate in “Confronting Today’s Crises: The Marxist-Humanist Return to Marx and the Revolution of the 21st Century.” I was reissuing some of the material from earlier classes and am looking forward to the study of the work of Diana Dunayevskaya’s ideas regarding the in-separability of philosophy and revolution. I am pleased that my effort to move to deepen my comprehension of the totality of Marxist-Humanism—not only for my own conscious development, but also to contend with my colleagues in different areas—has been able to examine Marx for myself, to argue that Marx is no longer relevant. The totality of Marxist-Humanism—not only for my own conscious development, but also to contend with my colleagues in different areas—has been able to examine Marx for myself, to argue that Marx is no longer relevant.

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Are capitalism and ecology compatible?

Shelly Resnick with her partner Aisire Roche at the steps of the San Francisco courthouse on Feb. 21 challenging her persecution.

San Francisco— I am an activist for both Trans causas and sex work, and my troubles began when I had a run-in with cops in front of the City Hall. This is a story that I have never told anyone. It is about a police officer that I have never met, but our paths have crossed many times since.

The Green Collar Economy by Van Jones (Harper-Collins, 2008) is a bestseller on ecology, well- regarded in corporate circles and by some liberals. The editors of The Nation have all but anointed it as being The Next Big Thing.

Jones calls for the extensive use of presidential decree to address the great emergency that it requires that the economy and participation for the rest of the people, following the orders of the very richest, yet they are not prosecuting violent crimes. A criminal justice system that punishes the non-violent yet fails to protect the vulnerable must change. San Francisco, The DA filed charges against me for having sex with a transvestite. The DA claims that he was trying to have me arrested, but it is clearly a lie. There is no evidence of any such message. It is political retaliation.

Then on Nov. 12 I got a call from someone who claimed to be from out of town, asking that I show them around. There is a tape recording of that conversation. At one point they asked if I was protected. I said I am always protected. They interpret that to mean важная. They arrived at my apartment, and I did not like the person. I saw and I turned away. The person then identified himself as a police officer. They made a stink in my lobby, so I took them to my apartment where they seized my phone. The officer erased the log of my calls, specifically erasing the telephone number he called me from. He issued me a citation for solicitation. There is no record of any such message. It is political retaliation.

On Jan. 7 the DA took it a step further. They claim that I took the officer to my apartment where prostitution was to occur and that I actually engaged in prostitution with him. It is simply not true. The DA filed charges against me for having sex with a cop, which is a waste of city resources. San Francisco has among the highest number of cops per 100,000 citizens, yet they are not prosecuting violent crimes. Just recently I was at a demonstration at the 24th and Mission Bart station. A person named Rashidi Williams, 23, of Queer Alliance was shot and killed, brutally raped and murdered, her body thrown out on the street and they are not even investigating it! The message we get is that they don’t care. It is easier for them to chase after girls who are trying to make some money than go after dangerous criminals who might fight back.

I am an activist for both Trans causas and sex work, and my troubles began when I had a run-in with cops in front of the City Hall. This is a story that I have never told anyone. It is about a police officer that I have never met, but our paths have crossed many times since.
Black Women: ‘Save Public Education!’

New York—Black women spoke out on every aspect of public education from kindergarten through graduate school, addressing battles for community control, the history of public education, the need for better quality and, what education in a socialist society might look like. Over 60 people packed the hall, drawn to ‘The Fight for the Future is Not Black vs. White. We Are All Black. We Must Unite and Speak Out,’ sponsored by Radical Women.

Dr. Norma Abdulah, who was a founder of New York City’s United Federation of Teachers in 1967, told us, ‘At first teachers opposed the union; they saw themselves as “professionals.” But they realized that the National Education Association (NEA) was doing nothing, and they were being treated as blue collar workers. We had 40 children in a class and no prep periods. Panelists and participants alike called for deep rethinking—one young woman said we need something like the French revolution today. A man from Africa and Haiti commented that social services in this country are so fragmented that people are worn down before they get what they need. ‘We need to restructure the container,’ he concluded. Dr. Abdulah affirmed, ‘Public schools are so important: women, free slaves and socialists fought for public education; today we fight it all over again… Socialism means the world is run to meet working-class needs and those of all excluded and oppressed, bureaucratically and democratically. We demand free pre-K-post-graduate education for all!’

