New book: Dunayevskaya on Russian Revolution, p. 5

PRACTICE THEORY /

"Human power is its own end"—Karl Marx

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Venezuela: Which way forward?

Venezuela's social crisis has been marked by record inflation (hitting 800% last December); high unemployment (over 1 million jobs lost in 2015-16); shortages of food and medicine; and high rates of

street crime, including homicide, have been met by "iron fist" militarized law enforcement that

brutalized the poorest neighborhoods.

The disaffection of segments of Chavismo's working-class support base explains why the opposition Democratic Unity Roundtable (MUD) coalition won a majority in 2015 National Assembly elections.

As the crisis for the ruling United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV) has deepened, it has resorted to open repression, including media censorship and inciting their supporters to physically attack the legally elected National Assembly. Over 100 protesters were killed by attacks from the government, its supporters and the right-wing opposition. PSUV leaders are acting as enforcers of the logic of capital, in the context of the world capitalist crisis.

This latest and most intense round of protests was triggered by the Maduro regime's move to create a new Constituent Assembly to replace the National Assembly and rewrite Venezuela's Bolivarian Con-

Most Venezuelans know that the MUD has no real answer to this crisis. Neither do those, like actor and policeman Oscar Perez or National Guard captain Juan Carlos Caguaripano, who stage token acts of anti-government rebellion while auditioning for the role of the next Chávez.

SIGNIFICANCE OF 1999 CONSTITUTION

That the government of Nicolas Maduro and

continued on p. 9

VOICES FROM THE INSIDE OUT

Ending hostilities 5th anniversary

by Faruq

Here in the California prison system, the entire prison population is approaching a remarkable anniversary. In August 2012 an ethnically diverse group of prisoners stepped to the fore with an initiative they wanted to implement throughout the prison system: the "Agreement to End Hostilities."

In 2012 no one would have predicted that the Agreement would have a life span of five years. At that time many prisoners, seething with thoughts of revenge, saw it as a mere ploy to get out of security housing units (SHU) and continue the spectacle of one maniac group against another.

NEEDED VISION AND COMMITMENT

But representatives of the Agreement had a vision and a commitment that allowed them to see beyond the impediments to their desire for something different for the prison population. Their vision seems to be the echo of a revolutionary thinker of a previous generation, George Jackson, who left a poignant message:

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in

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ON THE INSIDE

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ONLINE:www.newsandletters.org

Rising U.S. racism challenges all freedom movements

by Gerry Emmett

The unprecedented neo-Nazi rally in Charlottesville, Va., shocked the world.

On the night of Aug. 11, over a thousand Nazi, Ku Klux Klan, and "alt-right" marchers invaded the University of Virginia, attacking students and counter-protest-

Their torchlit sneered faces out classic Nazi chants: "blood and soil!" "Hail victory!" ("Sieg Heil") along with "white lives matter," and "Jews will not replace us." $_{
m It}$ echoed 1930s Germany, and is a register of what Donald Trump's racist support base is aiming at.

The Nazi cheers for Syrdictator Bashar al-Assad that punctuated



On Aug. 16, people in Charlottesville, Va., held a thousands-strong demonstration against Nazis, white nationalists and hate. Its size dwarfed the Nazi march held a few days before.

the rally show where this might lead: to ruined cities and human devastation.

The genocidal ideology the march embodied was acted on at the next afternoon's "Unite the Right" rally in downtown Charlottesville. A neo-Nazi Trump supporter drove his car into a crowd of anti-fascists, killing Heather Heyer, 32, and injuring 35 others.

The "Unite the Right" rally was organized by Jason Kessler, anti-Semite and white nationalist, who has made a name in fascist circles by attacking Charlottesville's liberal government. Its stated purpose was to protest the city's decision to take down a statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee.

Like most Confederate monuments, erected during periods of political reaction, at best the Lee statue falsifies history. In the words of local Black Lives ${\bf Matter\ organizer\ Jalane\ Schmidt:\ \it ``These\ statues\ lie}$ to us on a daily basis, from the very central gathering places of our community. Neither General Lee nor Stonewall Jackson ever came to Charlottesville. It's a testament to the perverse success of these monuments to misrepresent our past that so few people knew the outright majority of our community at the time of the Civil War was enslaved.

"If any general deserves to be in a central place, it would be General Sheridan, who rode in on March 3, 1865, and liberated the slaves in the area...Part of our struggle is to unearth and revise the narrative that's been told about our community."

CULMINATION OF REACTION

The Charlottesville rally was meant to bring a new generation of internet-bred "alt-rightists" into the streets, and under the control of fascist organi-

zations. Also on Aug. 11, neo-Nazi Richard Spencer released "The Charlottesville Statement," fascist manifesto calling for both a white America" and war against Muslims and immigrants in Europe.

There have been many reactionary demonstrations, but this one polarized U.S. society, for a number of reasons. Most obviously, Trump's shame-

less statement condemning violence "on many sides" was meant, and was taken, as a tacit sign of support for these fascist attack dogs. He doubled down on it the next week, describing anti-fascist demonstrators in Boston as "anti-police agitators."

It was a step too far for much of the ruling class. Trump's two big business advisory councils disbanded after his Charlottesville remarks led to the resignations of the CEOs of 3M, Campbell Soup Co., Merck & Co., and Intel, among others, along with AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka. Further, the Military Service Chiefs of each branch of the armed forces issued statements denouncing racism.

This is not a measure of the benevolence of the ruling class. It is a measure of the profound crisis facing bourgeois U.S. democracy. In the wake of this criticism, Trump is attempting a compromise with his ruling class opposition. So far, this has mostly amounted to promising more troops, and more bombs, for wars like Afghanistan that he once claimed to oppose.

U.S. SOCIETY AT A WRONG TURN

When U.S. society takes a wrong turn, racism takes center stage. We saw it with the betrayal of

Your help needed to change the world

News and Letters Committees rarely asks for money, but extraordinary circumstances make such a request a necessity. Ever since the Prison Activist Resource Center, over a year ago, let their readers know about our long-standing policy of providing free donor subscriptions of News & Letters to prisoners, we have been receiving on average 10 to 15 additional requests from prisoners each week. Prisoners speak for themselves in News & Letters, including the column "Voices from The Inside Out," in Readers' Views and articles.

We are determined to grant all requests from prisoners for donor subscriptions, despite the increased printing and mailing costs. Postal regulations demand actual money behind each of these subscriptions, which means that funds intended for other purposes, and we have many, have gone to sub-

In addition we are proud to announce that we have just made the Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, the Marxist-Humanist Archives available online. Over 17,000 pages of the Collection and its Supplement are now in a form where over 75 years of revolutionary history is accessible with a click of a mouse. (See

page 5.)

We are readying for publication a vitally needed book on the six-year history and philosophy of the Syrian Revolution, and are working on a projected book on the relationship of a half-century of women's movements for freedom and Marxist-Humanism.

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and gender stereotypes. Women also took up arms.

In Taiz they are fighting the Houthis. In Sana'a, the

Houthis organized women's marches with weapons.

in peace talks, Women's Pact for Peace and Security

In response to the zero representation of women

Yemeni women's fight for freedom

by Afrah Nasser

You are reading the perspective of a feminist and reflective Yemeni journalist.

More than half of Yemen's female population is married before they reach 18-many marry as young as nine, and they endure one of the highest

maternal mortality rates in the world. Women's rights campaigners have exerted great effort to ban child marriage, including calling for the ban in front of Yemen's parliament in Sana'a in 2010. Now. child marriage is rapidly increasing as a result of economic devastation and the increasing rate of displacement.

When the 2011 revolution came, women were leading the uprising. Nobel laureate Tawakkol Karman is the most wellknown. The uprising was an opportunity for female

opinion leaders, activists, writers and intellectuals to challenge the social construction that was boxing us in and demeaning us.



Demonstrators march in front of Yemen's parliament in Sana'a in 2010 protesting against child marriage.

was established by a group of Yemeni politicians and As massive numbers of young men have been forcibly disap-

peared-activists, journalists and others who have been detained or abducted by Houthi men and other extremist groups in different parts of Yemen-their women relatives came together and established Mothers of the Detainees. I find it one of the remarkable grassroots groups in Yemen. You can follow them on Twitter.

In the war on Ye-

men, there have been massive war crimes: hospitals, mosques, weddings, schools, funerals and other noncombatant civilians' areas have been targeted. One in three Saudi air raids hit civilian sites. Western governments, including countries from the European Union and the U.S., have been some of the top suppliers of weapons to the Saudi-led coalition.

Enough with preaching about human rights and at the same time collaborating with states that are committing atrocities using European and U.S.made weapons. That can only be stopped by EU and U.S. citizens questioning your government and politicians. Ask: Can we investigate how our weapons are being used? Is it used in a way that violates international human rights laws?

The tragedy in Yemen is a man-made tragedy. We can affirm our humanity and work together to end it. In this, Yemenis need your solidarity, now.

'God Knows Where I Am' is retrogressive

A new film, God Knows Where I Am is presented as a documentary, but is in fact an attack on the right of psychiatric patients to give informed consent to psychiatric medication. It uses the tragic story of Linda Bishop, a 51-year-old mental health patient who died alone from starvation in an unoccupied farmhouse near Concord, N.H., in January 2008. She had been released from a nearby psychiatric facility a few months earlier.

THE RIGHT TO REFUSE MEDICATION

The filmmakers attribute her death to the fact that she was not allowed to be forcibly medicated, saying in so many words that this well-established human right is what killed her. They make the chilling assertion that the "common good" overrides the "rights of the individual," an overused argument by those who would push back the clock. Much of the film's focus is on the ideas of Dr. E. Fuller Torrey, a longtime opponent of the right to informed consent for people with mental illness, the right to refuse what are often dangerous and ineffective medica-

The reality is that Linda Bishop died after she was released in bitter cold weather with no resources, no money, no food, and no proper clothing-not even a warm coat. She was left homeless after discharge and took refuge in the farmhouse.

Linda Bishop's story is heartbreaking and brings out our deepest sympathy. At the same time we do not know many things about her: her life before hospitalization or in the hospital, why she didn't take the medications and any adverse effects she had experienced, tensions in her family, or other things in her life. The film reduces this tragedy, with all of its dimensions, to the single conclusion that she died because she did not accept medication.

Her tragedy makes audiences prone to manipulation. In an August 2016 article in IndieWire, the directors speak about their use of iconic film cameras, "...each for thematic reasons to underline notions of dreamscapes, personal nostalgia, and commercial memory.' In other words, image manipulation to create moods. This would be fine for fantasy movies, but is hardly a method for a documentary. This movie is not about objective principles but presents an ideological view opposed to patients' rights that is deeply retrogressive. Well-meaning people have been taken in by it.

In this time of a general rightward turn in our country, we need to keep foremost in mind that the self-determination of every individual is at the root of human freedom, and this it true for medical matters as well as everything else. —D. Chêneville

Woman fights ICE

San Francisco—On July 20 a remarkable collection of people from many faiths gathered in front of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) offices here to urge them to release Veronica Zepeda from Mesa Verde Detention Facility. Ms. Zepeda has a serious heart condition and the detention facility guards do not allow her to get medical care. She escaped death threats from gangs in her native El Salvador. In Mexico she was captured, beaten and starved when she refused sex for money.

Zepeda sent a greeting to the gathering:

...I am an abused woman, but I am here looking for the opportunity to move forward for my beautiful children whom I love so much.

...I'm afraid to lose my life here in the Mesa Verde Detention Center. During the past six months that I have been here, I have had three mild heart attacks and several fainting episodes. I'm afraid that one day my heart will stop. Nobody will do anything. Recently when I experienced a pang in my heart nobody listened to me. I just fainted. The officers here cannot take me to the hospital until they receive ICE authorization. If ICE says yes, then I can go to the $hospital.\ If\ not...$

When I came here, I was overweight. Now I am very skinny because the food here is horrible.

Being in detention is torture. I came here to this country to escape the violence of my past; to be able to provide better things for my children. I am hopeful that I will be able to stay because I am not a criminal; I am a hardworking person; I am honest.

...God bless you today and forever! I love all of you. I wish God will allow me to meet you in person

A vigil organizer said that except for Zepeda's lawyer, none of the people present had met her. Yet we are here because we know she is our sister, we will fight for her as one of our human family. The cross-denominational emphasis of the demonstration is a challenge to the narrow nationalism that seeks to divide us among race, religion, gender, etc.

At Zepeda's hearing a week later, the prosecutor, wanting to discredit her supporters, who packed the courtroom, asked her, "Do you know any of these people?" She replied, "No, I don't know them, but I know they love me." The judge was moved enough that she released her from detention on her own recognizance.

Zepeda's trials have not ended; she is still facing deportation hearings. But her spirit of fighting for all abused women means that her hard work is not just for her and her children, it is to change the whole society so no woman suffers what she did.

