

Sex Race and Class

The
Perspective
of Winning
A Selection
of Writings
1982-2013

 Nina James

Preface by Marcus Rediker

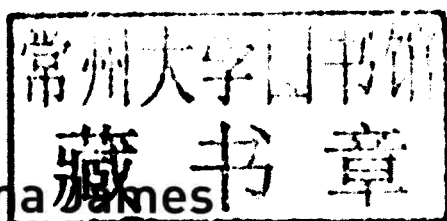
Introduction by Nina López

SEX, RACE, AND CLASS

THE PERSPECTIVE
OF WINNING

A SELECTION OF
WRITINGS, 1952-2011

Selma James



PM



Sex, Race, and Class—The Perspective of Winning: A Selection of Writings, 1952–2011

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About the Authors

Selma James is a women's rights and antiracist campaigner and author. From 1958 to 1962, she worked with CLR James in the movement for Caribbean federation and independence. In 1972, she founded the International Wages for Housework Campaign, and in 2000 she helped launch the Global Women's Strike whose strategy for change is Invest in Caring Not Killing. She coined the word "unwaged" to describe the caring work women do, and it has since entered the English language to describe all who work without wages on the land, in the home, in the community... In 1975, she became the first spokeswoman of the English Collective of Prostitutes. She is an international point of reference for the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network (2008). She coauthored the classic *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community* which launched the "domestic labour debate." She has addressed the power relations within the working-class movement, and how to organize across sectors despite divisions of sex, race, age, occupation, nationality, disability, etc., South and North.

Other publications include *A Woman's Place* (1952), *Women, the Unions, and Work, or What Is Not to Be Done* (1972), *Sex, Race, and Class* (1974), *Wageless of the World* (1974), *The Rapist Who Pays the Rent* (1982, coauthor), *The Ladies and the Mammies: Jane Austen and Jean Rhys* (1983), *Marx and Feminism* (1983), *Hookers in the House of the Lord* (1983), *Strangers & Sisters: Women, Race, and Immigration* (1985, ed. & introduction), *The Global Kitchen: The Case for Counting Unwaged Work* (1985 and 1995), *The Milk of Human Kindness: Defending Breastfeeding from the AIDS Industry and the Global Market* (2005, coauthor).

Nina López is the joint coordinator of the Global Women's Strike. Her writings and edited volumes include: *Prostitute Women and AIDS—Resisting the Virus of Repression* (1988), *Some Mother's Daughter: The Hidden Movement of Prostitute Women Against Violence* (1998), *The Milk of Human Kindness* (2002), and *Creating a Caring Economy: Nora Castañeda and the Women's Development Bank of Venezuela* (2006).

Marcus Rediker is an activist and Distinguished Professor of Atlantic History at the University of Pittsburgh. His books include: *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seaman, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (1987), *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (2000, coauthor), *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (2004), *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (2007), and many more.



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PM Press was founded at the end of 2007 by a small collection of folks with decades of publishing, media, and organizing experience. PM Press co-conspirators have published and distributed hundreds of books, pamphlets, CDs, and DVDs. Members of PM have founded enduring book fairs, spearheaded victorious tenant organizing campaigns, and worked closely with bookstores, academic conferences, and even rock bands to deliver political and challenging ideas to all walks of life. We're old enough to know what we're doing and young enough to know what's at stake.

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F O P M

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These are indisputably momentous times—the financial system is melting down globally and the Empire is stumbling. Now more than ever there is a vital need for radical ideas.

In the four years since its founding—and on a mere shoestring—PM Press has risen to the formidable challenge of publishing and distributing knowledge and entertainment for the struggles ahead. With over 175 releases to date, we have published an impressive and stimulating array of literature, art, music, politics, and culture. Using every available medium, we've succeeded in connecting those hungry for ideas and information to those putting them into practice.

