

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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50¢

WORKSHOP TALKS

Looking for scapegoats

by Htun Lin

The instant mass slaughter of over 6,000 civilians at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon was nothing less than a crime against all of humanity. Rationalizations among so-called leftists to explain away the horror, such as "U.S. imperialism's chickens coming home to roost," sound a bit too much like the warhawks who try to rationalize the H-bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or those who try to rationalize the civilian massacres at Thanh Phong or My Lai, by saying such horrors are necessary in war.

All the rationalizations for these atrocities fly in the face of the common humanity we all share. These rationalizations are a shackle on our thinking.

Bush's rhetoric of a "total war" to smoke out and ground down the enemy has fanned the flames of ethnic scapegoating. All across the U.S. we have heard of attacks against individuals who look Arab or Afghan, anyone who fits the profile of the new "enemy," the new "other." Bush's declarations in response to terrorism threaten to turn the whole world into Taliban-like unfreedom.

TWO OF A KIND TERROR

I am reminded of Raya Dunayevskaya's description of "two of a kind" terror in the aftermath of Reagan's bombing of Libya: Islamic fundamentalist terror at home against its own people (especially women) and abroad, and America's own form of fundamentalism

(Continued on page 3)

BLACK/RED VIEW

Durban racism conference

by John Alan

The United Nations World Conference Against Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa last month was an opportunity to make a worldwide statement. Indeed it accomplished putting many of the contradictions in the fight against racism onto the world stage. However, it did not resolve any of those contradictions. Instead, it proved to be a cantankerous ideological struggle between the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), that are related to the social activities of the UN, and the capitalist powers, mainly the U.S., which in actuality controls what the UN does and refrains from doing.

This ideological struggle has not appeared often in the headlines nor has it been seriously evaluated. The primary reason for this is: both prior to the opening and through the UN's conference the most politically charged issue was the effort by several Arab states to equate Zionism with racism and call Israel's policies in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights a holocaust of "ethnic cleansing of Arabic people."

U.S.'S HYPOCRISIES

This negative characterization of Israel by the Arab countries was the U.S.'s reason for boycotting the conference and not sending Secretary of State Colin Powell to Durban. However, even without Powell in Durban, the U.S. was there in the form of its delegation to the UN. From reports of Americans active in the UN's NGOs, the U.S. governmental delegates "tried to intimidate them to endorse meaningless, toothless declarations against racism in general with no mention of specific countries or specific atrocities or specific policies of redress and reparations."

As one African American put it: "the Arab [rulers] stole the show." By focusing the media's attention on the issue of "Zionism is racism," the points of Black African NGOs were ignored.

(Continued on page 8)

ON THE INSIDE

FROM THE MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES—
THE WRITINGS OF RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
What is philosophy? What is revolution? What is anti-imperialism?..... Page 4
New Era strike gains supporters Page 3

EDITORIAL — To the barbarism of terrorism and war, we pose the new society

Terrorism, Bush's retaliation show inhumanity of class society

by Peter Hudis

A two-fold disaster descended upon the world with the cruel and inhuman terrorist attack on New York and Washington, D.C. on Sept. 11. The first was the terrorist attack, which created a level of destruction and mayhem not seen in a U.S. city since the Civil War. The second is the Bush administration's response to it by declaring a "state of war" and engaging in total militarization, at home and abroad.

As Marxist-Humanists, we oppose both sides of this disaster. Our ground is the absolute opposite of terrorism and statist militarism—the idea of freedom.

HUMANISM VS. TERROR

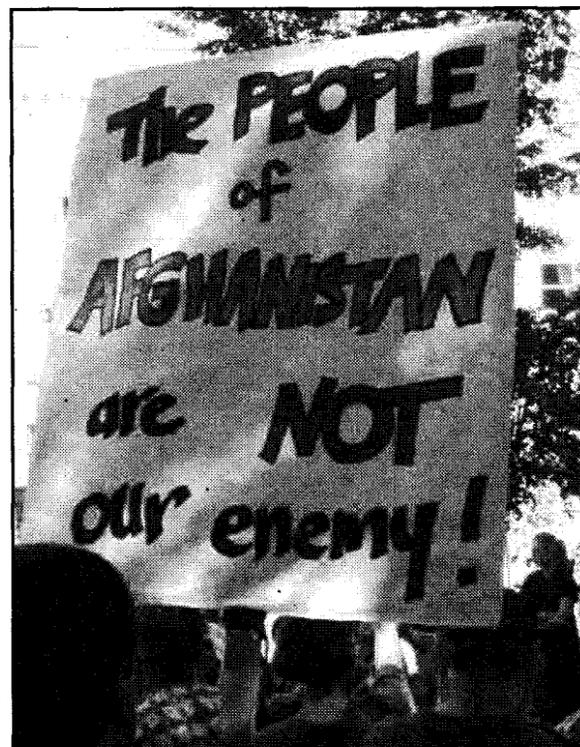
The Sept. 11 attack had no relation to a struggle against capitalism, injustice, or U.S. imperialism. It was a brutal act of violence against the U.S. people which had no rational legitimacy or justification.

There is not a shred of liberatory political content to these acts, presumably carried out by Islamic fundamentalists under the leadership of Osama bin Laden. They were simply intended to kill as many people as possible. Such cruelty could only have been imagined by the most reactionary elements imaginable.

And yet even in the midst of this anti-human destruction the light of humanism did shine in the hundreds of workers and citizens who flocked to "ground zero" in New York to help clear rubble, save victims, and provide medical aid to the injured. Spontaneous expressions of solidarity became commonplace—from construction workers rushing to save office workers, to Black youth helping elderly Jewish people get out of the area. The focal point of total devastation became the site from which its absolute opposite showed itself, as working people expressed their dignity and solidarity in the face of the disaster.