-Urszula Wislanka

SlutWalk hijacked

Chicago—The SlutWalk here on Aug. 13 was hijacked by the fight between Palestinian supporters and rabidly nationalist Jewish activists-A Wider Bridge-who had made themselves known at the Dyke March. Here they wielded 14"x36" signs, using them to get in the way of speakers to keep them from being seen, and they tried to yell speakers down.

PALESTINIAN WOMEN'S LIVES LEFT OUT

While several speakers did talk about Palestinians and even Palestinian women, they did not speak to the reality of Palestinian women's lives other than how they are oppressed by the Israeli state. There was nothing, for example, about how Palestinian women are shamed for how they dress or blamed when they are raped. Women's unemployment in Gaza is twice that of men-44.7% to 22.2%-but when women try to work in what are considered "untraditional jobs" they face intense cultural backlash. But at this rally, only Israel and the U.S. were the enemy and the struggle Palestinian women consistently wage against sexism was not addressed.

The walk after the rally was hijacked by the cops who, in pushing SlutWalkers and bikes onto the sidewalk, pushed people down, and one cop fell himself. The upshot was five protesters arrested and one Transgender person charged with a felony.

A few speakers did talk about what SlutWalk was all about. The best in my view was from Brazil. She spoke of the "many questions that surround the woman's body: harassment, domestic violence, rape culture, abortion, sexuality, prostitution, pornography." She gave a history of SlutWalk in Brazil, saying the marches "represent a powerful metaphor of freedom." She talked of the large city of Curitiba "which is really conservative and where violence against women is one of the highest in the country. SlutWalk has been performed there since 2011, where it took up the urgency of ending femicide. Every hour and a half a woman dies of violence-most from domestic violence."

She spoke as well about the violence against LGBTQ people there and the many murders of Trans people. She ended by reminding us that "We are here today connected in so many ways and I want to believe that all of us are not bonded by violence, we are bonded by hope." —Terry Moon

WOMEN AS REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

Unfortunately, male-dominated political parties used women as a decorative tool. In April 2011 a group of women activists wanted to make a statement in response to ousted president Ali Abdullah Saleh's decree condemning the mixing of the sexes at protests. Female protesters and their male supporters marched together and were attacked by men affiliated with General Ali Mohsin, who held power at the time.

Both the Houthi-led takeover of Yemen's capital city in September 2014 and the Saudi-led coalition's military operation in March 2015, worsened the fragile Yemen humanitarian situation and led to the collapse of existing political processes.

WORLD'S LARGEST HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

Today, Yemenis are facing the largest humanitarian crisis in the world. More than 10,000 people have been killed and I am certain that the toll is higher because if the bullets don't kill you the famine, the paralyzed healthcare system and the spread of diseases like cholera will. About 17 million people are barely surviving. The UN said over two months ago that Yemen is facing "total social, economic and institutional collapse....The people of Yemen are being subjected to deprivation, disease and death as the world watches." Women bear the greatest burden of war but still fight.

As war began in 2015, a young activist in Sana'a, Bushra al Fusail, led a group of women on bikes to defy the fuel shortages, Saudi-led airstrikes

WOMENWORLDWIDE

by Artemis

In June, Sheila Michaels, the feminist and civil rights activist who popularized the title "Ms.," died at the age of 78. In 1961, Michaels noticed her roommate's issue of News & Letters was addressed to "Ms. Mary Hamilton." Michaels was inspired by a title that did not label women according to their relationships with men. When Michaels and her radical women's group the Feminists used the term in a radio interview in 1969, Gloria Steinem chose "Ms." as the title for a new feminist magazine, and its use became widespread.

In April, the Dutch anti-trafficking organization Free a Girl launched the School for Justice to provide funding and support to women in India who have escaped sex trafficking so they can prepare to earn bachelor's degrees in law. Four of the 19 women have completed the program and been accepted into universities. The women aspire to "punish the men who did this to me," and to "help others like me" use the knowledge and determination gained from their traumatic experiences to end sex trafficking.

In 2012, Nighat Dad, a feminist lawyer in Pakistan, started the Digital Rights Foundation to give women practical and legal advice to deal with online harassment. Harassers practice "sextortion" by filming themselves raping women, digitally altering women's photographs to appear nude, or simply claiming women are prostitutes to blackmail them. They also post women's contact information online and urge readers to kill, rape, or injure them. In Pakistan the tradition of "honor killing" led to the murder of outspoken internet commentator Qandeel Balock by her brother. Ms. Dad staffed a hotline with a team of 12 to handle the flood of 20 calls per day, and she has been successful in incarcerating blackmailers.

Chicago auto mechanics strike!

LOCAL 701

Evanston, III.—We're journeymen, apprentices, semi-skilled, and lube technicians. We do everything from oil changes to brakes, electronics, and suspension work—basically anything to do with a vehicle.

On Aug. 1 we went on strike against about 140 new car dealers in the Chicago area, for a better wage and to change the structure.

It goes lube tech, semi-skilled, apprentice, and then journeyman. Journeyman is the highest position. Right now there's no structure set up for the semi-skilled, so there's really no time frame for when they can move to an apprentice.

There used to be a four-year apprenticeship

program. Now, it is an eight-year program. Students coming out of trade school in their early 20s realize that if they're semi-skilled, they will be in their early 30s before they become journeymen. By that time, they want to have a kid or two, start a family, have a mortgage, and that's hard, because the time frame is so long. They can go to school and become a doctor in less time. I'm about to turn 30, and if I felt it would be like that for me, I probably wouldn't be in

<u>Letter from Mexico</u>

Where Ayotzinapa movement can lead

by J.G.F. Héctor

Sept. 26 is the third anniversary of the forced disappearance of 43 students from the rural normal school Raúl Isidro Burgos in Ayotzinapa, Guerrero, as well as of the murder of another six people (three of them *normalistas*) by the State. In these three years parents and schoolmates of the missing students haven't stopped their search for justice.

They have travelled all over Mexico and abroad demanding the government give them back their children: "Alive they took them, alive we want them." Their journey has given them the opportunity to meet with others who are fighting against injustice and trying to build a new society. (See Praxis en América Latina No. 14, Aug.-Sept. 2017.)

WITH THE ZAPATISTAS

In November 2014 the Ayotzinapa parents and schoolmates visited the Zapatistas in Chiapas, who welcomed them with arms wide open, telling them: "It has been you...who, with the strength of your pain and its conversion into dignified and noble rage, have caused many people in Mexico and the world to awaken and begin to ask questions... It is terrible and marvelous that the poor and humble families and students who aspire to be schoolteachers have become the best teachers this country has seen in recent years." Since then, the Ayotzinapa parents have always been invited to speak and be part of the Zapatista forums.

Other important subjects merged their demands with the movement for Ayotzinapa: the dissident teachers of the National Coordination of Educational Workers (CNTE) and the students of the other rural normal schools, who have an ongoing struggle for labor rights and for an education for freedom.

An Ayotzinapa parent said of those three years: "We have woken up a lot of organizations as well as brought to light several attacks by the government which were hidden." "Ayotzinapa has shown the rottenness of the Mexican justice system," adds Omar García, survivor of the Sept. 26, 2014, attack against the *normalistas*.

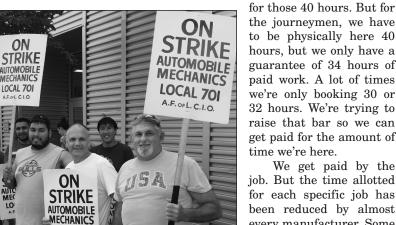
NEEDED SOLIDARITY OF IDEAS

However, as meaningful as this solidarity has been, another kind of solidarity is required if we are to turn this ongoing moment of protest/resistance against the State into a full-blown drive for the construction of a new society: a solidarity of ideas, of a radical emancipatory vision/philosophy that serves as a "guide" in such a task. How can we help to turn the seeds of a new world, already existent in the search for justice by the Ayotzinapa parents, into full-grown trees?

The third anniversary of Ayotzinapa will certainly be one that will appeal to our memory: We should never forget this State crime. At the same time, the best way to commemorate it is perhaps by trying to work out a new kind of relationship between theory and practice, the movements from below and an emancipatory vision that helps us pave the way to revolution. How can organizations/collectives of activist-thinkers take part in this?

AT WORK BUT NOT PAID

The way it's structured now, lube tech, semiskilled and apprentice are paid hourly. You start at \$10 an hour. If you put in 40 hours, you get paid



the journeymen, we have to be physically here 40 hours, but we only have a guarantee of 34 hours of paid work. A lot of times we're only booking 30 or 32 hours. We're trying to raise that bar so we can get paid for the amount of time we're here.

We get paid by the job. But the time allotted for each specific job has been reduced by almost every manufacturer. Some technicians that we talked to are taking hits because they can't even see what

they get paid. We're lucky enough to see what we get paid. As long as we replace the failing part—for example, a bad hub bearing—that pays us six tenths of an hour, a little bit more than a half hour, no matter how long the work actually takes.

GM and Ford mechanics don't even see that, so they don't know what they're making until the end of the week, until their warranty administrator claims it and they get the money in return and the administrator says you guys get paid three tenths.

These workers are playing the guessing game about whether they will take home a check for 30 hours or 40 hours. It's so out of control that we're fighting to get paid for the 40 hours we are here.

HIGHER PRICES GO TO COMPANY

In the past ten years, the rate the customer is charged for labor has gone up, I would say, an average of about \$35 or \$40 per hour at each dealership. But we've only seen an increase of 26 cents each year in the last 10 years. We have to pay \$10 a week on co-pay for our insurance. That wipes out the raise.

We're asking for a fair wage, and to eliminate the co-pay. We're asking for a better structure in setting up the semi-skilled and the apprenticeship programs. We want to attract the good young adults out there that want to come to this field and learn. But the time frame is discouraging. We're fighting for the younger generation, and we're fighting for us as well, the older generation, so we can have a pension and retire.

OTHER UNIONS SUPPORT STRIKERS

People supporting us have been great: from the Chicago transit workers and AT&T union, other unions, everybody's reaching out to us; they bring us donuts and coffee in the morning. They've been saying, "Stay and fight!" Families have been very supportive to everybody. Strangers honk as they drive by, in the morning and at night. We're here on the picket line as early as 7:00 AM until 9:00 PM.

We're not fighting for something unreasonable. We're fighting so we can help our families succeed in life. I want my son to go to college and to have a better life than me. That's what we're fighting for. We're -Striking journeyman fighting for the future.

KC labor fights

Kansas City, Mo.—Days before the "right-to-work" bill enacted by the Republican-controlled state government was due to go into effect on Aug. 28, Missouri unions and civil rights groups turned in more than 300,000 signatures that postponed its taking effect until at least November 2018, when voters would have a chance to reject it. The petition campaign gathered over three times the number of signatures required to suspend the anti-labor law.

Republicans could expect to have the upper hand over workers in a gerrymandered legislature and in the courts, but now face the electorate (minus those whose votes can be suppressed) thanks to a law not invoked since 1984, but which had allowed voters to undo laws 24 out of 26 times. Already there is talk that lawmakers might have plans, if "right-towork" is rejected next year, to enact the same law in the next session—the way it was done in Michigan after voters had successfully eliminated the tyrannical emergency manager law.

The legislature had also mandated a rollback of the minimum wage in St. Louis and Kansas City to the state minimum of \$7.75 an hour. In the face of that, voters in Kansas City by more than two to one ratified an even higher minimum wage-\$10 an hour, on up to \$15 an hour by 2022—despite opponents claiming that state law would stop it. That is true, short of action in the courts or in another referendum. Thanks to gerrymandered legislative districts, most politicians need not fear losing after picking workers' pockets.

-Former minimum-wage worker

Picket line solidarity shuts bus yard

Pomona, Calif.—Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) mechanics at the Foothill Transit operations yard in Pomona went on strike on the morning of Aug. 7. They were unhappy with their employer, Keolis Transit Services, and its attempt to strong-arm them into accepting a four-year labor contract.

Pomona's bus operators, although represented by Teamsters, decided to join the picket line. Mechanics and drivers congregated in front of the gate, preventing any buses from exiting the yard.

'NOT ONE BUS PULLED OUT'

"We've been out here since midnight," said one of the picketing workers. "Not one bus has pulled out of this place. And they ain't gonna run until we get what we want. What do we want? A contract."

Operators at a Foothill Transit yard in nearby Arcadia, Calif., are employed by a different contractor, but they are members of the same ATU local as Pomona mechanics. On Monday morning, the Arcadia drivers made extra runs on their own routes to assist stranded riders, but did not drive any of Pomona's 19 routes. Failure to operate the routes for one morning likely brought fines in excess of \$1 million for Keolis.

FORCING MANAGEMENT'S HAND

A memorandum of understanding was reached around 11:00 AM, ending the strike. Negotiations are now reportedly underway on a two-year contract that will allow the workers to renegotiate a new contract in 2019, concurrent with a raise in the California minimum wage.

It appears that the bus operators in Pomona did not act on instructions from Teamsters, but were spurred by their own recognition that unity is necessary in order to win results. The union made no public comments about the day's events until later that evening, when a statement was issued congratulating workers on their success.