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**CLR
JAMES**



**EVERY COOK
CAN GOVERN**

**THE
INVADING
SOCIALIST
SOCIETY**

A NEW NOTION

TWO WORKS BY C. L. R. JAMES



EDITED
AND WITH
AN INTRODUCTION
BY NOEL IGNATIEV

PM PRESS

A New Notion

Two Works by CLR James:
“Every Cook Can Govern” and
“The Invading Socialist Society”

CLR James • Edited by Noel Ignatiev
\$16.95 • ISBN: 978-1-60486-047-4

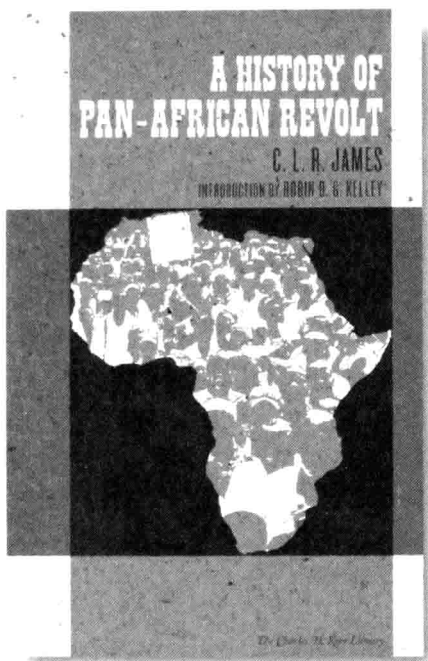
CLR James was a leading figure in the independence movement in the West Indies, and the Black and working-class movements in both Britain and the United States. As a major contributor to Marxist and revolutionary theory, his project was to discover, document, and elaborate the aspects of working-class activity that constitute the revolution in

today’s world. In this volume, Noel Ignatiev, author of *How the Irish Became White*, provides an extensive introduction to James’s life and thought, before presenting two critical works that together illustrate the tremendous breadth and depth of James’s worldview.

“The Invading Socialist Society,” for James the fundamental document of his political tendency, shows clearly the power of James’s political acumen and its relevance in today’s world with a clarity of analysis that anticipated future events to a remarkable extent. “Every Cook Can Govern,” is a short and eminently readable piece counterpoising direct with representative democracy, and getting to the heart of how we should relate to one another. Together these two works represent the principal themes that run through James’s life: implacable hostility toward all “condescending saviors” of the working class, and undying faith in the power of ordinary people to build a new world.

“It remains remarkable how far ahead of his time he was on so many issues.”

—*New Society*



A History of Pan-African Revolt

CLR James • Introduction

by: Robin D.G. Kelley

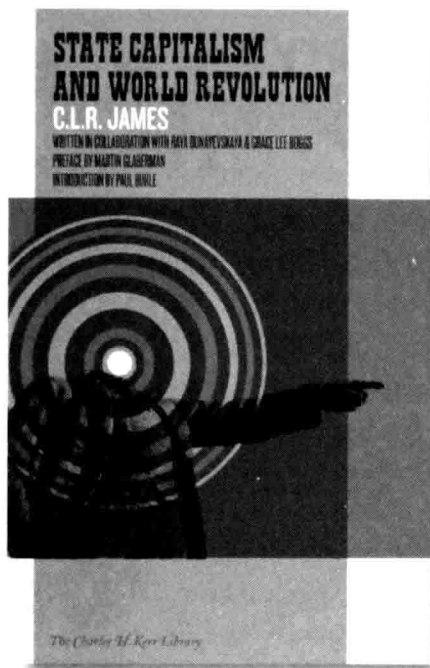
\$16.95 • ISBN: 978-1-60486-095-5

Originally published in England in 1938 (the same year as his magnum opus *The Black Jacobins*), and expanded in 1969, this work remains the classic account of global Black Resistance. Robin D.G. Kelley's substantial introduction contextualizes the work in the history and ferment of the times, and explores its ongoing relevance today.

"A History of Pan-African Revolt is one of those rare books that continues to strike a chord of urgency, even half a century after it was first published. Time and time again, its lessons have proven to be valuable and relevant for understanding liberation movements in Africa and the diaspora. Each generation who has had the opportunity to read this small book finds new insights, new lessons, new visions for their own age... No piece of literature can substitute for a crystal ball, and only religious fundamentalists believe that a book can provide comprehensive answers to all questions. But if nothing else, *A History of Pan-African Revolt* leaves us with two incontrovertible facts. First, as long as Black people are denied freedom, humanity and a decent standard of living, they will continue to revolt. Second, unless these revolts involve the ordinary masses and take place on their own terms, they have no hope of succeeding."—From the Introduction by Robin D.G. Kelley

"I wish my readers to understand the history of Pan-African Revolt. They fought, they suffered—they are still fighting. Once we understand that, we can tackle our problems with the necessary mental equilibrium."