The human dimension showed itself nationwide, as seen in prisons from Folsom Prison in California to Angola in Louisiana, where prisoners collected thousands of dollars to aid victims of the disaster.

These humanist expressions of solidarity, however, are being buried by Bush's effort to use the attacks as an excuse to militarize America, restrict civil liberties, and embark on what U.S. rulers have long aspired



Anti-war rally in Portland, Oregon

for—permanent military intervention.

Bush is preparing to bomb and raid anywhere he deems fit to "eradicate terrorism"—even though this will mean killing thousands of innocent people in Afghanistan and elsewhere, who have suffered for years from the repressive, anti-human, anti-human policies of such reactionary regimes.

BUSH'S DRIVE TO WAR

Afghanistan is for now the target of the U.S. military effort since its ruling Taliban regime of Islamic fundamentalists has sheltered Osama bin Laden, the presumed mastermind of the Sept. 11 bombings. Fighter planes, commando teams, and massive

(Continued on page 10)

What kind of 'anti-war movement'?

RESPONSES IN NEW YORK

New York City—Thousands of New Yorkers have risen up from their grief and fear to demand that Bush not take revenge on innocent people in our name. Just a few days after the World Trade Center massacre, people began to gather spontaneously in parks to commemorate the victims and condemn the calls for war and racist attacks. Soon, several teach-ins and meetings were being held each day.

On Sept. 21, a vigil in Union Square was followed by a march to Times Square, drawing 4,000 people, a surprise to everyone. The event, spearheaded by the Direct Action Network, "broke the ice," as one participant said. Planned as a "mellow vigil," there was no permit for the march, so it proceeded on the sidewalks on both sides of the street. The two sides sang back and forth to each other, filling in the streets with sound.

Passers-by and people in the stores and windows of buildings indicated their support. The march was joined by people from an Islamic group, who were put in the lead. Participants said afterward that the march gave us back a sense of community and gave us our voices to protest against war-mongering and racism against Arab-Americans. The police, meanwhile, tried to break up the march, and detained a part of it, cranked it behind barricades, for about an hour. New York City police were assisted by state troopers, New Jersey police and university security forces.

Two large coalitions have formed to carry on demonstrations, teach-ins, and organizing in communities, schools and religious establishments. Hundreds are attending each coalition meeting, ranging from leftists to pacifists to civil libertarians. The problem with the meetings is that in the rush to plan activities, there has been little discussion about what exactly we are against, and none about what we are for.

The principles of the coalition initiated by a meeting at Brecht Forum include: mourn the victims and con-

demn the attacks; oppose anti-Islam, anti-Arab, anti-immigrant and all racial and religious discrimination; no support for war; preserve civil liberties; and for global justice. Some people at each coalition's meetings blame the U.S. for the attacks without even condemning them, and discussion of terrorism itself has been nil. Much more discussion and debate is needed.

—NY N&LC Local member

MEETINGS IN MEMPHIS

Memphis, Tenn.—On Sept. 11 there was already an "Encampment" set up in the heart of Midtown in front of the Quaker meeting house, to raise awareness about the damage done by the sanctions against and bombing of Iraq. It was soon transformed into one against violence against all peoples, as well as what to do against a possible racist backlash against the sizable Middle Eastern and East Asian population here.

That evening 30 gathered on the porch, joining the Quakers in a candlelight vigil for the victims and for ending violence everywhere.

By Thursday, word was out that there would be a meeting at the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center and 40 people came together and decided to call ourselves Voices for Peace (VFP). Our first action was at the Cooper/Young street festival. The first youth passed out white ribbons on a card reading: "Wearing this ribbon shows that you are a voice for peace. Explain that there are alternatives to war and violence. We can break the cycle and have no more victims." While Bush's drumbeat for war seems overwhelmingly the reaction to our peace ribbon was completely positive.

The desire for peace and wariness about rushing to war, were also seen at the University of Memphis where Palestinian and Muslim students took the lead in organizing a forum urging students to "show your support for freedom, peace, humanity and democra-

(Continued on page 11)

Feminism and anti-globalization

by Maya Jhansi

While the anti-globalization movement that has been nipping at the heels of the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank made its presence known in the U.S. in Seattle two years ago, women in other parts of the world have been fighting global capitalism for decades, by for example, organizing women workers in the maquiladora plants, fighting structural adjustment policies, and struggling to protect the environment. Nevertheless, women are conspicuously absent in theories about globalization.

This is one of the points of departure for the latest issue of *Signs*, an important feminist theory journal, which is devoted to the issue of gender and globalization. All of the essays raise questions about what globalization means economically and theoretically, although none see a need to turn to Marx to help them comprehend capitalism. Two of the essays are particularly interesting. "Political Economy Discourses of Globalization and Feminist Politics" by Suzanne Bergeron and "Is Local:Global as Feminine:Masculine? Rethinking the Gender of Globalization" both raise questions about how and why gender drops out of analyses of globalization even though so much has been written about women in the global workforce.

Both authors are dissatisfied with the dialogue on globalization. For Bergeron, the problem lies in the fact that discussion is divided between those that stress the nation-state against globalization and those that theorize the demise of the nation-state and call for a transnational global movement against capital. Some feminists still look to the state as the site of battle, for example, by trying to get more social services, while others repudiate such struggle and call for global sisterhood.

The problem with many of those calling for global sisterhood, Bergeron argues, is that they assume globalization to be a totalizing and oppressive external force. For example, Gita Sen, an Indian feminist writes: "Capital is the sword of Damocles that hangs over the heads not only of those who organize workers, the marginalized poor and women, or dare to protest against environmental decay and plunder, but over governments who attempt to regulate the conditions under which capital can operate with a national economy. Clearly delinking from the global economy is not a real choice: few economies are large or self-sustaining enough to attempt this without enormous suffering." Because of this, Sen argues, women need to act globally, not locally or nationally, if they want to get anything done.