Auto jobs and 1967 Detroit Rebellion

Detroit—On the 50th anniversary of the Detroit rebellion, The Origins Of The Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit, written in 1996 by Thomas Sugrue, is again timely. What stands out is the deindustrialization of Detroit that began in about 1950. Before the many General Motors, Ford and Chrysler factories began disappearing from Detroit and nearby Dearborn after the 1970s, the factories of now-vanished automobile manufacturers and suppliers began closing in the 1950s.

PACKARD PLANT SHUTDOWN

There was once a huge Packard manufacturing complex covering 40 acres. It closed in 1956, and most of the abandoned buildings still stand. The nearby Studebaker and Murray Auto Body plants were also closed by 1957, as was the Hudson plant. Motor Products and Briggs Manufacturing also closed plants by the late 1950s.

Until at least 1948 the Black population was, with a few exceptions, confined to a small area on the east side of Detroit known as "Paradise Valley." Discrimination in the 1940s was open and blatant, and Black workers were the last hired and first fired. Racial discrimination was almost complete in shutting Black workers out of skilled trades jobs. The resistance of white workers to working with Blacks was a major cause of discrimination

Charles Denby, the founding editor of News & Letters, recounted in his book Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal that the hardest and dirtiest jobs at Chrysler, such as painting, were reserved for Black workers. Sugrue in fact includes Denby's experience in getting rejected for a riveting job despite his citing a riveting background in the shipyards of Mobile, Ala.

DECADES OF AUTOMATION

Much of the loss of jobs in the auto industry was the result of automation, which began at about the same time as the major plant closures. There were, however, new plants in Detroit suburbs such as Warren and Livonia that did not share Detroit's deindustrialization until many years later. As auto plants moved to the suburbs, segregated housing patterns barred the Black population from following.

By 1967, the combined effects of deindustrialization, unemployment, housing segregation, and police acting as an army of occupation created the conditions that led to the Detroit rebellion. Fifty years later, with the exception of a large GM complex, more factories have closed and living conditions in Detroit, except in some newly gentrified enclaves, are far worse than they were in 1967. —Dan

Do you have something to say about labor? In News <u>& Letters</u> people in struggle speak for themselves. We want to hear from you. Contact info on page 7.

FROM THE WRITINGS OF RAYADUNAYEVSKAYA

Editor's note: To mark the 150th anniversary of Karl Marx's Capital, Vol. I, we present the second of two lightly edited excerpts from "Marx's Transcendence of and Return to Hegel's Dialectic," a 1968 draft chapter for Dunayevskaya's book Philosophy and Revolution. This section was titled "A Concrete Universal: Marx's Capital." The first part was printed in the July-August 2017 issue of N&L. The whole can be found in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, #4227.

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Continued from previous issue

Take his category, labor power, which was not in the *Grundrisse* or *Critique of Political Economy* or the pamphlets;¹ in a word, hadn't been fully worked out until *Capital* itself was. The non-existence of the category before his main theoretical work was completed was surely not due to any question about his "knowing" or not "knowing" about the vital differenc-

es between labor, as activity, and labor, as commodity. He no sooner broke from bourgeois society back in 1843 than he knew that. He kept writing about it, lecturing on it, publishing his lecture "Wage-Labor and Capital" in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung when the 1848 revolutions were still fresh.

What was at issue, in his mind, was the fact that a new stage of generalization, a new stage of cognition that gives birth to an original category, liberates you both theoretically *and* practically; it is a sort of point of intersection in history itself which permits a view of the future *because* the past and present have been so fully comprehended that the future inherent in the present can emerge.

And with that category, labor power, it was not only its appearance as a "name" for a commodity—a most unique commodity, the only one that was constantly exploited to produce more, and produced all the value and surplus value—but that it was a *power* as well. It was a power not only because it then became conscious that the machine that was exploiting it had feet of clay, could drive labor, but itself could do nothing but "yield up" what labor was already materialized in it, for though "loaded with value" it itself "creates no new value." (p. 423).

It was a power also because, as contrasted with when labor first entered the factory and found his voice "stifled in the storm and stress of the process of production" (p. 258), it now united with others right at the point of production, in the cooperative labor process machinofacture *had to* introduce, and was further not only disciplined by that instrumentality, but united to act, inside and outside the factory.

Marx's decision, therefore, to add a section on "The Working Day," a decision he didn't make until 1860, had further consequences in expanding the power of the proletariat as historic and philosophic force (p. 330):

In place of the pompous catalogue of the 'inalienable rights of man' comes the Magna Charta of a legally limited working day which shall make clear when the time which the worker sells is ended, and when his own begins. Quantum mutatus ab illo! (What a change in the picture!)

Naturally, all those decisive factors of reality, as contrasted to mere research or arguments with other $% \left\{ 1\right\} =\left\{ 1\right\} =\left$

1. The pamphlets are "Wage-Labor and Capital" and "Value, Price, and Profit." —Ed.

2. *Capital*, Vol. I (Charles H. Kerr, 1906), p. 423.

Detroit cops' abuses

Detroit—When 30 police cars and 20 tow trucks invaded our one-square-mile neighborhood in August, we felt we had been rolled back to 1967. The police, from our own precinct, stopped drivers aged 18 to 82 and impounded their cars for minor violations. They took over the Corpus Christi church parking lot without permission, claiming they thought this church—a leader in local social justice action—was closed! The priest blocked tow trucks from entering until the police made him move.

One lady whose leg was in a cast and was accompanied by her handicapped son was told to walk home. A man asking to use a bathroom was told he should have worn a diaper. Church and community members stepped up to drive people home. The impounds cost hundreds of dollars.

We put it all over social media and reached out to all our connections. Police Chief James Craig is reportedly investigating. A few days later the news reported that all police towing permits had been terminated (all the tow truck companies are owned by Boulevard & Trumbull). We will stay on this as long as necessary!

—Angry neighbors

A concrete universal: Marx's Capital

theoreticians in the 1850s, led to a change also in the concept of technology: "It would be possible to write quite a history of the inventions made since 1830, for the sole purpose of supplying capital with weapons against the revolts of the working class" (p. 476).

Once capitalism has moved from the need to extend the hours of the working day to extract unpaid hours of labor, to being able to extract the surplus within the same working day—and it is the development of machinery that has achieved this feat—it is first then Marx begins referring to machinofacture as "the specifically capitalistic mode of production."

Concrete, concrete, concrete—this sums up the scrupulousness with which Marx follows the machine's development, never considers it outside of its historic, capitalistic context, and proceeds to show *how* "the machine, which is the starting point of the industrial revolution, supersedes the workman" (p. 410).

Because, says Marx, "Technology also discovered the few fundamental forms of motion...necessarily taken by every productive action of the human body" (p. 532), the automaton could now become "an organized system of machines to which motion



Postcard rendering of the founding of the First International, which partly grew out of workers' international solidarity with the North against slavery in the U.S. Civil War, and in turn had an impact on the struggle for the eight-hour day and Marx's restructuring of *Capital*. Marx stands near left edge.

is communicated by the transmitting mechanism, from a central automaton" (p. 416) and thereby become "objective" so that "the laborer becomes a mere appendage to an already existing material condition of production" (p. 421).

What is to be watched, however, is not the machine, but what it does to the workman who is subjected to the "uniform motion of the instruments of labor," for it is this "which gives rise to a barrack discipline, which is elaborated into a complete system in the factory" (p. 463), where capital erects its own code "like a private legislator" (p. 463).

In a word, the whole system of capitalist production "based on the fact that the workman sold his labor power as a commodity" (p. 470) ends by having "the instrument of labor strike down the laborer"; "Hence, the character of independence and estrangement which the capitalist mode of production as a

China border controls

Over 22,000 people filled the streets in Hong Kong on Aug. 20 to protest the jail sentences given to student activists Joshua Wong, Nathan Law, and Alex Chow. They were charged with unlawful assembly during the massive Occupy Central demonstrations in 2014. The Hong Kong government nominally has autonomy until 2047. But prodded by Beijing it provoked the Aug. 20 demonstration with its efforts to make further protests—in Hong Kong and across China—unthinkable.

For three years it has escalated retribution against participants in popularly supported occupations—ended only by police repression. The final provocation came when the government overruled the activists' previous punishment that included no jail time. Now there are not only jail sentences but also a five-year prohibition on standing for elections—ironically 50 years after the 1967 uprising in Hong Kong against British colonial rule.

At the same time, Chinese troops and road-building crews are pushing into Bhutan, using their interpretation of a 19th-century British colonial border with Tibet. China secured its borders by invading Tibet in 1950 and gaining strategic positions in the China-India War of 1962. China's push threatens India's land access to its own northeast provinces in the event of another war between the two capitalist powers.

A war that is already ongoing is China's attacks on any possibility of Uyghur autonomy in the Chinese province of Xinjiang. What China has called a "war on terrorism" has been suppression of Muslim religious observances, controls on public use of the Uyghur language, and widespread jailings and massacres. Now China has extended control of its border all the way to Egypt, as can be seen by the July arrests of over 60 Uyghur students and exiles by Egyptian police at the urging of Beijing. Half of those swept up in the arrests were deported. From Hong Kong to Cairo there is no sanctuary for opposition.

-Bob McGuire

whole gives to the instruments of labor and to the product, as against the workman, is developed, by means of machine, into a thorough antagonism" (pp. 472, 471)....

MARX'S ABSOLUTES

...Where Hegel's Absolutes are always high points, Marx's are always collapses, as is the nature of the law of motion of capitalist society. And where Hegel's Absolutes are achievable within the existing framework, Marx's tear up the existing society by its roots. "The expropriators are expropriated" (p. 837). The destruction of the old is total. "The negation of the negation" (*ibid.*) allows in but the faintest glimmer of the new; no blueprints of the future there, much less "The eternal Idea, in full fruition of its essence, eternally sets itself to work, engenders and enjoys itself as Absolute Mind." We approach the proletarian revolution and there stop; even for a sight of "the storming of the heavens" we must read the historic works, not *Capital*.

But all this proves the exact opposite of what it is meant to prove. It is proof only of the fact that Marx did not go in for abstractions, that for him "the truth is concrete," and that

he was concerned with one, and only one, historic social formation: capitalism. Its absolute is its downfall. The logic of Capital is the dialectic of bourgeois society—state capitalism at one pole and the revolt of the proletariat at the other.

But in the same manner as Marx's development of the form of the commodity was related to Hegel's syllogistic Universal, Particular, Individual, or the Doctrine of the Notion in general, so "the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation" is based on Hegel's Absolute Idea, made concrete for one very concrete, very specific, very transitory historic social order.

Marx would never have devoted no less than a quarter of a century to that "dismal science," political economy, unless, in its Marxistically reconstructed form, it helped discern the law of motion of the capitalistic social formation. The reconstructed science meant, however, that not only did his original discoveries make the difference, but that these original economic categories were so philosophically rooted that it created a new unity out of economics, philosophy, revolution, on a specific historic plane.

This new historic plane was not exhausted within the period of Marx's life *not* because he was a "prophet," but because the historic rationality Marx discovered as immanent in the life of man meant, in turn, that it is living men who work out the meaning of philosophy by making the theory of liberation and the struggle to be free a unity.

So much is *free* man the true subject of history that Marx called the period in which he lived, and the one in which we still live, the *pre*-history of mankind, for man's true history does not begin until he is free and gets to develop in full his universal talents. In a word, there is no separation between theory and practice, or philosophy and revolution. Rather, it is because historic rationality is immanent in the actions of men that we can get a glimpse of the future, and it is this anticipation which Marx left to us, not as prophecy, but as task....

3. Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind*, para. 577.

4. Quoted from a letter from Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann, April 12, 1871. Dunayevskaya is referring especially to Marx's *The Civil War in France*.—Ed.



by Suzanne Rose

New Jersey lawmakers approved a bill in July to expand eligibility for medical paroles for prisoners who are "physically incapacitated" and pose no threat to society. The bill would also allow them to enroll in Medicaid. To be eligible, prisoners must have a medical condition that causes a permanent inability to perform basic daily activities and need 24-hour care that they did not need when sentenced.

A Chicago police sergeant has been put on desk duty indefinitely for shooting an autistic teen while off duty. The 18-year-old, who also suffers from schizophrenia, had been reported missing by his foster mother. The off-duty cop tried to question the teen, and ended up shooting him in the arm.

Hollywood's more popular films include few depictions of those with disabilities, a new study found. It was recently released by the Media, Diversity, and Social Change Initiative at the University of Southern California's Annenberg School. Characters with disabilities accounted for just 2.7% of speaking roles in top Hollywood movies distributed in 2016, according to the report.

On the 100th anniversary of the Russian Revolution

Russia: From Proletarian Revolution to State-Capitalist Counter-Revolution Selected writings by Raya Dunayevskaya

Contents of the book

Introduction by Eugene Gogol, Terry Moon, and Franklin Dmitryev

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10. On Stalin

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- 12. Post-Stalin Russia
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- 15. The Cuban Revolution and What Happens
- 16. State-Capitalism as a "New Stage of World Capitalism" vs. The Humanism of Marx
- 17. Battle of Ideas

The Russian Revolution's significance as a historic event and as a link to the thought and practice of Marx has been obscured because of the abandonment of revolutionary perspectives.