—CLR James



State Capitalism and World Revolution

CLR James, Raya Dunayevskaya,
and Grace Lee Boggs •

Introduction by Paul Buhle •

Preface by Martin Glaberman

\$16.95 • ISBN: 978-1-60486-092-4

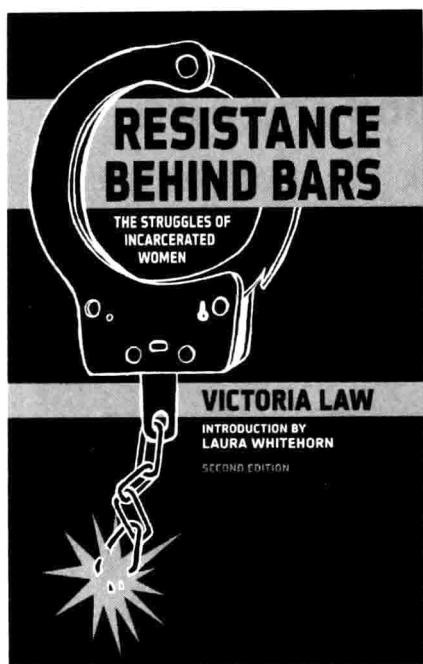
Sixty years ago, CLR James and a small circle of collaborators set forth a revolutionary critique of industrial civilization. Their vision possessed a striking originality. So insular was the political context of their theoretical breakthroughs, however, and so thoroughly did their optimistic expectations for

working class activity defy trends away from class and social issues to the so-called 'End of Ideology,' that the documents of the signal effort never reached public view. Happily, times have changed. Readers have discovered much, even after all these years, to challenge Marxist (or any other) orthodoxy. They will never find a more succinct version of James's general conclusions than *State Capitalism and World Revolution*. In this slim volume, James and his comrades successfully predict the future course of Marxism.

Written in collaboration with Raya Dunayevskaya and Grace Lee Boggs, this is another pioneering critique of Lenin and Trotsky, and reclamation of Marx, from the West Indian scholar and activist, CLR James. Originally published in 1950, this edition includes the original preface from Martin Glaberman, and a new introduction from Paul Buhle.

"When one looks back over the last twenty years to those men who were most far-sighted, who first began to tease out the muddle of ideology in our times, who were at the same time Marxists with a hard theoretical basis, and close students of society, humanists with a tremendous response to and understanding of human culture, Comrade James is one of the first one thinks of."

—E.P. Thompson



Resistance Behind Bars

The Struggles Of Incarcerated Women, 2nd Edition

Victoria Law • Introduction

by Laura Whitehorn

\$20.00 • ISBN: 978-1-60486-583-7

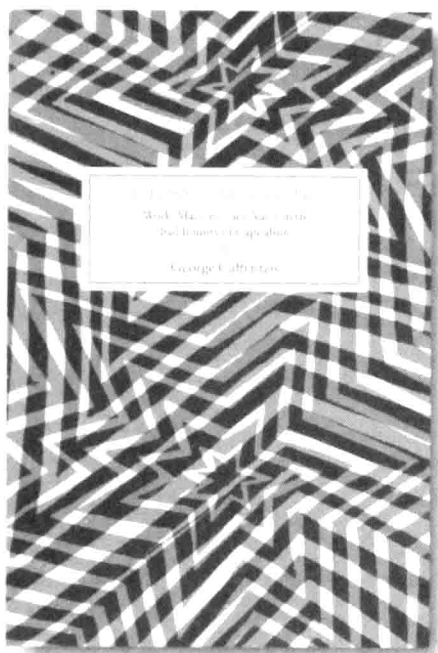
In 1974, women imprisoned at New York's maximum-security prison at Bedford Hills staged what is known as the August Rebellion. Protesting the brutal beating of a fellow prisoner, the women fought off guards, holding seven of them hostage, and took over sections of the prison.

While many have heard of the 1971 Attica prison uprising, the August Rebellion remains relatively unknown even in activist circles. *Resistance Behind Bars* is determined to challenge and change such oversights. As it examines daily struggles against appalling prison conditions and injustices, *Resistance* documents both collective organizing and individual resistance among women incarcerated in the U.S. Emphasizing women's agency in resisting the conditions of their confinement through forming peer education groups, clandestinely arranging ways for children to visit mothers in distant prisons and raising public awareness about their lives, *Resistance* seeks to spark further discussion and research into the lives of incarcerated women and galvanize much-needed outside support for their struggles.