Dr. Andrea Nicola McLaughlin, whose talk had described the history of the primary battleground in African-American freedom struggles, related the founding of Medgar Evers College and Hostos College in New York City to the civil rights movement system to the 1960s Civil Rights Movement.

Sherron M, a college student and mother of three, said that now that the president of CUNY received a raise, he is cutting back and raising tuition. ‘The cuts will ricochet to our children and grandchildren. How do we organize students? There are no committees, no elected officials. In New York. Speakers included Farr, Peter Marcuse, Steven Bronner, and Russell Rockwell.

Farr emphasized that his work was an attempt to develop the liberating potential of philosophy and, as such, was a movement to help others see their power. Theology, for example, when read from a place of privilege, is different than when read by poor and oppressed people. There are two strands in the same thread. One is that of control and domination of others, the other provides emancipatory tools. Farr held that movements in philosophy (such as in his work) originate from the cry of the oppressed, and that his book attempts to put Marcuse in dialogue with revolutionary movements. In doing so, his work attunes Marcuse historically. ‘It takes up Eros and Civilization and how, for example, Marcuse’s thought relates to recent feminist theories of the body and consciousness.

Bronner emphasized that, contrary to some interpretations, Marcuse’s work, such as One-Dimensional Man, actually brought class back into focus as a key to understanding contemporary society. Marcuse viewed the activity of mass bodies, such as Blacks, the unemployed, and others as potentially providing the spark for radical social transformations traditionally associated with the political and intellectual margins. Important for understanding Marcuse was the distinction he drew between ‘utopia’ and ‘utopianism.’ Marcuse always retained a vision of radical human liberation, he said, but he consistently eschewed ‘utopiamism’ as a form of thought.

Peter Marcuse, Professor Emeritus of Urban Planning at Columbia University, discussed urban activists around city-planning, as trying to make things better; but they are unable to do it. He noted that the Marxism that underlay his father’s work consistently held that it’s a question of changing the system. Housing should be de-commodified—people should not be allowed to buy and sell houses for profit—housing should only be a-use-value. People ask “what kind of utopia?” It is the wrong question; in negation of the negation, the second negation is the idea of what should exist, a positive theory and practice link.

Rockwell said he became acquainted with Marcuse’s work, especially on Hegel’s Science of Logic, through the Marxist-Humanist philosopher, Raya Dunayevskaya. His interest developed through work on the volume of the complete correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Marcuse and Dunayevskaya and Fromm during the years 1954-1978, which he said he will publish in the not too distant future.

Rockwell stressed Marcuse’s uniqueness—the continuity he represented with the Russian Revolution through Hegel. He noted Marcuse also represented a continuity with Marx—in the sense that as early as 1932 he was among the first to analyze Marx’s 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, the humanist essays, which had been buried in the archives since Marx’s death one half-century earlier. Rockwell also engaged an important theme in Farr’s book—Marcuse’s interpretations of Hegel in two Hegel books—In The Domain of Utopia and The Theory of History, and Reason and Revolution, both written in the decade from 1932-1941. Rockwell argued that as special as the two works were, analyzing Hegel’s ideas on human culture, racial and Practical Ideas from Hegel’s Logic, neither brought to the fore Hegel’s crucial ‘conclusion’ the Practical Idea makes the transition (to a unity of theory and practice) through itself. Rockwell tied this to important themes in Farr’s book, especially their concern with Marcuse and Farr’s joint work on the self-development of various subjects of social change.

Russell Rockwell
Khmer Rouge trials after 30 years

Thirty years after the fall of the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime, joint UN/Cambodian trials of a few Khmer Rouge leaders have finally begun in Phnom Penh. The scope is limited, with chief torturer Duch (Kaing Guek Eav) currently facing charges. He was in charge of S-21 prison, where more than 14,000 alleged ‘enemies of the revolution’ were murdered. Others facing trial are the regime’s ex-president Khieu Samphan, his wife, and his wife’s brother. "Brother Number Two" Nuon Chea.

"Brother Number One" Pol Pot, the Khmer Rouge leader who died in 1989, is also being tried in absentia. Although trials for the deaths of millions of people have been going on for years, the UN’s "peacekeepers," the largest force in the world, has never shown up on any of them.