Our new book collecting writings by Raya Dunayevskaya on the Russian Revolution

Studies in Critical Social Sciences

Edited by Eugene Gogol and Franklin Dmitryev

Counter-Revolution

Russia: From Proletarian

Revolution to State-Capitalist

Raya Dunayevskaya

Selected writings

aims to recapture for today the greatness of that event, and much more. She singled out Lenin's philosophic break, his return to Marx's roots in Hegel and to Hegel's dialectic in and for itself, how Lenin extended that to a concretization of the dialectics of revolution and how that allowed the second revolution of 1917 to

At the same time, Lenin remained on the threshold of the absolute, his philosophic ambivalence kept hidden what should have been a beacon for the movement, and he did not extend the philo-

sophic break to fundamentally rethinking women's liberation and the vanguardist concept of organization he had inherited from the Second International. This did not prepare Marxists to deal with the counter-revolution that came from within the Russian Revolution. Thought is still held back by the failure to comprehend that counter-revolution from within. This has compromised attempts to resist the ideological pollution from the Right.

This new book addresses these problems, as outlined in its Introduction:

"[Dunayevskaya's] study did not end with analyzing the revolution and the contradictory practice of the period afterwards, but continued with its transformation into its opposite, the establishment of state-capitalism, and its global impact in the 20th century. Crucial—after this first attempt to build a workers' state was transformed into the monstrosity of a state-capitalist tyranny—was Dunayevskaya's determination to find new

beginnings for revolutionary Marxism for her

"Three of the categories she created were directly related to this: 1. Lenin's philosophic preparation for revolution, as well as Lenin's philosophic ambivalence; 2. What happens after the revolution? which referred to the

first years after November 1917, and has meaning beyond the outcome of the Russian Revolution; 3. State-capitalism, the theory born in her analysis of the Russian economy using Marx's economics from Capital, and the conditions and human relations of Russian workers at the point of production.

"Two additional categories are also crucial: 4. State-capitalism as a global phenomenon. 5. Marxist-Humanism a philosophic-practicalorganizational body of ideas that reaches back to Marx's humanism, his philosophy of revolution in permanence, and forward to what she saw as the ongoing challenge for revolutionaries to develop further....

"Readers will find in her a thinker-activist who lived and wrote profoundly on the meaning of the Revolution and its transformation into opposite. Her questioning and passion for a world that transcends capitalism compelled her to become a Marxist philosopher who was determined to create Marxism anew...."

> -From the Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 2017-2018

Just published by Brill

Ask your library to order it!

Russia: From Proletarian Revolution to State-Capitalist Counter-Revolution. | Paperback: Coming 2018. Hardcover: \$170. Name:_____ News & Letters, 228 S. Wabash #230, Chicago, IL 60604

Now online! Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, the Marxist-Humanist Archives

"The whole question of the relationship of any ongoing event with the past, with the very concept of Archives, depends on the two opposite words—continuity and discontinuity. Whereas only great divides in epochs, in cognition, in personality, are crucial, and may relate to turning points in history, no discontinuity can really achieve that type of new epochal 'moment' unless it has established continuity with the historic course of human development."

-Raya Dunayevskaya

The new online Guide at www.rayadunayevskaya.org contains clickable links to all the documents in the Archives. The website of the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund presents the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection as she organized it, together with the Supplement organized after her death. This finding tool helps the reader or researcher locate items and grasp the structure of the Archives.

When Dunayevskaya donated her Archives, she stipulated that they should be open to anyone who wanted to study them. They are now available to anyone who can access the website. This is in addition to the entire 60+ years of News & Letters newspaper available on the News and Letters Committees website. The first 55 years are also hosted on the Marxists Internet Archive. The Raya Dunayevskaya subarchive of the Marxists Internet Archive also hosts a copy of the Guide and all the documents in the Collection and Supplement, along with a selection of documents transcribed in html (web format).

This is an incredible resource for revolutionaries and scholars, seeking not only to understand the history of freedom struggles but to advance them today so as to transform the world. The Collection, together with Dunayevskaya's books, encompasses the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism she developed during a lifetime in the revolutionary movement.



Raya Dunayevskaya; Charles Denby, editor of News & Letters and author of Indignant Heart: a Black Worker's Journal; and Ethel Dunbar, 'Way of the World" columnist and contributor to Indignant Heart.

Raya Dunayevskaya founded Marxist-Humanism in the United States and developed revolutionary body of ideas.

With her donation of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection to the Wayne State University Archives of La-

bor and Urban Affairs, Dunayevskaya sought to share and record the development of the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas, its method, its test in world events, its battles with other revolutionary ideas, while she lived. She approved the documents to be included, organized the categories of their presentation, and wrote the introductory texts. The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection represents not only a vast assemblage of Marxist-Humanism's documents, but her concept of the organization of Marxist-Humanist thought, its categories.

The over 17,000 pages of the Collection and its Supplement are a resource for students, researchers and activists in fields as diverse as philosophy, women's studies, social theory, intellectual history and Black studies. Her writings spanned the world: her contributions to Soviet and East European studies, as well as to African and Middle Eastern regional studies, have been widely praised.

FACING FAR RIGHT'S THREAT

I hope all my former German students remember a little about German language and culture. Watching what happened in Virginia, what I hope you really remember are the stories of Nina Katz, Dickey Ehrlich, and Karl Diamond, the survivors who came to our high school to talk about the Holocaust. They survived the worst hatred and bigotry imaginable and shared their experiences with us, so we will recognize evil when we see it and have the courage to stand up to it.

High school German teacher Memphis

My children go to an urban, majority immigrant school. When we showed up for the first day of school, we were met by dozens of people holding handmade signs welcoming them in English, Spanish, and Arabic: "Everyone is welcome here." These people took time out of their busy lives to make a community feel safe and welcome. These are not school employees or parents of students, just people from Memphis making America great **Feminist with interracial kids** again. **Memphis**

Trump's attacks on Jeff Sessions are not just a spectacle. Commenta-

tors reveal a serious misunderstanding of the Trump administration when they say that Sessions had no choice but to recuse himbecause self of the Justice Department rules. Trump's view is this: disregard the rules. Who's



going to do anything about it? Will the Justice Department go after its own boss? Will the Republican Congress? No one stops Trump from violating all kinds of rules and the Constitution. He has even nominated judges who believe that the Bible takes precedence over the Constitution, like a Christian Taliban. He demands loyalty to himself as person, not to his office or the government. This is the road to fascist dictatorship. **Anti-fascist**

Southern California

What happened in Charlottesville is horrible! What is happening in our country? Why are these horrible people being called "white nationalists"? They do not represent MY country! They are "white supremacist" racists-full of hatred for everyone but themselves. I feel sick that they even live in my country! This is not what America should be about! We should respect one another and work together for peace! Sick of fascism

Detroit

I'm so sickened by the right-wing Republicans' hypocrisy. Ted Cruz and all are acting like they aren't part of what created and emboldened the Nazis. All their policies are exactly what these white supremacists stand for, yet they feel free to say, "But we aren't for hate. We believe everyone is equal." Lying scumbags. I guess they're one step above Trump in that they at least pretend they're not hateful monsters. Like when the Klan still wore hoods to cover their faces. What they said is dangerous because it makes them look like normal people when they are anything but. **Observer**

Conservatives have to take an honest look at themselves. What good is differentiating yourself from the radical Right when some of the conservative voices from yesterday are playing the role today of, literally, bringing the fringe ideas associated with Nazi forums online and taking them to the mainstream. "I hate the alt-right, but

they do have a point with race, gender,

READERS'VIEW

religion, genetics, etc." isn't even silence, it's complicity.

> **African student England**

Watching reports of the white supremacists in Charlottesville, I asked myself, "How many of these guys are policemen?" I wondered how many of the counter-protesters were from Black Lives Matter, or were some just using their name. But who is that stupid to use swastikas? World War II is long gone. On Black talk radio a lot of people were saying they better not come to Detroit! **Civil rights veteran Detroit**

DON'T SCAPEGOAT

People are having a hard time finding good-paying jobs. Large U.S. corporations are constantly laying off workers as soon as they can replace them with computers and robots. This strategy for increasing profits cannot be blamed on working people who have come here from countries like Mexico or Guatemala. Furthermore, this country spends much of its national income on the military. This huge military spending is often supported by people who distrust those from other nations and so they back the foolish plans of politicians to attempt to control and dominate other nations through military force.

> Subscriber **Northern California**

CANADIAN STRIKE

Striking reporters, editors and photographers in Halifax, N.S., Canada, voted on Aug. 10 to ratify an eight-year contract with the Halifax Chronicle Herald and end 18 months of walking the picket line. Terms of the contract sounded so favorable to the company that some union supporters who had canceled their subscriptions in solidarity with the strikers were reluctant to resubscribe. Terms included a 5% pay cut, increase in the workweek from 35 to 37.5 hours and management's right to consolidate job titles. Yet 94% of the strikers accepted the deal, even the many who in effect were voting to be laid off.

One opinion was that workers had walked out last year rather than accept contract language that would have guaranteed the death of the union. They are returning to work with the fate of the union in the bal-**Bob McGuire** Chicago

TRANSGENDER TROOPS

I had a moment of total shock when I heard a report of Trump's tweet about purging

Transgender people from the military. I find that disturbing coming from a guy who got six "white rich family deferments" as I call them, during Vietnam so that his coward ass didn't serve. Now he has the nerve to try and reject people serving who are a hell of a lot more professional than his narcissistic, xenophobic ass is on even his best days.

Robert Taliaferro Black River Falls, Wis.



WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The Association of American Law Schools moved its 2018 conference to

Chicago from Austin, Tex., because the Texas Legislature okayed discrimination against immigrants and LGBTQ people. I applaud the Association's decision and hope other organizations follow suit. I can't help but wonder, however, why their concern with human rights didn't kick in

when Texas banned funding to Planned Parenthood and one out of every four family planning clinics in Texas closed. At the very least, 47,000 women lost healthcare, including thousands having to stop using their long-acting control. Medicaid-covered pregnancies increased by over 25% and unintended pregnancies and abortions also greatly increased. That was certainly an attack on human rights. Where's

the outrage over that?

Women's Liberationist

birth

I particularly appreciate the coverage N&L accurately gives those whose hands uphold the "other half of the sky" (women) and the LGBTQ. The degradation and constraints placed upon these people must not be overlooked in our overall struggle for liberation. Our "two worlds' oppressed" movement must be in unison to deliver the crushing impact that the power structure so desperately needs. *N&L* continues to deliver your much needed service to the people.

> **Prisoner** Rahway, N.J.

I learned a lot of important things about the sex industry from Adele's review of Pimp State by Kat Banyard. The review transformed me into being opposed to legalizing the sex industry, unless it is done by strictly following the Nordic Model. Otherwise women will surely suffer, and pimps, strip club owners, traffickers and brothel

owners will continue to profit

Feminist Illinois

HOMELESS IN L.A.

Despite unprecedented investments to end chronic homelessness and increase resources, homelessness rose 23% in Los Angeles County. This year 8,044 people experienced homelessness for the first time. The county is short nearly 552,000 rentals for very and extremely low-income households. A 2015 Economic Roundtable report stated that 13,000 people in L.A. County fall into homelessness every month. Elected officials aren't doing enough to protect vulnerable tenants. Airbnb and the like are taking thousands of would-be long-term rental units off the market. Property owners are displacing tenants and kicking up rental prices. Landlords are increasingly using illegal tactics to push low-income tenants out so they can increase rents. Unless the City and County take concrete, bold steps in addressing disproportionate luxury housing development, gentrification and outdated policies that allow for the exploitation of vulnerable tenants, homelessness will continue to rise.

> **Community Connections Los Angeles**



DEFEND DISSIDENTS!

Over 200 demonstrators, Legal Observers and members of the press were arrested on Jan. 20, after thou-

sands of demonstrators filled the streets of the nation's capital to protest the inauguration of Donald Trump. A total of 222 people were arrested under felony "incitement to riot" charges that carry the possibility of ten years of incarceration and a fine of \$25,000 if convicted. Additional charges, added later, could result in sentences of up to 75 years! We call on all people of good conscience to endorse the call to drop these charges here: https:// itsgoingdown.org/sign-statement-solidarity-j20-defendants/. Police indiscriminately surrounded and arrested a group of people in violation of D.C. Code prohibiting mass arrests and requiring law enforcement to give dispersal warnings. The police needlessly deployed tear gas, pepper spray, concussion grenades, rubber bullets and batons. The media focused on isolated incidents of property destruction, not on police indiscriminately targeting people for arrest en masse based on location alone.