Similarly, Valentine Moghadam, an Iranian feminist, argues that the massive entry of women into the global workforce erases distinctions based on race and nationality, thus laying the groundwork for a global

CBU bans speaker

Memphis, Tenn.—While it's no surprise that abortion rights is a contentious subject in the South, it is surprising when some in the progressive community end up on the wrong side of the question. We've been dealing with this ever since the president of Christian Brothers University (CBU), Stanislaus Sobczyk, banned civil rights activist Rev. James Lawson from giving the keynote speech for Pax Christi on campus because he is a board member of the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice.

Even worse, a prominent peace and anti-death penalty activist supported the CBU president. When I cited these developments as a reason for the Women's Action Coalition (WAC) to meet, and called Sobczyk's actions "woman bashing," an anti-Iraq sanctions activist wrote on a local email list that banning Lawson had no relationship to woman bashing, lecturing me that "many feminists, many radicals...are pro-life."

My response explained, "When James Lawson was refused the opportunity to speak...the reason given was that...since he supported a woman's right to control her own body—and that is what is at issue here—he was advocating violence and would not be allowed to speak. To me, this is woman bashing...If an abortion is seen as a violent act...who is perpetrating this violence?...The logic of the argument is that a woman who chooses to control her own body by having an abortion is doing horrible violence...The woman is a murderer. This is woman bashing..."

The debate is also being played out in the free weekly, *The Memphis Flyer*, where a CBU alumna wrote an opinion piece asking, "What was CBU afraid of?" She was answered in a letter by the peace activist who insisted that CBU "was not acting out of fear but was courageously challenging Pax Christi..."

WAC responded that CBU was "afraid that those who heard Rev. Lawson would discover that one could be passionately non-violent as well as be for a woman's right to control her own body. The abortion-equals-violence equation erases women from the discussion. When women are the focus, the violence done by those who make abortion illegal or unobtainable becomes clear."

We have our fingers crossed that *The Memphis Flyer* will publish the WAC letter. The struggle here continues.

—Terry Moon

women's movement. Here, Bergeron argues, capital is seen as all-determining and inevitable.

To Bergeron and Freeman, this way of "theorizing" capital erases multiple subjectivities and alternatives. Rather than "theorizing" globalization that way, they argue, we need to look for ways that globalization is disrupted. They don't point to anti-globalization movements or to environmental movements as the alternative subjectivities. Rather, they focus on women who are able to "benefit" from global capital, for example, women in Sri Lanka who use the wages they earn as workers in the informal sector and in multinational corporations to fund women's centers and food cooperatives. By doing so, women supposedly resist and disrupt the totalizing logic of global capital.

For Sen and Moghadam, globalization makes it easier not to have to rethink their post-Marx Marxist narrowing of all relations to class. Because the world is being subsumed in a rapid way by capital, class narrowly defined becomes everything. It is this narrow view that Bergeron rejects. But she makes a fatal mistake by equating post-Marx Marxist theorists like Moghadam with Marxism. Marx had a much more complex view of capitalism and the non-capitalist world that is being ravaged through globalization. In his last decade, Marx was researching what we now call the Third World, paying particular attention to gender relations, as he searched for multiple pathways to socialism.

Both Bergeron and Freeman fail to envision a different type of society, a revolution, perhaps different and specific forms of socialism unique to each culture and country. Isn't this the only way to truly challenge the hegemony of global capital? Making the vision of a new society real in the movement today will require some theoretical and philosophical work on our part. The impending war makes this work all the more urgent.

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

On Sept. 13, Lashkar-e-Jabbar, a right-wing fundamentalist group in Kashmir, threatened to shoot Muslim women and girls who do not cover themselves in the black head-to-toe burkah. They demanded that heads of colleges and schools enforce this rigid dress code. In August, the group claimed responsibility for acid attacks on two teachers and a student who were not wearing the veil.

—Information from *The Chronicle of Higher Education*

With women's rights groups asking "what took so long?" the Brazilian Congress ended 26 years of debate, delays and political maneuvering in August to approve a legal code to make women equal to men in the eyes of the law. Among the changes, the measure will eliminate: 1) a provision allowing a husband to obtain an annulment if his wife was not a virgin at the time of their marriage, and 2) the concept of "paternal power" giving fathers unrestricted legal rights. However, abortion remains illegal except in limited circumstances. The law will not be in effect until 2003.

Charisse Shumate

Oakland, Cal.—Deep in the California prison system, a battered woman imprisoned for defending herself reached out and touched many lives.

That woman was Charisse "Happy" Shumate, who died in prison on Aug. 4, 2001. While in prison, she helped in the organizing that the primarily HIV+ women waged against the the AIDS hysteria and for access to information and care. Although she was not HIV+, she accepted the burden of being a lead plaintiff in a class-action lawsuit against the California Department of Corrections for their medical abuse and neglect of women prisoners. She knew she was going into battle. While going through one sickle cell anemia crisis after another, she, together with Joann Walker and others, organized prisoners and created solidarity with those on the outside. Legal Services for Prisoners with Children, a non-profit organization, participated in the case. California Coalition for Women Prisoners, of which she was a founding member, became a unique organization of prisoners and women on the outside.

She was also a columnist for *The Fire Inside* and her columns always spoke for and to many women inside and out. Out of her very concrete struggles, she articulated a universal sense of our humanity.

She had something to say to everyone. She was a tireless fighter for the human rights of women in prison. To the prison system, she was a nemesis, a constant reminder that she held them accountable for the suffering they were causing through medical neglect, callousness or outright brutality. To other prisoners, she was and continues to be an inspiration. The world is a sadder place without her, but her legacy to us is to ensure that the fire will continue burning in all of us for a new humanity.