This updated and revised edition of the 2009 PASS Award winning book includes a new chapter about transgender, transsexual, intersex, and gender-variant people in prison.

"This insightful book calls attention to the power, spirit, and courage of women who find themselves behind bars in the era of mass incarceration. By raising up their voices and stories, and by honoring their struggles, this book makes an important contribution to the growing movement to end prisons as we know them."

—Michelle Alexander, civil rights lawyer, advocate, legal scholar and author of *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*



In Letters of Blood and Fire

Work, Machines, and Value in
the Bad Infinity of Capitalism

George Caffentzis

\$19.95 • ISBN: 978-1-60486-335-2

Karl Marx wrote that the only way to write about the origins of capitalism in the sixteenth century is in the letters of blood and fire used to drive workers from the common lands, forests and waters. This collection of essays by autonomist Marxist George Caffentzis argues that the same is true for the annals of 21st century

capitalism. Information technology, immaterial production, financialization, and globalization have been trumpeted as inaugurating a new phase of capitalism that put it beyond its violent origins. Instead of being in a period of major social and economic novelty, however, the course of the last decades has been a return to the fire and blood of struggles at the advent of capitalism.

Emphasizing class struggles that have proliferated across the social body of global capitalism, Caffentzis shows how a wide range of conflicts and antagonisms in the labor-capital relation express themselves within and against the work process. These struggles are so central to the dynamic of the system that even the most sophisticated machines cannot liberate capitalism from class struggle and the need for labor. Moreover, the theme of war and crisis permeate the text but are also given singular emphasis, documenting the peculiar way in which capital perpetuates violence and proliferates misery on a world scale. The collection draws upon a careful re-reading of Marx's thought in order to elucidate political concerns of the day. The essays in this collection have been written to contribute to the debates of the anticapitalist movement over the last thirty years. This book is meant to make them more available as tools for the struggle in this period of transition to a common future.

CAPITAL AND ITS DISCONTENTS

CONVERSATIONS WITH RADICAL THINKERS
IN A TIME OF TUMULT

*David Harvey, Ellen Meiksins Wood, Noam Chomsky,
Mike Davis, Tariq Ali, Leo Panitch, and others*



■ SPECTRE

SASHA LILLEY

Capital and Its Discontents

Conversations with Radical
Thinkers in a Time of Tumult

Edited by Sasha Lilley

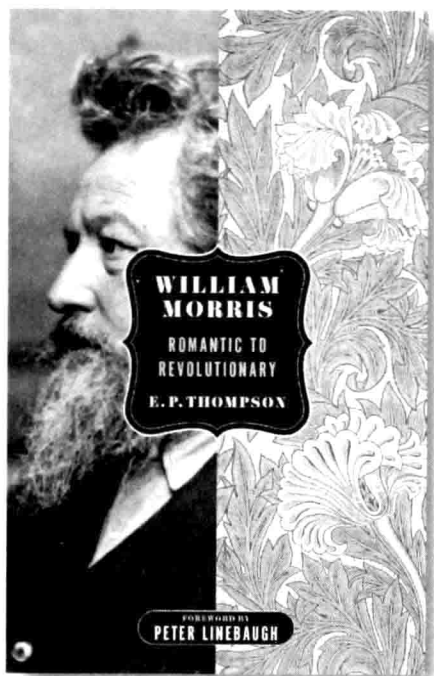
\$20.00 • ISBN: 978-1-60486-334-5

Capitalism is stumbling, empire is faltering, and the planet is thawing. Yet many people are still grasping to understand these multiple crises and to find a way forward to a just future. Into the breach come the essential insights of *Capital and Its Discontents*, which cut through the gristle to get to the

heart of the matter about the nature of capitalism and imperialism, capitalism's vulnerabilities at this juncture—and what can we do to hasten its demise.