Lydia Wood **Continuing Legal Aid Committee of Collective Resistance San Diego**

Samantha Bankston, an internationally published scholar with impeccable teaching and research credentials, has been unceremoniously dismissed from her position as Associate Professor of Humanities at Sierra Nevada College for daring to criticize the college publicly. In addition the College violated standards of academic due process by terminating her benefits, barring her from accessing her faculty e-mail account, and denying her the right to appeal. College administrators definitely overreacted. Please sign the protest petition https://www.change.org/p/sierranevada-college-reinstate-faculty-positions-at-sierra-nevada-college.

> **Séamas Cain** Vermont

WHY READ N&L?

This is a very informative paper that takes the side of the oppressed humans of the world, while giving an elaborate perspective on world topics and what we as the people of this world should be doing in order to counter these systems of oppression carried out by governments/corporations. All power to the people, for we need to read papers like N&L.

Prisoner Calipatria, Calif.

Research used to be a priority in all news but now it's all about ratings. Nobody cares if it's 100% factual or not. It's no longer news, it's business. That's why I enjoy your paper to get another side to some very important stories. Without it I'd be lost. So thank you for the subscription and I hope to continue.

Las Cruces, N.M.

To our readers in prison-

Prisoncrats sometimes choose to return an issue to us undelivered, but if you have been movedto another prison, or within the same prison—the USPS will not forward newspapers. Help us keep *N&L* in your hands by letting us know your change of address, including when you are released. When you leave prison your donor subscription can continue to your new address for one additional

We welcome your contributions to N&L and for our website. There are some things we cannot provide. We do not match up pen pals. N&L cannot help prisoners with individual legal cases, and we cannot offer legal advice or access to attorneys. We don't have the resources to do that work. But this paper is a place where the voices of people engaged in struggles inside and outside prison walls can be heard speaking for themselves.

MARX'S CONCEPT OF THEORY

The essential discontinuity between Marx's Grundrisse and Capital is that, in the latter, we can witness a "basic shift in the concept of theory, from one of counterposing one's theories to those of other theoreticians, to that of watching the birth of theory emerging out of the developing class struggles." In Capital, a new dialectic is worked out, for there is no more separation between theory as "analysis of objective reality" and theory as the self-movement of subjects overcoming contradictions and so becoming freer: "The method of analysis is [in Capital] nothing other than the process of development of essential relationship of subject to object" ("A concrete universal: Marx's Capital," July-August N&L). J.G.F. Héctor **Mexico City**

WE ARE NOT A GAME

I tutor former foster kids in high school through a non-profit that receives private grants in order to pay

tutors hourly wages. The non-profit packs its student caseload to get as large



a grant as possible. (If they don't spend it all, they get a smaller grant the next year.) In the middle of last semester, the non-profit overspent its grant and announced they would need to cut several students and drastically reduce the hours of many more. Naturally, the dirty work of breaking this news to students and parents was left for the tutors, who simultaneously digested a steep cut in pay. The worst part is my students were treated like game pieces to be shuffled around. They have enough instability in their lives without the fickleness of philanthropy and those who manage it.

Buddy Bell Pasadena, Calif.

NUKES, WAR AND PEACE

I am greatly encouraged by the UN's recent creation of a comprehensive treaty that bans all nuclear weapons everywhere in the world. Long overdue, it was created and endorsed by 122 nations and needs only the ratification of 55 to become official. In light of the increasing tensions between the U.S. and Russia and the U.S. and North Korea, the danger of a nuclear holocaust is greater than ever. This may be our last chance to evolve toward a new chapter in human history: the ending of all wars and meaningless destruction and the beginning of a truly human world of happy, celebrating and joyful people.

Ramakumar Fairfax, Calif.

Three peace groups in Chicago chose the Henry Moore Sculpture at the University of Chicago campus to remember Aug. 6 and 9 as the 72nd anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. About 200,000 people were killed by two split-second explosions and their aftermath. Speakers surveyed the nuclear project, past, present and future, from the anxiety experienced by biological inheritors of the possible DNA changes caused by radiation, to the recent treaty to ban nuclear weapons; and from the spread of radiation from the meltdowns and hydrogen gas explosions at Fukushima to Thích Nhất Hanh's "Discourse On Love."

> **January** Chicago

VOICES FROM BEHIND BARS

As a prisoner in California's Department of Corruption and Recidivism for many years now, I've witnessed first hand how change can happen, when people come together, put aside their differences and misconceptions, decide that what's wrong for one is wrong for all. The hunger strikes I participated in, along with the "Ashker" settlement, have led to vast changes within this system. But I fervently hope and pray that we don't become blinded and complacent. These people don't play fair! Even now, insidious changes are occurring. Just look at the meals being served now. The bare minimum, if that, at this prison are **Prisoner** now the norm.

Corcoran, Calif.

The capitalist slave drivers here use the free labor and reserve work force that Marx mentions in Capital to cause strife and violence between the inmates in the prison system and cause a wage war over an invisible dream of privileges and approvals. Inmates are divided between aggravated and non-aggravated sentenced inmates. Agg inmates qualify for parole after 50% of their sentence is completed—compared to 25% for nonagg—therefore receive 50% good/gain

time as long as that inmate works for the prison industrial complex. The prison system pits the non-agg against agg



inmates, causing a wage war between inmates-the wage being parole. An agg inmate who refuses to work is placed in administrative confinement/segregation for no less than six months and a non-agg inmate is then placed for that job position. It seems the non-agg inmates are the reserve of the wage army Marx mentions.

> Prisoner **Abilene, Texas**

Like an 1850s Alabama plantation owner crying about his escaped slaves, the Pueblo County Jail administration is bemoaning the fact that it has lost its prisoner workers. The Pueblo Chieftain reported that the closing of the jail's work release center has caused the agency to lose "\$341.428 worth of free labor." No more prisoner slaves to cook and clean or to be farmed out to "nonprofit agencies, city and county governments, and local churches." The American people never question the ethics of the Constitutional approval of slavery via the loophole in 13th Amendment—unless their asses get grabbed by the fascist legal system, and then it is too late.

> **John Taylor** Olney Springs, Colo.

I am an inmate serving a twoyear sentence at a privately owned for-profit jail. I am a lifelong pagan and minister ordained by the Univer-

sal Life Church, writing to expose this jail's religious discrimination. This jail will not allow Muslims, Jews, pagans, Wiccans, or any other faith groups to gather in the chapel for faith/study groups. However, they do have church service for Christians once a week led by the chaplain. A number of the officers and staff, including the chaplain, make disparaging statements about my faith, Muslims, and any faith other than their own. I have sent a formal complaint but this jail has a history of witness intimidation and putting inmates that file complaints into segregation and other forms of retaliation. Please send a letter of support to Meherrin River Regional Jail, PO Box 189, Alberta VA 23821 c/o Lt. Townsend.

> Michael J. Reese Alberta, Va.

As one of capitalism's most unfortunate metaphors, I witnessed something that goes hand in hand with socalled freedom and democracy. That was the gassing and cell extraction of a fellow prisoner on the most exciting and wonderful day this country celebrates, the Fourth of July-in a society that showcases its virtues on the

> **Prisoner** Ionia, Mich.

enslavement of its captives.

I would like to receive N&L. I am trapped in the Texas prison industrial complex and would like to better educate myself so that upon my eventual release I will be better armed to fight the system.

> **Prisoner Houston, Texas**

TO OUR READERS: Can you donate \$5 for a prisoner who cannot pay for a subscription to N&L? It will be shared with many others. A donation of \$8 pays for a subscription plus the Pelican Bay Hunger Strikers pamphlet to be sent to a prisoner. Prisoners are eligible to continue their free subscriptions when they first get released, a time when the system tries to make them forget the struggle.

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VOICES FROM THE INSIDE OUT

Death by incarceration

by Robert Taliaferro

Death by incarceration (DBI), though

One of many demonstrations against death by incarceration.

not one of the other forms of the death penalty that prisons use to dispense the ultimate punishment, occurs at an alarming rate. It is not widely recorded because it is not a sanctioned punishment (short of a person getting life without parole), that is defined by state statutes, policies or procedures.

DBI has various methods. One of the growing forms-especially amongst women prisoners—is suicide. Its escalation in recent years correlates increased periods of incarceration for relatively minor crimes.

In suicide cases DBI can be defined by several categories: those who are

mentally ill and do not receive the care they need to be able to function in the community, let alone prison; those whose stressors are so overwhelming that they simply choose to give up; those whose time structure is so debilitating that death seems a relief from a seeming lifetime spent inside an eight by ten

These categories are made by those who live in this environment, year after year, often for decades.

The most common form of DBI is the state-sanctioned penalties that are supported by the prison industrial complex: life without parole and indeterminate sentencing.

PRISON TIME OVERSTEPS PUNISHMENT

A common theme to corrections is that over 90% of people currently confined will eventually return to the community, yet there is always a question of when a person's incarceration for a crime—any crime—is enough and when continued incarceration

VOICES FROM THE INSIDE OUT

continued from p. 1

Some people unfamiliar with the violent, bloody history of the California prison system might not find the fifth year of the Agreement worthy of note. But what brings a needed context is the knowledge of the long legacy of racial violence taking place behind California prison walls.

Today the guiding principle for the majority of California prisoners is still the Agreement. Moreover, the five-year anniversary signals a sea change in the thinking of prisoners who are coming around to the idea that we are not enemies of each other and we share a common foe, i.e., California Correctional Peace Officers Association (CCPOA).

History has shown the depth of treachery CCPOA is willing to employ when they are working to ensure that racial hostility permeates the prison system. Thus it would be the height of naiveté to think that CCPOA is OK with the peaceful co-existence of the general prison populations.

WE DEMAND TO BE RECOGNIZED AS HUMAN

The prisoners' focus on the demand to have our humanity recognized is both Reason and Force of the Prisoners Human Rights Movement behind prison walls. Prisoners who have been released from the SHU have not lost that central focus. We all are committed to furthering the push for the original five core demands.

But none of this work can be separated from reaching out to the younger generations of prisoners. It has been established via written reports of the committed that work of that nature is being conducted on two levels: 1. The formal, where self-rehabilitation or awareness is the design; and 2. The informal, where it is a one-on-one direct exchange.

Prisoners statewide will benefit from the outreach and effort to get them invested in the Agreement. One of those benefits should be found in the fact that the funds prisoncrats spend for security would no longer be necessary. Therefore, those funds should go towards establishing viable rehabilitation and vocational programs for prisoners.

The demand for human dignity by California prisoners is not an isolated happening. One is hard pressed to find a moment in Amerikan prison history when the demand for human dignity behind prison walls was at a higher intensity.

We see it in the states of Michigan, Texas, Georgia, Wisconsin, Illinois and Alabama, where there is a rejection of the inhumane treatment indicative of antiquated prison systems that have outlived their usefulness. Prisoners have had a self-negation of the negative and recognize their humanity as paramount and that it must be realized in reality.

simply undermines rehabilitation.

When a society locks up a person for an extended period it is ludicrous to think that they will return to the community unscathed. People can rehabilitate themselves, but extended incarceration does not help people learn social skills, especially if rehabilitative efforts are based on current correctional thought.

The stripping of a prisoner's individuality is a

form of cultural death which may not appear in law books or social sciences texts, but is one of the uncited causes of recidivism.

Incarceration most enervating when a person is kept in prison well beyond a reasonable time of confinement that fulfills the community's need for retribution.

This country has over two million people currently in prison with

several million more under some sort of judicial sanction, the majority of whom are people of color, though all are subjected to this form of cultural and social death. Prisons are the only universally integrated U.S. social construct.

REHABILITATION ALWAYS COMES LAST

Prisoners' lives are defined by outside political priorities rather than desires to create positive outcomes which would facilitate reintegration into

On average it costs \$30,000 a year to incarcerate a person. In a supermax, that cost is about \$50,000 a year. With aging prison populations due to DBI policies, that cost can soar to \$100,000 a year or more to keep a prisoner confined who can barely feed themselves or walk.

In states like Louisiana, geriatric wards have been created in prisons to ensure that the community's lust for revenge is properly satisfied, but also that the prisoners can die with some level of dignity.

As a country, we need to decide when a specific function of our society becomes contrary to our core principles, ideas and values, and then we must work to create viable, lasting changes; not simply apply cosmetic bandages to weeping sores.

QUEERNOTES

Texas law enforcement officials, school superintendents and sexual assault survivors rallied at the Capitol against Republican legislation requiring people to use restrooms, showers and locker rooms in public schools and government facilities that match the sex on their birth certificate. Austin Police Chief Brian Manley disputed the notion that Transgender people put women and children at risk, saying the legislation is an attempt to solve a problem "that I do not believe exists." In fact it is Transgender people who are harassed, molested, raped and murdered.

International Non-Binary Day, celebrated on July 14 since 2012, is a call to recognize that Non-Bi-

nary (NB) people have always existed. NB people identify in ways including, but not limited to, fluid gender identity; fixed gender identity that is neither feminine nor



masculine, neither woman nor man; having a gender identity-fluid or fixed-free of gender roles, expectations and pronouns. They require being called by their choice of pronouns and safe community spaces free of oppression.