—Urszula Wislanka

Afghan women speak

From the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), on the terrorist attacks in the U.S.:

On Sept. 11, 2001 the world was stunned with the horrific terrorist attacks on the United States. RAWA stands with the rest of the world in expressing our sorrow and condemnation for this barbaric act of violence and terror. RAWA had already warned that the United States should not support the most treacherous, most criminal, most anti-democracy and anti-women Islamic fundamentalist parties because after both the Jehadi and the Taliban have committed every possible type of heinous crimes against our people, they would feel no shame in committing such crimes against the American people whom they consider "infidel". In order to gain and maintain their power, these barbaric criminals are ready to turn easily to any criminal force.

But unfortunately we must say that it was the government of the United States who supported Pakistani dictator Gen. Zia-ul Haq in creating thousands of religious schools from which the germs of Taliban emerged. In the similar way, as is clear to all, Osama Bin Laden has been the blue-eyed boy of CIA. But what is more painful is that American politicians have not drawn a lesson from their pro-fundamentalist policies in our country and are still supporting this or that fundamentalist band or leader. In our opinion any kind of support to the fundamentalist Taliban and Jehadies is actually trampling democratic, women's rights and human rights values.

If it is established that the suspects of the terrorist attacks are outside the U.S., our constant claim that fundamentalist terrorists would devour their creators, is proved once more.

The U.S. government should consider the root cause of this terrible event, which has not been the first and will not be the last one too. The U.S. should stop supporting Afghan terrorists and their supporters once and for all.

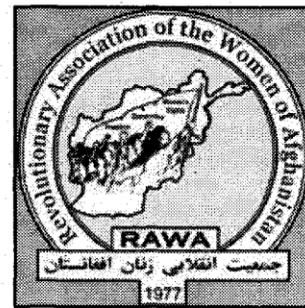
Now that the Taliban and Osama are the prime suspects by the U.S. officials after the criminal attacks, will the U.S. subject Afghanistan to a military attack similar to the one in 1998 and kill thousands of innocent Afghans for the crimes committed by the Taliban and Osama? Does the U.S. think that through such attacks, with thousands of deprived, poor and innocent people of Afghanistan as its victims, it will be able to wipe out the root-cause of terrorism, or will it spread terrorism even to a larger scale?

From our point of view vast and indiscriminate military attacks on a country that has been facing permanent disasters for more than two decades will not be a matter of pride. We don't think such an attack would be... the will of the American people.

The U.S. government and people should know that there is a vast difference between the poor and devastated people of Afghanistan and the terrorist Jehadi and Taliban criminals.

While we once again announce our solidarity and deep sorrow with the people of the U.S., we also believe that attacking Afghanistan and killing its most ruined and destitute people will not in any way decrease the grief of the American people. We sincerely hope that the great American people could DIFFERENTIATE between the people of Afghanistan and a handful of fundamentalist terrorists. Our hearts go out to the people of the U.S..

—Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) September 14, 2001



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New Era strike for jobs and safety

Chicago—Prior to 1997, New Era Cap Company had wanted to expand our facility in Derby, N.Y. When we voted in the Communications Workers of America instead of the company union, they backed down even though they had state grants to do the expansion. You think you won't ever lose your job if the company is expanding, putting in more workers. We were wrong. They opened a plant in Alabama, a right-to-work state—it's a non-union shop—and proceeded to harass the crap out of us.

They brought new machines into one department and lowered our wages. It went to arbitration and the company paid \$22,000 in back wages.

Management told the members, "If you don't get rid of the union you're all going to lose your jobs." Then

they told the first mechanic that they were going to move that machine down to Alabama. This is the first machine in a series of 22 operations. If they remove that, nothing else can happen. They wanted us to think we were going to lose our jobs, especially after just being told to get rid of the union.

THREATS TO SHUT DOWN

The supervisor got a worker to start a petition in February of 2000 to get rid of the union. A lot of people signed it, enough that the labor board recognized it. In October, in the middle of negotiations, the Labor Board held a vote and we slaughtered them!

We always invited union members to sit in on negotiations with the company so they'd know what was going on. That's how we won our people. We said listen to the company yourself—how they say we're lazy and pretend we don't have the scars we do.

In the bargaining session the company said that one of the companies they do business with filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy and now New Era was going to lay off 125 workers. They offered us what amounts to a 70% loss in pay for some. They gave us a little bit of money for medical but said all future increases in medical costs would be absorbed by the workers. We had four unpaid sick days before, but now they took those away, even though 50% of the people don't use them.

They refused to give us a pension. People voted down the contract 238 to 10 in April. The contract would have meant poverty for all those people. We've always been piece work. To make as much money as before you'd have to do more work. The repetitive motion injuries in there are already so bad. The people would have ruined their hands with this new contract—and they would have done it because they have families to feed.

In June the company said we know your people don't want to work here so we'll offer you a severance package. We said no. They just wanted to get rid of the people.

JULY 16 WALKOUT

The company said that on July 1 they would implement the contract we voted down. On May 2 we voted to strike, 221 to 69. We had been told by the International that the company would shut the doors if we went out on strike. But we said they're probably going to close it anyway and cut wages before they do. Everyone was screaming "Hell yes!" for the strike.

We went out on July 16. Over 200 people came out to strike the first day at 5:30 a.m. They stand in pouring rain, sweltering heat.

We have 47 people out on comp time after having surgery. During the first week of the strike they came out on our picket lines with braces on. Those with back problems came out and sat on chairs. The company insurance people wrote them and asked if they got paid to go out there by the union. They're saying if you can sit on a chair out there you can go back to work! Now these injured workers are sending their families to the

picket line to take their place.