The UN’s "peacekeepers," the largest force in the world, has never shown up on any of them. It is made worse by the stigma that is carried by a rape victim. She is considered ‘dirtied,’ shamed, and her husband or father is expected to divorce her in order to regain his ‘respect’ in the traditional community. The hundreds of thousands of women who have suffered this can receive little attention or aid from outside.

Local women’s groups have been more serious about responding. For example, at great personal risk, activists from the Women’s Media Association in Bui- kayu (APEM) have travelled to villages where women have been subjected to rape and other atrocities. They have recorded interviews with survivors and go them aired on local radio to help expose the problem and change attitudes.

An APEM’s Franchou Namgabe said recently, “In African traditions, it is difficult to talk about sex on the radio. It was a shock. A scandal. But for them, it was a first step to heal their wounds.”

China workers’ revolt

China's explosive economic growth, plummeting from 11.7% for 2007 to 6.8% for the last quarter of 2008 and projected to fall nearly 5% for 2009. Sounds like bad health, but not quite the same "negative" worldwide, but for the world’s workshops this has meant shuttered factories, soaring unemployment, over 20 million newly unemployed just in the export-oriented new industrial cities near Hong Kong alone.

Workers’ resistance to job losses has heated up confrontations with government forces. Police stopped a planned march of textile workers from their closed factory in Baoding to Beijing, and have repeated successes of the newly unemployed worker force, with no legal right to return in the cities they had worked in, returning to rural poverty in the interior rather than joining in protests. But even in the boom years many of the nearly 100,000 strikes of 2008 were located in rural areas whose exploitation has helped fuel the economic engine.

With the close that two trillion dollars in foreign currency reserves gives China, it has pressed a more dominant voice in currency policy, but it is still running scared: its economic stimulus package is an attempt to quickly return to at least 8% growth, below which unemployment will continue to rise, without unemployment will continue to rise, without unemployment will continue to rise, without unemployment will continue to rise, without unemployment will continue to rise, without unemployment will continue to rise....

With unemployment rising for the Hu Jin-tao regime, as rising unemployment coincides with the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Massacres. Important anniversaries in 1989 of the founding of the Communist Party of China and of the May Fourth Movement helped extend marches and occupations from April 15 until the bloody suppression June 4, 1989. Now anyone publicly raising the massacre, pro- or ex-soldier or mother of one killed on Tianan- men Square, is detained or under police scrutiny.

China workers’ revolt

Mexico—Since the beginning of Felipe Calderon’s presidency, there has been a sharp escalation of the war on drug cartels centering on Calderon’s unprec- edented decision to deploy tens of thousands of Mexican army troops in the fight. A military occupation of the border city of Ciudad Juárez has taken place. In response the narco-gangs have unleashed a reign of violence. Wars between narco-gangs involving everyday-style murders, bungling gangland nappings have erupted, with a dozen and more deaths every night. Attacks using sophisticated high-power weapons on police stations and police patrols as well as army troops are daily occurrences.

However, it is not simply a vicious shoot-out between rival drug cartels that threatens the police and the military. Over many years the drug cartels have been smuggling drugs and bribing policemen, police chiefs, politicians and many others. The U.S. is strongly involved as well, not alone as the consumer of illegal drugs, but as the principal supplier of the high-power sophisticated weapons that the cartels use to outgun the police and military. An estimated 90% of captured weapons have their origin in the gun shops and weapon suppliers in the U.S.

Furthermore, a new report from a number of human rights organizations accuse the Mexican military of illegal searches, arrests without cause, rape, sexual abuse and torture. Mexico’s National Human Rights Commission reported 1,230 complaints last year versus 182 in 2006.

The question of militarization is not alone a question on one side of the border. In the Guerrero state of Michoacan, calling for 1,000 National Guard troops to be sent to the border areas of his state. This, in addition to the huge increase in border war zones that were deployed under the Bush administration.

One of the most alarming results of the Bush years was a policy that conflated the smuggling of illegal drugs across the border with the movement of undocumented workers north from Mexico and the countries of Central America. Thousands of border agents as well as immigrant agents inside the U.S. have spent their time pursuing the illegal drug trade. The government is wanting to work. Meanwhile the drug wars spin out of control. Whether the Obama administration will separate drugs and undocumented workers, and push for a comprehensive immigration reform remains to be seen.

Latin American Notes

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