LGBTQ Pride marchers at the ten-day World Pride 2017 festival in Madrid called attention to how many worldwide are persecuted, even killed, for being Queer. They called on the World Health Organization to stop identifying Transgender identity as a mental illness and upon the European Union to help spread LGBTQ rights across the globe.

The Illinois House of Representatives and Senate have passed legislation banning Transgender and Gay panic defense. Attackers will no longer be able to justify assaults, including murder, by claiming they feared their victims' sexual orientation or

gender identity threatened their safety. If Governor Rauner signs the bill, Illinois will join California as the only states with such a law.

The struggle in Diego Garcia continues

On June 22 there was a resounding win for a UN General Assembly Resolution calling for an Advisory Opinion from the UN's International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the British state's excision of Chagos (including Diego Garcia) from Mauritius in 1965, i.e., before independence, and the brutal, forcible removal of all Mauritian Chagossians from 1965-1973.

The vote was 94 in favor, 15 against. A fine victory! A legal opinion at the ICJ lies ahead. But it will be decided in the final analysis

The Resolution was not a "Mauritius vs. Britain" resolution, as the UK and U.S. UN representatives pretended. It was co-sponsored by the African Union-54 States calling for an opinion on the decolonization of Africa.

HOW THE U.S. AND UK LOST

The first main argument by the UK and U.S. against the resolution is that the issue is between Mauritius and Britain, and should not be considered by the IC.I. They are pretending the co-sponsorship does not exist when it does. Is this a perpetuation of the statement that Diego Garcia was inhabited by a few "Man Fridays"? That is a denial of the very existence of African states. This is the first point the UK and U.S. lost.

The second argument used by Britain was more outrageous. The UK argued that in 1965, an elected Mauritian Council of Ministers negotiated the excision of Chagos from Mauritius in exchange for money from Britain. But it was not the Council of Ministers at the talks but representatives of the political parties, like Labour, etc., as well as a supposed representative of the private sector. The UK Head of

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News & Letters is printed in a union shop News & Letters is indexed by Alternative Press Index State of Mauritius at the time of the supposed deal was Queen Elizabeth II of England, represented by the Governor General, Sir John Rennie.

The UK representative, insisting this is a "bilateral issue," omitted that the UN General Assembly on Dec. 16, 1965, voted a warning Resolution (2066 [XX] Question of Mauritius) in which it explicitly "invites the administering Power (Great Britain) to take no action which would dismember the Territory of Mauritius and violate its territorial integrity." How can the issue then be "bilateral"? Britain was specifically warned not to go ahead with the excision of Chagos. Read the resolution in full at http:// www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/ RES/2066(XX)

Britain's third argument is nonsense. They maintain: Sovereignty is not up for discussion. Mauritius already sold Chagos to Britain for a few pounds long ago. What, then, do the British intend to discuss in the bilateral negotiations they propose? Then they add: Britain will "cede" Chagos to Mauritius when it is no longer needed for defense. Mauritians are not so stupid that they will take this as genuine when it is the UK, and perhaps their chums the U.S., who will decide when Chagos is no longer necessary for "defense."

They lost at the General Assembly of the UN by 94 to 15.

Now a legal battle will ensue. It is up to us to keep up the political pressure. The struggle is against colonialism, militarism, and for the reunification of Mauritian land and people. It is the massive U.S. military base on Diego Garcia that is the cause of all the ills. Further, there are the Chagossian people, Mauritians living on Chagos outer islands, who were forcibly removed after the excision of Chagos from 1965-1973. They deserve the right to return.

It is also about resources of that vast archipelago; about the environment, where Britain has set up its Marine Protected Area alongside a nuclear military base where nuclear submarines are serviced. And the struggle is about women in the forefront—from petitions to street demonstrations, from congresses to battles with riot police—for 50 years.

Check how your government voted. In the case of a "no" or "abstention," send your elected representatives a letter protesting the colonial attitude. Request they change your country's position, and shut down the Diego Garcia base! —Lindsey Collen, LALIT

Humanity confronting annihilation

Livermore, Calif.—On Aug. 9 several hundred people, mostly peace activist veterans, marched on Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory to com-

memorate over 70,000 lives lost at the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, Japan, 72 years earlier. Hundreds sat down at the Livermore Lab gates in an act of civil disobedience and were arrested for trespassing.

Contemporaneous with this came Donald Trump's threat to start a total war with North Korea's nuclear-obsessed totalitarian dictator Kim Jong-un. Trump, at

the helm of the most deadly military arsenal ever assembled, sparred with his fellow egotist leader, saying Kim "will be met with fire and fury and frankly power the likes of which this world has never seen

'RAIN OF RUIN FROM THE AIR'

The march's featured speaker was Daniel Ellsberg, famous for having leaked the Pentagon Papers to expose Nixon's secret expansion of the Vietnam War. Ellsberg was 14 when he heard rhetoric like Trump's from President Truman, when Truman announced the first atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima on Aug 6, 1945, which killed 140,000 people. Truman declared that Japan "may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the likes of which has never been

Ellsberg said as many or more were killed in the March 1945 firebombing of Tokyo with conventional weapons. Use of any and all such weapons, which, said Ellsberg, every president since Truman has refused to take "off the table," is a war crime.

SYRIA AS THE FUTURE

The genocidal "rain of ruin from the air" is now the norm against people, as in Syria, who dare to assert their humanity and right to live free in their own country. It is time to act and to think through the lie of the post-truth world that, as Karl Marx put

Cyclists demand bike lanes in Skid Row

Los Angeles—The bicycle lanes that are prevalent throughout downtown abruptly stop at Skid Row, where very low-income tenants and a large Black homeless population reside. On July 8, 60 residents and activists rode from Skid Row to City Hall to protest this lack of bike lanes, despite the large number of bicycle riders living in the neighborhood.

At City Hall they rode in a circle, blocking traffic and displaying signs demanding that the bike lanes on 5th Street and 6th Street be extended through Skid Row. Later, they converged at the Central City Los Angeles Police Dept. to protest the department's collusion with developers to harass and criminalize the large homeless population to make way for largescale gentrification.

PROTEST EVERY MONTH

The riders pledged to make their protest a monthly event until bike lanes are provided. Come August, the Skid Row bike riders decided to join with the Ovarian Psychos, 150 mostly young Latinas, LGBTQ, and people of other races (including from San Diego and San Francisco). They gathered at the L.A. Historic Park, adjacent to Chinatown, which had been redlined for warehouse development.

Another stop was Newton Precinct in South Central L.A. An indigenous Transgender woman spoke of the oppression women of color face from police. She also raised the name of Daniel Perez, who was shot and killed by a Newton police officer, and the name of her own brother, shot four times while walking to the store.

AFFORDABLE HOUSING DEMOLISHED

In Skid Row and at Jordan Downs Public Housing Project, activists denounced the mass demolition of affordable housing units. In Boyle Heights, residents spoke out against the influx of outside artists and coffeehouses that has too often ended up being a force for gentrification in this low-income Mexican-American community.

Inmates at Lynwood Women's Jail, and at another 12-story federal prison for undocumented immigrants, blinked their lights to welcome the demonstration outside, where activists denounced the fact that Los Angeles County imprisons more people than any other county in California.

The county budget includes \$3.7 billion for new prisons. As one demonstrator's sign declared "It's not the rebels that create the problems of the world, it's the problems of the world that create the rebels."

it, has one basis for science and another for life. It is time to begin, as Marx did, from facts that emerge from the drive to realize everyday life activity, not

Ron Kelch/News & Letters

as a means, but as selfdetermining free activity.

Why does science go into the machinery of death, turning the great mass of humanity into mere collateral damage at the hands of the statist representatives of capital? Why does science go into the machine (capital) to both replace and stultify human life activity?

The San Francisco Bay Area is an intense

center of resistance to Trump, the bluest part of the bluest state in the country. Yet are we confronting the way this contradictory reality looms large? Tesla's owner Elon Musk rightly called robotics another "existential crisis for humanity." That crisis plays out in his own Fremont, Calif., Tesla plant, which has the most advanced, ubiquitous robotic manufac-

INHUMAN PRODUCTION AT TESLA

The long hours and intense pace of work have meant that "ambulances have been called more than 100 times since 2014 for workers experiencing fainting spells, dizziness, seizures, abnormal breathing and chest pains" (see "Tesla factory workers reveal pain, injury and stress: 'Everything feels like the future but us," The Guardian, May 18, 2017). As one Tesla worker, who is looking for help from the UAW, put it on his blog: "I am working for a company of the future under working conditions of the past."

Marx said the key to his critique of capitalism was the dual character of labor in which abstract, value-producing, alienated labor increasingly dominates concrete, corporeal living labor as capitalism and its science recreates itself in new forms. That is so until freely associated workers consciously recreate humanity's metabolism with nature.

Yet Marx's whole critique of capitalism, and projection that its unemployed army would be its gravedigger, is but a moment of his original 1844 concept of human essence, namely, the ever-expanding drive to realize everyday life activity as free, conscious activity. Human essence never directly merges with any of its moments through which humans reproduce reality and themselves.

Material limits and physical differences between humans are always present, but for Marx what is crucial is what humans make of those limits, those differences. Marx saw the Black struggle for freedom at the forefront of opposition to the global capitalism of his day. Black Lives Matter, which was started by Oakland activists, has awoken the nation to the legacy of slavery, to the right to live free in the everyday public arena against police who murder with impunity.

WOMEN AND MEN ON THE MARCH

Millions of women standing up for their right to freely determine their relations in public and private came out against the predator-in-chief. The postinaugural women's march in the Bay Area was the largest in living memory. In Washington, D.C., the immense crowds of women asserting their humanism dramatically revealed the paltriness of Trump's inaugural crowd—along with his bluster about it.

Htun Lin, a persistent voice in the struggle to provide healthcare in the face of healthcare restructuring and science structured for profit, said that perhaps a crucial moment of truth was the defeat of Trumpcare. Thousands of healthcare workers and patients, especially the disabled, stood up in town hall meetings and demonstrations over what is for many an "existential crisis."

Humanism is the opposite of the Trumpism that capitalism in crisis disgorged-a dehumanizing of the other, especially minorities, women and immigrants, while refraining from criticizing Nazis and Klansmen. Millions have protested, shocked that any could forget those groups' history of unspeakable terror against fellow human beings.

Yet the unifying humanism, which is the absolute opposite of this abyss of horror, is multidimensional: being recognized and recognizing others as determining one's everyday life activity in a free, conscious manner. Marx's science followed this idea of freedom in the workplace, in man/woman relations, in the Black struggles against slavery, in peasant communal life and in Marx's perspective for organization guiding a future beyond capitalism.

The new society that is the alternative to the totally dismal future driven by the divide between science and life is the self-determination of this humanist idea in humanity's social life processes.

EDITORIAL

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former National Assembly President Diosdado Cabello are proposing to rewrite the 1999 Constitution at such a moment is an outrage. The significance of the Bolivarian Constitution, voted for by 80% of Venezuelans, was its guarantees of economic and human rights. At its best, Chavismo as a mass movement attempted to build something new on this basis.

This was, however, accompanied by two steps back. First was the personality cult built around Hugo Chávez, which ultimately signifies a lack of confidence in the masses. Second was the dependence on high oil prices to fund social projects, cement alliances, and assert a regional leadership role. With the collapse of oil prices, most of Chávez's projects also col-

Obscenely, in the midst of this, Maduro's government donated \$500,000 to Donald Trump's presidential inauguration, showing how deeply Venezuela's social crisis is integrated into a worldwide crisis of bourgeois democracy. It hasn't stopped Trump from issuing belligerent military threats that are repudiated by all of Latin America.

Thus the overwhelming opposition to Maduro and Cabello's creation of a new Constituent Assembly. Italo Zapata, director of the Federation of Communal and Commune Councils, stated, "This proposal violates the Constitution because it does not give the people the freedom to choose whether or not to approve the initiative. They intend to impose a second-degree election violating what the Constitution establishes."

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN CHAVISMO

Many long-time Chávez supporters have broken with the PSUV. This includes the now-ousted Attorney General Luisa Ortega Díaz, who had criticized recent repression and government corruption. She stated, as riot police besieged her office, "If they're doing this to the chief prosecutor, imagine the helpless state all Venezuelans live in."

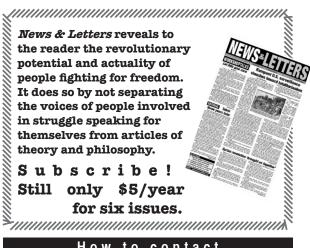
Likewise former Planning Minister Jorge Giordani wrote: "The people are repeatedly mentioned as an instrument of political patronage in the search for support that was lost long ago, given the loss of legitimacy of the government." He accused the Maduro government of wanting to implement "Goebelian socialism" (a reference to Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda minister).

When Chávez was tested by a genuine international revolutionary movement, the Arab Spring, he failed. He had cultivated relationships with Iran, Libya, and Syria, among other oppressive regimes, as a pragmatic policy of forming an "anti-imperialist" alliance. In denying human and economic justice to others, this alliance laid a groundwork for nullifying the Bolivarian Constitution itself.