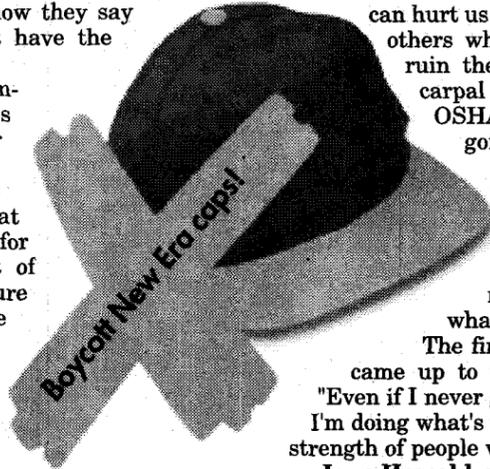
I saw a picture of a factory in Mexico and thought, "my god that looks like us, like my factory." It was real clean looking. But cleanliness doesn't tell you anything. I ruptured two disks from constantly bending down doing my job. For each job at New Era you have to make so many pieces to get so much money. That's how I got carpal tunnel.

There are five people now that have ruptured disks in their necks from having to keep their head down all day. This is in Derby, New York. So a sweatshop doesn't have to be in the Third World. It's clean just like that Mexican factory, but people get injured every day.

Recently the company began getting some of their hats from Bangladesh and China. We better care about where the work is going because if they can hurt us like this, they can do it worse to others who can't fight back. And they'll ruin the water and air too. If I have carpal tunnel in Buffalo which has OSHA standards, what are they going to do to people in Bangladesh where they don't have that? It's not that I don't want people in Bangladesh or China to have work.

Damn right I'm worried about my job, but I'm worried about what they do to other people too. The first week of the strike, a woman came up to me and hugged me. She said, "Even if I never get my job back, it's OK because I'm doing what's right." Never underestimate the strength of people when they have a just cause.

—Jane Howald, president of CWA Local 14177
United Students Against Sweatshops are working directly with Local 14177. To help the strikers, contact: CWA Local 14177; P.O. Box 62, Derby, NY 14047.



Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

and drive for war and total domination. The crimes of the Sept. 11 bombings gave Bush's right-wing government a green light to unleash draconian domestic measures previously unimaginable. The "New World Order" has turned out to be an order of fear. This fear has rationalized the sacrifice of civil liberties in the name of "national security."

LIKE ETHNIC ATTACKS IN BURMA

The same justification was used in my birth country, Burma, when we ethnic Chinese were considered to be risks to "national security." These horrible reports of Arab-looking people being dragged out of their cars and beaten or shot, their homes and stores vandalized, reminded me of my childhood experiences during the days of racial attacks by the Burmese majority in Rangoon, Burma, in the late 1960s. There were ethnic riots all throughout Southeast Asia and the Indonesian Archipelago.

I heard the riots were due to scapegoating the ethnic Chinese as a reaction against the fanatical Maoist Cultural Revolution in China. Anyone who looked Chinese on the streets was stereotyped as a potential "Maoist subversive." We were also blamed for the economic problems in each of these countries. We were all considered "foreigners," even if we had been born there. Thousands who fit this profile of an unacceptable "other" were killed by violent mobs.

I remember it was the solidarity of some of our Indian, Muslim and Burmese friends and neighbors, who hid and protected us, that saved our lives. It is now imperative that we express the same kind of solidarity for any of our ethnic minorities here in the U.S. who are now under the same kind of threat of violence spawned by rampant xenophobia, racial scapegoating, and jingoistic nationalism. At times like these, the fine line between complete terror and a civilized existence depends on the stand taken by all conscientious "bystanders."

As against the false opposites of terror (Bush's "crusade" against Taliban's "jihad") there is the reality of the "two worlds" in every country, the rulers and the ruled. After the attacks in New York, I met a lot of people in the hospital where I work and on the streets in the poor section of Oakland who wanted to talk about this.

One concern expressed by some Black women was the risks this new war drive poses to people everywhere. Everyone expressed a deep concern that a new expanded war would escalate into unknown realms where more innocent people would be hurt or killed. Some expressed fear that the whole thing could fall into chemical, germ or nuclear warfare. All had trepidations that a rampant knee-jerk reaction by jingoists would unleash a new level of indiscriminate terror, with Bush's rushing into war when this "new enemy" hasn't even identified itself yet.

Many pointed out that minorities usually are the ones put in the front lines of these new wars. One said, "I'm a Vietnam veteran, and no one ever told me what I was fighting for." Four Black men I spoke to focused on the unconstitutionality of racial profiling, and said they could identify with the new plight of their Arab and Afghan-American brothers and sisters, now being profiled as potential terrorists.

U.S. CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Another woman reminded us that the U.S. government punished all the interned Japanese-Americans for attacks that they had nothing to do with, simply because of their racial profile. All felt that the terrorist attacks have given Bush and Ashcroft the green light to further escalate the ongoing attacks on our civil rights. When I mentioned that the media took a poll that said 85% of Americans presently supported Bush's new efforts, one man replied, "That may be 85% whites, not us."

We have to find ways to fight for justice at home and abroad and stop the fundamentalist drive for permanent war and terror, on both continents. Our collective thought not only reflects the world, but in the end, actually helps create either a horrible reality, or a totally new reality. What would we be fighting for, if it is nothing more than an endless inventory of what we are against? Rejection of war is only the first step. What is necessary in the face of the current reality of absolute terror is a new kind of global solidarity based on freedom.

Puebla VW strike

In Mexico, 12,500 Volkswagen workers at the Puebla plant went on strike for nearly three weeks in August and September, gaining a wage settlement of 10.2%, with another 4.5% for food and school supplies vouchers. VW is also supposed to make up half the pay workers lost during the strike.

The union had originally demanded a 30% increase in wages. In the past, the workers at VW Puebla have wrung out significant concessions in pay and working conditions because the plant was crucial to VW's exports to the U.S., especially with the low wages paid to the Mexican workers.

The Puebla plant normally builds over 8,900 cars per week, with over 80% going to export. Under the new agreement, VW workers will now make approximately \$29 a day. On Sept. 6, the day following the settlement, VW announced suspension of its \$1.5 billion five-year plan for its Mexican operations.

Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

by Charles Denby



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Explosions kill 13 at Blue Creek mine

Detroit—The coal mine explosions that killed 13 miners at the Blue Creek #5 mine in Alabama last month could have been prevented if the mine owner, Jim Walters Resources, Inc., had heeded the warnings of the coal miners of the deadly accumulations of methane gas that were reported at least a month before the explosions.

The first explosion was set off when a rock fall hit a battery charger, creating a spark that ignited the blast that injured six miners. Three of the injured miners were able to get out, and when 10 rescuers went in to save the remaining three miners, a second, more devastating, explosion blasted through the area, killing all 13 miners. It was an eerie reminder of the New York terror attack, when hundreds of firefighters were killed in efforts to save victims of the twin tower tragedy.

One of the miners, Mike Boyd, a certified safety specialist whose brother Clarence was killed in the explosion, stated that he had warned the company at a meeting a month earlier of the methane gas danger, but rather than correcting the situation, the company continued production. There were also several recent reports of methane gas flare-ups, always indicators of serious danger. In addition, last year there were five roof and rock falls on miners similar to the fall that caused the explosion at the mine, located about 40 miles west of Birmingham.

The company's lack of concern over safety is of long standing. A supervisor of the mine, who had retired in 1987, said that the company ignored warnings of methane gas and sent miners in to work in dangerous conditions when he was there.

Federal inspectors are checking the explosion, and if the company is found to be at fault, both civil and criminal charges can be brought against it. While conclusive evidence is often hard to find in such conditions, there is no question in the minds of the rank-and-file miners that the company's criminal neglect of safety is responsible for this needless loss of life.

This explosion is the deadliest mine disaster since the 1987 mine fire in Utah that killed 27 miners.

—Andy Phillips

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

EDITOR'S NOTE

The terrorist attacks last month, resulting in the deaths of thousands in New York, Washington, D.C. and Pennsylvania precipitated a crisis in global politics as well as within the revolutionary Left. For that reason, we reprint excerpts of a "Political-Philosophic Letter" by Raya Dunayevskaya, written at the end of 1979 when Iranian pro-Khomeini activists had occupied the U.S. embassy and held its employees hostage. The title of her letter, a clarification of the historical goals of revolution, is included in full. Notes are the editor's. The original can be found in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 6004-12.

Not so Random Thoughts on:
What is Philosophy? What is Revolution?
1789-1793; 1848-1850; 1914-1919; 1979

December 17, 1979

It sounds so abstract, so easy to say, with Hegel, that philosophy is the "thinking study of things" (¶2).¹ It surely sounds oversimplified to say, at one and the same time, that "Nature has given everyone a faculty of thought. But thought is all that philosophy claims as the form proper to her process" (¶5). When, however, you realize that this is the Introduction to *Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences*; that it was written after the French Revolution which made popular an actual "permanent revolution"—no revolution is ever its first act alone—you can begin, just begin, to grasp the meaning of Hegel's expression, "second negativity." Furthermore, Hegel had not found articulation that easy until after *Phenomenology of Mind*, until after the *Science of Logic*, until after he tried to summarize all of his works, including the 2,500-year history of philosophy. Then, of course, you realize why, when Hegel is speaking of philosophy, it is not an abstraction, that even though he limits it to thought and not activity, he can conclude in that very same Introduction:

This divorce between idea and reality is a favorite device of the analytic understanding in particular. Yet strangely in contrast with this separatist tendency, its own dreams, half-truths though they are, appear to the understanding something true and real; it prides itself on the imperative 'ought' which it takes especial pleasure in prescribing on the field of politics. As if the world had waited on it to learn how it ought to be, and was not! (¶6)

And that same paragraph further stresses that "the Idea is not so feeble as merely to have a right or an obligation to exist without actually existing."

When a new objective stage arose in 1844-48 which was proletarian, and not just semi-proletarian as with the *enrages* of the French Revolution, the young, new, revolutionary philosopher and activist, Marx, practiced Hegel's Idea of freedom by realizing it in an outright revolution. He had told his young Hegelian friends who were becoming materialists: You cannot become a true new Humanist by turning your back on Hegel because he was both bourgeois and idealist and because he limited the revolution to a revolution in thought. The truth is that Hegel's dialectic was not just any idea, but the Idea of freedom, and must, therefore, first be realized in an actual material way. We must be specific and shout out loud who the forces of revolution are. What the Reason of revolution is. And how we can achieve freedom. I, said Marx, say it is the proletariat, because they are at the point of production where all things are created. I say that in issuing the challenge that will cause the whole capitalist world to tremble, we need to unfurl a totally new banner of philosophy as well as of revolution. And the philosophy of revolution now—that is, after the bourgeoisie has betrayed us in this 1848-49 revolution and it is necessary to depend only on our own forces—must be "REVOLUTION IN PERMANENCE" (*Address to the Communist League*, 1850).

This revolution in permanence, he continued, is not the generality it was in 1789-93. This revolution in permanence is on the basis of these new forces of revolution, and this new philosophy of revolution I unfurled in the *Communist Manifesto* dealt with a total uprooting of the old, a total creation of the new, showing not only what we are against, but what we are for. In a word, even though we have now challenged not only the mode of production but also the form of the family and dug into the fundamental relationship of man/woman, we must go further into the dialectics of revolution, that is, into "the dialectic of negativity as the moving and creating principle" of Hegelian philosophy (*Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic*, 1844).