Through a series of incisive conversations with some of the most eminent thinkers and political economists on the Left—including David Harvey, Ellen Meiksins Wood, Mike Davis, Leo Panitch, Tariq Ali, and Noam Chomsky—*Capital and Its Discontents* illuminates the dynamic contradictions undergirding capitalism and the potential for its dethroning. The book challenges conventional wisdom on the Left about the nature of globalization, neoliberalism and imperialism, as well as the agrarian question in the Global South. It probes deeply into the roots of the global economic meltdown, the role of debt and privatization in dampening social revolt, and considers capitalism's dynamic ability to find ever new sources of accumulation—whether through imperial or ecological plunder or the commodification of previously unpaid female labor.

The Left luminaries in *Capital and Its Discontents* look at potential avenues out of the mess—as well as wrong turns and needless detours—drawing lessons from the history of post-colonial states in the Global South, struggles against imperialism past and present, the eternal pendulum swing of radicalism, the corrosive legacy of postmodernism, and the potentialities of the radical humanist tradition. At a moment when capitalism as a system is more reviled than ever, here is an indispensable toolbox of ideas for action by some of the most brilliant thinkers of our times.



William Morris

Romantic to Revolutionary

E.P. Thompson

\$32.95 • ISBN: 978-1-60486-243-0

William Morris—the great nineteenth century craftsman, designer, poet and writer—remains a monumental figure whose influence resonates powerfully today. As an intellectual (and author of the seminal utopian *News From Nowhere*), his concern with artistic and human values led him to cross what he called the ‘river of fire’ and become a committed socialist—committed not to some theoretical formula but to the day by day

struggle of working women and men in Britain and to the evolution of his ideas about art, about work and about how life should be lived.

Many of his ideas accorded none too well with the reforming tendencies dominant in the Labour movement, nor with those of ‘orthodox’ Marxism, which has looked elsewhere for inspiration. Both sides have been inclined to venerate Morris rather than to pay attention to what he said.

Originally written less than a decade before his groundbreaking *The Making of the English Working Class*, E.P. Thompson brought to this biography his now trademark historical mastery, passion, wit, and essential sympathy. It remains unsurpassed as the definitive work on this remarkable figure, by the major British historian of the twentieth century.

“Thompson’s is the first biography to do justice to Morris’s political thought and so assemble the man whole... It is not only the standard biography of Morris; it makes us realize, as no other writer has done, how completely admirable a man this Victorian was—how consistent and honest to himself and others, how incapable of cruelty or jargon and, above all, how free.”

—Robert Hughes, *Time Magazine*

“...an intellectually ambitious attempt to synthesize Marxism, feminism, and post-colonialism, and not with the usual sellotaped hyphenations.”

—Jenny Turner, *London Review of Books*

“It’s time to acknowledge James’s path-breaking analysis: from 1972 she reinterpreted the capitalist economy to show that it rests on the usually invisible unwaged caring work of women.”

—Peggy Antrobus, feminist, author of *The Global Women’s Movement: Origins, Issues and Strategies*

“For clarity and commitment to Haiti’s revolutionary legacy...Selma is a sister after my own heart.”

—Danny Glover, actor and activist

“The publication of these essays reflects in concentrated form the history of the new society struggling to be born. Their appearance today could not be timelier. As the fruit of the collective experience of the last half-century, they will help to acquaint a whole new generation with not only what it means to think theoretically but, more importantly, the requirement of organization as the means of testing those ideas. In this respect, Selma James embodies in these essays the spirit of the revolutionary tradition at its most relevant.”

—Dr. Robert A. Hill, literary executor of the estate of CLR James, University of California, Los Angeles, and director of the Marcus Garvey Papers Project

“In this incisive and necessary collection of essays and talks spanning over five decades, Selma James reminds us that liberation cannot be handed down from above. This is a feminism that truly matters.”

—Dr. Alissa Trotz, associate professor of women and gender studies, director of Caribbean studies, University of Toronto

“With her latest book, Selma James reaffirms what has been evident for some time: she is—quite simply—not only one of the most outstanding feminist thinkers of her generation but, as well, an insightful and exceedingly intelligent political analyst.”

—Gerald Horne, historian and author, John J. and Rebecca Moores Chair of History and African American Studies at the University of Houston

Common Notions is an imprint that circulates both enduring and timely formulations of autonomy at the heart of movements beyond capitalism. The series traces a constellation of historical, critical, and visionary meditations on the organization of both domination and its refusal. Inspired by various traditions of autonomism in the U.S. and internationally, Common Notions aims to provide tools of militant research in our collective reading of struggles past, present, and to come.



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