The contradictions in Chavismo have always been present-and deep contradictions remain in some Chavistas who are rightfully critical of Maduro. Only a serious philosophic rethinking of Venezuela's recent history will create the conditions for a revolutionary transcendence of the current horror.

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Rising U.S. racism challenges all freedom movements

continued from p. 1

Reconstruction, the rise of Jim Crow, and the growth of the prison industry in opposition to previous freedom movements. While racism never went away,

Trump has opened the door for a new level of attacks on Blacks, Latinos, and others. His Attorney General Jefferson B. Sessions—like a Confederate statue come to life—has undermined the Department of Justice's consent decrees that were meant to curb police brutality. These decrees were the result of mass struggle, as in Ferguson, Mo., and came at the cost of many lives.

Sessions has said, "Our officers, deputies and troopers believe the political leadership of this country abandoned them. Their morale has suffered." Or as the Nazis in Charlottesville kept telling the police, "We're on your side. We're the only ones here who have your backs."

The reactionary climate is stifling, with police officers being acquitted in the murders of Terence Crutcher in Tulsa, Okla.; Sylville Smith in Milwaukee, Wis.; Philando Castile in St. Paul, Minn.; and the refusal to charge

officers in the murder of Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge, La.

Sessions wants to stiffen penalties for marijuana use, and intensify the "war on drugs." He makes no secret of directing this war toward poor and minority communities.

Sessions has indicated his opposition to affirmative action in university admissions. Affirmative action has always been a feeble substitute for really transforming this racist society, but attacks on it come from the Right. The Trump administration's opposition to it is just one more signal to his racist base that minorities have gone too far and white people are taking America back. Stephen Bannon described this as Trump's "philosophy."

One of the most disgraceful trends is the passage in at least six states of laws giving motorists the right to run down protesters—originally directed at Native Americans and their allies protesting the Dakota Access pipeline. All this is the absolute opposite of the humanism of Black Lives Matter and the Women's Marches across the country on Jan. 21.

RACISM AND SEXISM RAMPANT

The racist assault unleashed by Trumpism can't be separated from the misogyny that also pervades his administration. It begins with Trump's own history of using and abusing women. But for some, particularly Black women, there is a kind of totalitarianism in place already, not unlike prison.

This is manifest in Black women's fight for the right to control their own bodies. As Renee Bracey Sherman of Echoing Ida writes: "If we choose to have an abortion, we are cast as villains by anti-abortion campaigns that tap into the trauma of our country's racial history...I often hear protesters shout racial slurs and say things like 'unborn black lives matter' when Black people walk past them...But we are stereotyped and called welfare queens if we choose to continue a pregnancy we cannot afford...Black women are ostracized for having children 'too young' and for having kids that society deems 'illegitimate.'

"Then, regardless of the life we provide for our children, if they are killed by police officers, our parenting decisions will inevitably be criticized. From conception until death, damned if we do and damned if we don't."

Just as Trumpism is an attack on every aspect of life, so the movement for reproductive justice created by women of color sees all the issues that allow for self-determination as being connected. It is hearing and responding to such expressions of humanism—such reaching out for universality—that puts revolutionaries to the test.

U.S. HISTORY'S ESSENCE APPEARS

The growth of native U.S. fascism has new aspects, but its roots are deep. It grows from the historic racism of a society founded on slavery and genocide. It is conditioned by the intractable world crisis that has gripped capitalism since the mid-1970s, and by the conscious promotion of racism by ruling class politicians—George Wallace, Richard Nixon and the "Southern Strategy," Ronald Reagan, the cancerous growth of the prison industry, and now Trump. Abetted by the hypocrisy, spinelessness, and racism of Democrats.

This is a life-and-death struggle, and it has worldwide ramifications. Trump's statements are meant to distract attention from one fact: this neo-Nazi/KKK/"alt-right" show of force was all but planned in the White House. There is no question that "strategist" Stephen Bannon was aware of the "Unite the Right" march from its inception. There is no question that he discussed it with Trump. Trump didn't de-

nounce the Nazis afterward because he didn't renounce them beforehand.

Trump, the performer, likely calculated his response precisely—except for the unforeseen murder

American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard by Raya Dunayevskaya

"The new human dimension attained through an oppressed people's genius in the struggle for freedom, nationally and internationally, rather than either scientific achievement or an individual hero, became the measure of humanity in action and thought."

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of Heather Heyer. That Trump changed nothing of his prepared statement shows his contempt for human life. That he has maintained his popularity with most of his supporters—enough to keep Republican Party leaders cowed—is terrifying.

On July 5, Trump's racist speech in Warsaw, Poland, carried this message internationally. His Hitlerian declaration that "The fundamental question of our time is whether the West has the will to survive," was clearly directed against non-white and non-Christian Europeans and European immigrants. The reactionary, anti-woman Law and Justice party government in Poland is explicitly opposed to immigration and multiculturalism.

Poland's current rulers oppose immigrants and Muslims, and the multicultural tapestry that existed in Poland before World War II and the Holocaust. There are two worlds in Poland, as in every country. Women staged a general strike, defeating a draconian anti-abortion law ("Polish women show path forward," Nov.-Dec. 2016 News & Letters). Youth defied the Law and Justice party at the annual celebration of "Woodstock"—a massive concert that includes anti-racist workshops and welcomes immigrants, which the government tried to shut down this year.

BANNON'S WELL-TIMED 'RESIGNATION'

The fascist base that supported Trump's election has become frustrated with the limitations bourgeois democracy still puts on their grasp of state power. They are furious at the opposition to Trump's agenda sparked by the Women's March and protests of his proposed Muslim ban. Fascist leaders decided that they now need to "occupy public space" and "confront Cultural Marxism."

Stephen Bannon's resignation doesn't mean that he will no longer be a strategist of Trumpism, just that he will now work outside as an organizer of its racist base—which he will try to broaden. And he will have the collaboration and money of right-wing billionaires like the Mercer family.

Like other "alt-right" ideologues, Bannon is a pseudo-intellectual product of decades of racist ideological development, taking in classic 1930s fascism, U.S. racism, apartheid, and the "clash of civilizations" thesis used to justify the Bosnian genocide. He wants to spread these ideas among the working class.

Thus Trump and Bannon pick fights over racial and other issues they denigrate as "identity politics." And they base their appeal upon very specific segments of the working class.

Trump's background as a developer is bound up with historically racist building trades unions. These unions carried out Nixon's 1970 hardhat riot against anti-war protesters, kept minorities from membership well into the 1970s, and kept Black youth out of Chicago's Washburne Trade School. Despite some progress, these are also the unions that were most enthusiastic about Trump's election, including his call to build the Dakota Access pipeline that was opposed by other unions in solidarity with Native Americans.

To this constituency Trump and Bannon have added a section of tech industry workers who feel threatened by immigrant labor, women, and people of color. Some of these types have gravitated to the "alt-right" and its internet base.

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL

These workers don't represent all of labor. They do represent white labor's historic vulnerability to racist appeals. Trump is trying to push us further down the reactionary path carved by Nixon and Reagan.

Throughout U.S. history, the absolute opposite of this racist capitalism has been expressed by the Black freedom struggle. At each turning point, this struggle has pointed toward the future. Both labor and Black masses have only advanced at turning points when the two movements coalesced. That is why Marxist-Humanism recognizes the reality of the Black masses as vanguard at significant turning points in U.S. history as much more than just a political analysis.

It is a philosophic category that points the way to transcendence of this horror in the coalescence of Black freedom struggles with other forces of revolution, especially labor. At a moment when Black Lives Matter, prisoner struggles, women's agitation, and the absolute assertion of human dignity come into such direct conflict with the degrading ideas of Trumpism, we are seeing this philosophic category come to life.

Like all Marx's and Marxist-Humanism's categories, it is a question of human beings grasping our own reality so completely that we are enabled to project—and create—a more human world.

As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote, "The absolute challenge to our age is the concretization of Marx's concept of 'revolution in permanence.' The Black dimension is crucial to the total uprooting of existing, exploitative, racist, sexist society and the creation of new, truly human foundations" (American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard).

Black masses, labor, women, LGBTQ, youth have no future short of taking up that challenge to this society descending toward barbarism.

Offending Detroit

Detroit—The movie *Detroit* is disappointing. The title is so vague as to be offensive and meaningless. Is this Detroit then, now, forever? No, it's specifically about the massacre at the Algiers Motel during the 1967 rebellion. A Black youth partying there thought it would be funny to fire a starter pistol at the cops outside. The result: in trying to unearth a sniper's gun, Detroit police terrorized Black kids, executed three 17-year-old boys, and were cleared of all charges in 1969 by an all-white jury.

DOCUDRAMA TURNS TO EXPLOITATION

Detroit begins as an historical docudrama, presenting in detail the police raid on the illegal nightclub

on 12th
Street on
July 23.
The next
section
hammers
away at
crowds of



Black people engaging in destruction, shouting down leaders like Congressman John Conyers. Shattering glass, the roar of fire, sirens, looting are filmed for what seems like hours. A police officer shoots and kills an unarmed Black youth in the back. He is charged with murder by his lieutenant but remains on active duty.

The overall impression is that gratuitous violence—white, Black, citizen, police officer—is treated equally and voyeuristically by the movie. Footage portrays looters as ignorant Black buffoons. There is only the briefest glimpse of a white looter, which gives mere lip service to the underplayed fact that whites and Blacks looted together.

John Boyega plays security guard Melvin Dismukes beautifully, but the film does not allow Boyega to portray the conflict Dismukes must have felt as a Black law enforcement professional witnessing the horrific brutality of the white Detroit Police Department officers at the Algiers Motel.

FILM FAILS TO GIVE MEANING TO EVENTS

The promising career of Larry Cleveland Reed, the lead teenaged singer for the Dramatics, was completely derailed as he is caught up in the night of torture at the Algiers and witnesses his best friend Fred murdered. The Vietnam paratrooper Greene alienates the courtroom in a furious outburst, raging against questions that seem to put him on trial instead of the white officer who tormented him.

The questioning going on now in the city of Detroit and the fight to stop fascism worldwide demand a search for meaning in our history, no matter how unpleasant. What was real at that time that now seems unimportant? What was dismissed and denied that is still all too real today? Ultimately this movie is an action flick set in Detroit, using Detroit as entertainment. Should a movie be expected to be more than entertainment? Yes, if it is based on actual events. Otherwise it is a brilliantly filmed wasted opportunity to heal our social wounds.

—Susan Van Gelder

Fighting back against the rise of neo-Nazi hate

Chicago in solidarity with Charlottesville

Chicago—There were at least 1,000 people at the demonstration in Chicago on Aug. 13 in opposition to the racist attacks in Charlottesville.

It was half vigil for the many injured and for Heather Heyer, the woman who was run down and killed, and half protest.

I'm glad we went. Some of the speakers were political, others spoke more about their feelings and the death of Ms. Heyer.

One said that there aren't these kinds of vigils when Black people are murdered, and questioned others for being shocked and surprised when people of color have known the ugly truth of



America for centuries.

Another speaker said hate is a normal human emotion in response to white supremacy, that we're against white supremacy, not hate.

I was upset that a homeless man was silenced and shushed. Flowers were handed out and there were several moments of silence.

They could have had an open mic or marched to Trump Tower, but the demonstration seemed tightly controlled.

It was the briefest rally I've ever been to, less than an hour. There was a lot of sadness, but people did clap when speakers were more political.

-Feminist protester

Memphis cops rough up anti-fa protesters

Memphis, Tenn.—On the morning of Aug. 20, the last person arrested by the police the day before at an action supporting the removal of Confederate statues from the city was released from his night in itself.

On Aug. 19 several hundred gathered at Health Sciences Park, formerly Nathan Bedford Forrest Park, in honor of Confederate Lieutenant General and early Ku Klux Klan member Nathan Bedford Forrest. The statue



Protesters being roughed up by Memphis cops.

of Forrest, which stands above his gravesite, remains the centerpiece of the renamed park.

The rally was festive but the mood was soured by police aggression. Police roughed up several people at the rally who attempted to cover the statue with a white sheet. At least seven people were arrested for charges such as disorderly conduct, obstructing a roadway and desecration of a venerated object.

The police presence was more hostile than typical for this type of gathering. Several people were dragged off, and a police officer bumped demonstrators with her car and made threatening maneuvers at people. Following the arrests, a large crowd marched to the county jail and remained outside until all seven of their fellow protesters were released.



We weren't the only ones protesting. Over 100 Univ. of Tennessee Health Sciences students, which included Medical, Dental, Pharmaceutical and Nursing students, also walked out of classes as part of #takeemdown901.

They demanded immediate removal of Confederate statues and are especially anxious to get rid of the one of Nathan Bedford Forrest as it is in the park next to the Health Sciences campus.