Internationalism is not telling other nations what to do. It is solidarizing and fraternizing with those sent to shoot you—and having them turn their guns on their own officers. Finally, in very nearly the last work of Marx—the 1881 Preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*—that permanent revolution gets spelled out on a still higher level—that is, internationally as well as nationally. It is there that it is concretized as the relationship between technological-

What is philosophy? What is revolution? What is anti-imperialism?

ly advanced and technologically backward countries—that is, that backward Russia could have its revolution ahead of "West Europe"—provided: 1) the revolution is accomplished within the context of European revolutions; and 2) the new forces, in this case the peasant communes, are never out of context of both internationalism and dialectics of liberation. The Idea is the power because it is concrete; it is total; it is multi-dimensional; and at no time is the Individual made just to tail end the State or "committee." Rather let us never forget the principle: "the Individual is the social entity" and society must never again be counterposed to the Individual.²

Marx had spent something like 45 volumes in expressing his thoughts, in participating in revolutions, in leaving a legacy that was the very opposite of an heirloom. Instead, the new continent of thought became the ground for all future revolutions that would be filled out anew with ever-richer concrete and with ever-greater forces—men, women, children of all colors, races, nations—until we finally have achieved that type of total revolution and that type of total uprooting. Surely no one was more prepared, was more serious, was more experienced to help create such a total revolution than those who had "made" the 1905 Revolution—Lenin, Luxemburg and Trotsky. And yet, and yet, and yet....

Comes World War I, and, the shock of the simultaneity of imperialist war and socialist betrayal³ is so overwhelming that one and only one—Lenin—said, if I could have been so misled and considered that betrayer, Kautsky, my teacher, something is altogether wrong with my way of thinking. And while I will not stop shouting "down with the war" [and] "turn the imperialist war into civil war," I will never again be satisfied with the "correct analysis" of a political situation without first digging into Hegelian dialectics. It could not have possibly been an accident that Marx, Marx's Marxism, was rooted in Hegel—and after having broken with that, he returned to develop Hegelian dialectics into the Marxian dialectic. And so this great revolutionary, Lenin, spent his days in the library studying Hegel's *Science of Logic*, and his evenings preparing for revolution.

The truth is that the theoretical difference reappears in a most horrible form exactly when the next new, objective situation arises.

it?...

THEORETICAL DIFFERENCES ARE NOT "LIQUIDATED" JUST BECAUSE, IN FACT, YOU ARE A REVOLUTIONARY. Quite the contrary. Once the heat of the battle dies, the deviations from Marxism first come to plague you.

The truth is that the theoretical difference reappears in a most horrible form exactly when the next new, objective situation arises. You must then dig for new philosophic depth on the basis of the highest theoretic as well as practical point last reached. If instead you remain without a philosophic rudder, the supposedly "correct" political analysis becomes, if not outright counter-revolution, definitely no more than tail-endism. That was true of Trotsky in 1905. It wasn't true in 1917 only because the one he then tail-ended was Lenin. But it became dangerously true in our era as all the opposition and great fights against Stalinism led only to tail-ending Stalin once World War II broke out.

Perhaps I shouldn't have asked only what is philosophy, what is revolution, but also what is anti-imperialism? Does the taking of low-level personnel from the U.S. embassy in Teheran and designating them as CIA agents shake up the American empire? The truth is that neither Khomeini nor those students could have helped Carter more in achieving higher popularity than that allegedly anti-imperialist act, thereby dulling the mass struggle against the U.S. Calling oneself a "follower of the Imam" does not constitute a revolutionary act, no matter how many times one repeats that this is anti-imperialism. Nor does self-

flagellation constitute a revolutionary act, no matter how many times those who commit it call upon the revolutionary youth of the U.S. who had previously participated actively in the anti-Shah movement. That kind of pseudo anti-imperialism, such as the taking of hostages, opens no new stage of revolution. Rather it initiates a retreat from the original revolutionary perspective. It may give Khomeini a "red" coloration, and it surely helps him divert from the grave new contradictions in Iran itself, but it does nothing to solve the increasing crises since he came to power. The hardships on the masses intensify. The unemployment is greater. And so is inflation. As the Sheng Wu-lien found out, during Mao's Cultural Revolution which they at first heartily endorsed because they thought it meant the displacement of the bureaucracy: "The more things change, the more they remain the same."⁴

Concrete, in the Hegelian sense of the synthesis of diverse elements into a concrete totality, would show that, by no means coincidentally, the occupation of the embassy paralleled the completion of the counter-revolutionary Constitution. Yes, the masses are anti-imperialist, but Marx didn't say that just because the masses were anti-feudal and the bourgeoisie was leading a revolution against feudalism, that therefore the masses should follow the bourgeoisie. Quite the contrary. He said: We were with the bourgeoisie in that first act of overthrowing feudalism, but now count us out. Not only that. It is high time to deepen and develop the strictly proletarian tasks.

Luxemburg understood that very well and applied it not only in Russia in an actual revolution, but tried to bring that concept of pure class struggle to Germany. And yet, when a new objective stage arose—imperialism—and despite all her prescience of that exploitative stage, she did not work out a new unity of force and reason with new revolutionary forces, that is, the revolutionary nationalists fighting for self-determination. Lenin had to begin separating himself, not just from betrayers of the workers, but from revolutionaries who would not see the new concrete, whether that was a new revolutionary force in another country or his own. What he had learned from the Hegelian dialectic that made him so sharp against his own Bolshevik colleagues was that overthrow, first negativity, was not enough, that you must now see that counter-revolution can arise from within the revolution itself...

Contrast this to what everyone from Trotskyists to [Libya's] Qaddafi is saying to blur those grave new con-

(Continued on page 5)



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Revolutionary, critical solidarity from Iranians

As Iranian Marxist Humanists, we oppose the inhuman terrorist attacks which killed thousands of U.S. workers, women, minorities, immigrants, and international tourists on Sept. 11. Even though no group has taken responsibility for these heinous acts, so far all the evidence points to these heinous acts, so far all the Wahabi-indoctrinated Islamic fundamentalist organizations. Iranians who have suffered a great deal under an Islamic fundamentalist regime for the past 23 years have felt tremendous grief over these attacks. On Sept. 18, 4,000 people in Tehran came out for a candlelight vigil and chanted "America, America, our condolences" and "Down with terrorism." Many others have held smaller candlelight vigils in various cities in Iran.