—Ceylon and friends

Halifax protest

Rallying in solidarity with Charlottesville, protesters Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, also demanded removal this statue of Cornwallis, the city's genocidal founder. -Bob McGuire



Brexit a portmanteau

Brexit is a portmanteau word so is brunch but I'm bored with politics unless it's about human emancipation During the war I crossed the Atlantic FORTH

as human cargo to pacify Germany AND BACK

I lived in a walking dream When the war ended the war began

Dreadnoughts had cleared the Atlantic of German submarines

but the dogfish

bottom feeder on human souls still prevailed.

To accept things as they are is to swim in a stagnant pool so I copped out and headed South

Dumb choice Looked up old army buddies on the road

beside the road under the road

Can you survive on old war stories? Thrive on reefer and free love?

Tea for two is alones for one

and then I heard the stagnant pool

boil as the odor of stale air shifted lifted drifted over the road

Freedom Rides.

and the un-festering pool

and the young:
"Give peace a stance"

rolled down like justice

and the women
"Let us bathe
Let us drink from the fountain of justice"

Then came Trump
Thump
Thump
Wake up
the war continues

—Paul Geist

Racism in Oregon

Portland, Ore.—There's a white people problem here. One year before white nationalists descended on Charlottesville, Va., Larnell Bruce Jr. was a Black teen charging his cell phone at a 7-Eleven in Portland when he was murdered by Colleen Hunt and her boyfriend Russell Courtier, a white nationalist with ties to the known hate group European Kindred.

OREGON FOUNDED AS WHITES-ONLY STATE

Many in the overwhelmingly white community of Portland barely knew of the murder due to the lack of proper reporting from the mainstream press. But in Portland and Oregon as a whole, racist white nationalist activity isn't an anomaly. Founded in 1859 as a whites-only state, Oregon at one time had the highest number of KKK members per capita in the U.S. While the number has dwindled, violent, virulent racism remains.

As the one-year anniversary of Larnell Bruce's murder coincided with the white nationalist rally in Charlottesville, community members gathered in Alberta Park in Northeast Portland for a rally and press conference in his memory and in solidarity with those fighting racists in Charlottesville.

But the organizers' message wasn't simply a condemnation of the white nationalists throughout Portland, Charlottesville, and beyond. It was a wake-up call to the supposed well-meaning white liberals who populate these towns: it's time to do more. Many Portland-

ers believed putting "Black up Lives Matter" and "Love Trumps Hate" signs their yard enough of a political stance combat to the growwhite ing nationalist activity. But when it comes to real, tangible tions—like calling for justice alongside the family of Larnell Bruce Jr.white people aren't showing up.



Larnell Bruce Jr.

JUSTICE DELAYED IS JUSTICE DENIED

When they do, they come as part of organizations seeking to capitalize on the painful events without working with the communities and families impacted by police brutality and hate crimes. It's a frustrating, disturbing trend, especially now, a year out from Larnell's murder, as Russell Courtier's trial has been delayed until February 2018 and Larnell's family continues to wait for justice. White people, with their hand-wringing, their privilege, and their glaring lack of action, are culpable, explained Teressa Raiford, one of the organizers of Don't Shoot Portland, a group that works for racial justice and police reform.

It was an apt statement that made the crowd nod in agreement. And it was at that moment I saw the hand shoot up in the air. A white woman had raised her hand, thinking it was her turn to speak at a press conference held by women of color about fighting back against white supremacy. The raised hand was followed by a shout, interrupting Raiford and others as they spoke to reporters.

"Not everyone!"

The crowd turned towards the woman, unsure who was speaking. She continued: "Not everyone is like that! You don't speak for everyone!" People in the crowd shifted in their spots and started shushing and hissing with some yelling out "Check your privilege" and "This isn't your time!" Another woman bent down to quietly speak with her. The crowd was beginning to be led in chants, starting with "Black Lives Matter." The interrupter got up to leave, moving silently to the outskirts of the group before she disappeared.

—Liz Fraser

Readers: We want to hear from you! Write or email! See contact information, p. 9.

WORLD®VIEW

by Eugene Walker

Despite months of warning about impending famine, conditions continue to deteriorate in So-

malia, South Sudan, Yemen and parts of Nigeria. In addition to severe drought, armed conflicts are occurring in each country. War is displacing millions of people, turning them into refugees fleeing for their lives. Crops are destroyed, with water contamination leading to the spread of cholera and other diseases. Starvation is occurring, with famine said to involve as many as 20 million people.



Mass grave of refugee children outside Dadaab, Kenya, May 2017.

South Sudan—The armed conflict/civil war that has wracked South Sudan since independence has now left one-third of the country's 13 million people displaced. Over one million have fled to Uganda,

When war opens the door to famine

with hundreds of thousands more leaving for Sudan and Ethiopia. "A style of fighting that appears calibrated to maximize misery" has been reported.

Yemen—Involved in an ongoing civil war and

subjected to a murderous bombing campaign by a U.S.backed Saudi coalition that has destroyed water distribution systems, some 500,000 Yemenis are now infected with cholera, over 2,000 having died-more than the total number of cholera deaths reported worldwide in 2015. The New York Times reports: "Relentless aerial bombings by Saudi Arabia and a trade blockade have mutilated the economy, sending food prices spiraling and pushing hundreds of thousands of chil-

dren to the brink of starvation."

Somalia—The country that suffered a devastating famine in 2011 is faced with the prospect of another, with millions in danger. Besides armed con-

flict, there is a severe shortage of water, whose cost has risen dramatically, and its effect on the growth of food crops. Some six million Somalis are affected. Between war and drought, half a million have recently been displaced. A dysfunctional government and Al-Shabaab armed soldiers, who control vast portions of the country, deepen the danger of wide-

Nigeria—In the northeast, the guerrilla group Boko Haram has been carrying on a devastating armed conflict that has forced millions of Nigerians to flee. It has created conditions whereby famine is taking hold and could easily result in the deaths of untold thousands.

While nature may make its contribution, famine and its deadly effects are primarily a man-made phenomenon-particularly in our "modern civilization" of classist, racist/ethnic, and sexist conflicts.

Kurdish referendum

Iraqi Kurds are scheduled to vote on Sept. 25 in a referendum on independence for Iraqi Kurdistan. The referendum is being promoted by President

Kurds are considered to be the world's largest stateless ethnic group. Kurdish territory is divided between a number of countries. Iragi Kurds have had a measure of autonomy since the introduction of a no-fly zone against

COMPLICATIONS, COMPETING INTERESTS

Barzani, head of the Kurdistan Democratic

Barzani is close to Turkey's President Erdogan, who is at war with Turkish Kurds, and who would attempt to dominate an independent Kurdish state. There is also a Kurdish unlikely to welcome independence.

already militarily involved. A conflict among these states and parties would see U.S. forces in the eye of

Masoud Barzani and is expected to pass easily.

Saddam Hussein's genocidal regime in 1991. Syrian Kurds are also experiencing a new autonomy with the creation of Rojava by the Democrat-

ic Union Party.

Party, has continued as president even though his term expired two years ago. He is grooming his son Masrour, who has a terrible human rights record, to succeed him.

insurgency in Iran-so that regime would be The U.S. opposes independence because it is satisfied with the undemocratic status quo, and it is

Sellout in Burma

Despite the electoral victory of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy party over the long-ruling military dictatorship in Myanmar (Burma), for the Muslim Rohingya minority in this Buddhist majority country there has only been an intensification of repression. This is occurring with the acquiescence of Aung San Suu Kyi.

The military continues its heavy-handed censorship using a military-era law that criminalizes "defamation." Some 65 cases have been brought against people who used social media to criticize the military. Criminalization of journalists has also taken place, with three recently arrested.

The military's brutal history is well known. Why is the Aung San Suu Kyi government, elected in opposition to the military, now collaborating with it?

China and U.S. extend internet censorship

China extended its state censorship, which already blocks websites of many foreign news organizations, social media like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, and Google's search engine. It ordered Cambridge University Press to sanitize its academic journal China Quarterly by excising 300 articles on issues like the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre and ongoing revolts in Tibet, Xinjiang and Hong Kong. The Press complied in mid-August but reversed course after an international outcry from anti-censorship academics, including a threatened bovcott.

Capitalist corporations have great difficulty resisting China's market of over 1.3 billion people. Many tech companies have bowed to government demands to help suppress dissent. Apple removed apps from its App Store in China that help people evade censors and monitoring. Facebook, still blocked in China, is wooing the government and has created a tool to allow a third party to block specific Facebook posts in a given country.

CORPORATE DOUBLE STANDARDS

Facebook may itself have become the world's biggest censor. While the corporate press reported with much fanfare the banning of some far Right accounts from Facebook, Twitter and some other platforms, none mentioned the years-long history of post deletions and account suspensions of left-wingers.

A Congressman posted "Kill them all" on Facebook about "radicalized" Muslims-no action taken. The neo-Nazi "Alt-Reich Nation," one of whose members murdered Black college student Richard Collins III, is not banned.

But when Leslie Mac posted, "White folks. When racism happens in public-YOUR SILENCE IS VIOLENCE," her account was disabled until she got publicity. Palestinian groups created the hashtag #FbCensorsPalestine to show how routinely they are blocked—not only in the Middle East but in the U.S.

Despite such heavy-handed censorship, tech companies have utterly failed in their highly publicized efforts to rein in sexist, racist cyberbullying, which has driven women and people of color from many corners of the web that by no coincidence have incubated the far Right culture that expressed itself so clearly in Charlottesville, Va.

Like all technology, the web, hailed 25 years ago by some on the Left as the tool that would democratize culture and bring liberation, is a product of the society in which it was created. What gives voice to liberation is not technology but the self-activity of masses in motion, and organizations based not on profit but on the philosophy of liberation.

—Franklin Dmitryev

Chile abortion rights

Chilean women won a limited but important victory Aug. 21. The Constitutional Tribunal ruled to legalize abortion in three situations: rape, incest, and when the woman's life is in danger.

Chile was one of four Latin American countries that forbid abortion in all cases (along with Nicaragua, El Salvador, and the Dominican Republic). Women who decide to abort have been jailed. Participants in abortion face 15-year sentences. Between 2010 and 2014, 73 people were convicted of helping women control their own bodies.

Laws don't stop abortions, they just make them dangerous. In 2016 over 30,000 women had to go to hospitals for injuries caused by back-alley abortions. Illegal abortions are estimated at over 60,000 per year. Important as it is, this bill will hardly make a dent in these statistics.

The original bill the Chilean Congress approved also included legalizing abortion when a fetus is unviable. Some of the strongest supporters of the bill were women who have been forced to carry a severely malformed, non-viable fetus to term. Some have watched these babies, forced to be born, suffer and die painful deaths.

Even this mercy was challenged by anti-abortion fanatics. How many women facing such an outcome for their baby will chance saving it such suffering for 15 years in prison?

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

Who We Are And What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists. It has always stood for the abolition of capitalism. both in its private property form as in the U.S., and in its state property form calling itself Communist, which appeared as the Russian Revolution was transformed into its opposite. That retrogression anticipated the next stage of development—the age of state-capitalism. We stand for a society of new human relations, what Marx called a new Humanism.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation.

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910–1987), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, was Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-1983), a Black rank-and-file autoworker, author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal, was editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983.

tween the movement from practice which is itself a form of theory and the movement from theory to philosophy is reflected in Dunayevskaya's three major works.

Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today (1958), established the American roots of Marxism while presenting a comprehensive attack on present-day Communism, which is a form of state-capitalism. It re-established Marxism in its original form as "a thorough-going Naturalism or Humanism," while pointing to the new Humanist philosophy expressed by the working class. It presented history and theory as emanating from the movement from practice.

Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao (1973), written after the failed revolts of the 1960s, articulated the integrality of philosophy and revolution as the characteristic of the age and, tracing it historically, caught the link of continuity with the Humanism of Marx. As against the vanguard party, the integration of dialectics and organization reflects the revolutionary maturity of the age and the passion for a philosophy of liberation.

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (1982) ex-

ery of a continent of thought and of revolution in his youth to the "new moments' of his last decade. Written for our time of revolutions in developing countries, the rise of the international women's liberation movement, and global economic crisis, it reveals the absolute challenge to make real Marx's "revolution in permanence" as the determinant for the relationship of theory and practice and as ground for organization.

These works spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism. American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard (1963, 1983) concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way freedom road between the U.S. and Africa.

In 1989 News and Letters Committees published Dunayevskaya's original 1953 philosophic breakthrough—her two letters on Hegel's Absolutes-and her 1987 Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy in The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism.

This body of ideas challenges all those desiring freedom to transcend the limitations of post-Marx Marxism. In light of the crises of our nuclear-armed world, climate change, and failed revolutions, it becomes

imperative not only to reject what is, but to further work out the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present. The recreation of Marx's philosophy as Marxist-Humanism is recorded in Dunayevskaya's archives, The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection-Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development, deposited at Wayne State University in Detroit and available to all.

We aim to continue to develop Marxist-Humanism and make it available to all who struggle for freedom. In opposing this capitalist, racist, sexist, heterosexist, class-ridden society, we have adopted a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead."

We participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states:

"It is our aim...to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking.

Send for a free copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees or see it on our website: www.newsandletters.org