We totally oppose the view that "U.S. society as a whole has to pay for the policies of its government." This is the opposite side of the same coin of Bush's imperialist mindset which wants to punish the destitute people of Afghanistan for the crimes of the Taliban and bin Laden. There are two worlds in each country: the oppressors and the oppressed.

Just as we stand with the innocent people of Afghanistan against U.S. military retaliation, so we stand with Middle Eastern, Central and South Asian people of Muslim or Arab origin who have themselves fled reactionary regimes in their lands and are becoming targets of racist attacks in the U.S.

In our view the inhuman nature of the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11 clearly separate these attacks from any genuine expression of opposition to U.S. imperialism and U.S. capitalism. Only those who have no grasp of Marx's analysis of capitalism and the

Marxist-Humanist alternative to it, can attribute an "anti-imperialist" or "anti-capitalist" quality to these attacks. The perpetrators of these attacks are mass murderers who want to establish their own capitalist-misogynist reign of terror throughout the world.

In 1979, when Khomeini used the taking of American hostages at the U.S. embassy in Tehran to declare himself an anti-imperialist par excellence, some on the

Left cheered the embassy takeover. When Raya Dunayevskaya responded with her political-philosophic letter, "What is Philosophy? What is Revolution?" she called this a "counter-revolutionary anti-imperialism" which disorients revolutionaries from working out a philosophic ground for creating a new humanist society. (See page 4.)

Now the facts of history reveal how damaging the hostage crisis was. The Iranian masses were saddled with a constitution that codified the rule of a supreme counter-revolution which executed tens of thousands of Marxists, Mujahedeen (Iranian Muslim leftists) and other leftist youth, Kurds, women and Bahais. The U.S. masses in turn were saddled with jingoistic rhetoric and a decade of Reaganism which turned the clock back on all their hard-won rights.

Today, "What is Philosophy? What is Revolution?" as a document from the Marxist-Humanist archives stands more true than ever. Presenting native reactionary rulers and ideologies as the lesser of the two evils in comparison to U.S. imperialism can only lead to counter-revolutionary ends. We need to face up to the philosophic vacuum that has allowed the capitalist, racist, misogynist, homophobic teachings of religious fundamentalism to gain support. Facing up to this reality demands laboring at a vision of total human liberation as we express our opposition to U.S. militarism and its planned attacks on the Afghan masses.

As members of the Other Middle East we express our solidarity with the Other America against terrorist attacks and Bush's militarism.

Anjoman Azadi
September 26, 2001

New from Iranian Marxist-Humanists...

ANJOMAN AZADI BULLETIN

(FARSI AND ENGLISH)

Contents:

- Statement on the Israeli-Palestinian crisis
- History of Anjoman Azadi (Freedom Committee)
- "Can Capital Be Controlled"
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From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

(Continued from page 4)

traditions within Iran, the deviation from what threatens civilization as we have known it—preparation for atomic war. Qaddafi and Khomeini and [Pakistan's] General Zia may think the Middle East as they define it will be the graveyard of U.S. imperialism. Nothing could be further from the truth. Just read, please, Oriana Falaci's interview with Khomeini... and the one with Qaddafi... (*The New York Times*, Dec. 16, 1979). Just listen to that demagogue, Qaddafi, try to take advantage of the fact that supposedly there is no government because there is no Parliament, and supposedly it's a collectivist society because it calls itself *Jamahiriyah*, which means "a command of the people." Is it they who decide everything? No, even the word "committee," unless [it is] revolutionary—and the word "revolutionary" means total uprooting—is not the equivalent of destiny being in the hands of the people, that is to say, with control of production in the hands of the workers. And so must the state be in their hands. To claim that there is no "government" because there is no Parliament; to claim that Khomeini and Qaddafi are "just one" is fantastic. When you come to that retrogressive a stage, even if you are a [Mao] who was once a revolutionary and did lead a national revolution, you have done nothing but spell out the new stage of state-capitalism.

What new retrogressive stage are we in now, when religion usurps also political power? First it was the "Little Red Book" of Mao. And now it's the "Little Green Book" of Qaddafi. And what part of the Koran will Khomeini embody in some brief sayings that all must repeat?

It is not a question that a leader must write 50 books, like Marx or Lenin—and I'm sure that Trotsky and Luxemburg wrote as many. It is a question of being serious about revolution and therefore the philosophy of revolution, and being responsible to history which means men and women shaping history. No, you cannot throw out philosophy, and indulge in sloganeering. Even a good bourgeois philosopher, at least in the stage when the bourgeoisie achieved its revolution, a good Lutheran like Hegel, who insisted all his life that he believed [in the divine], had to submit to the dialectic drive of philosophy and subordinate religion to it. All his protestations notwithstanding—and "revealed religion" is pretty high in the sphere of the Absolute—nothing can change the fact that [religion] isn't the highest [stage in dialectics], and that philosophy is. Needless to say, that revolution in thought initiated by Hegelian dialectics was transformed by Marx's new continent of thought into reality. Ever since then, no revolution was successful that wasn't grounded in a philosophy of revolution.

Every generation of Marxists must work this out concretely for its own age. The fact that our age is in such a total crisis makes it all the more imperative that we tailend no state power.

NOTES

1. Hegel, *Science of Logic*, in *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*. Paragraph numbers in Hegel's text are in parentheses. Emphasis is Dunayevskaya's.
2. See Karl Marx, "Private Property and Communism," in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.
3. The German Social Democracy and other Marxist parties of the Second International allied themselves with the capitalist interests in each country when they went to war in 1914.
4. The Sheng Wu-Lian, formed in 1967 in Hunan province in China, in a guarded rejection of Mao's Thought, called for the creation of real communes modeled on the Paris Commune of 1871.

COMING SOON!

THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY

SELECTED WRITINGS ON THE DIALECTIC IN HEGEL AND MARX BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

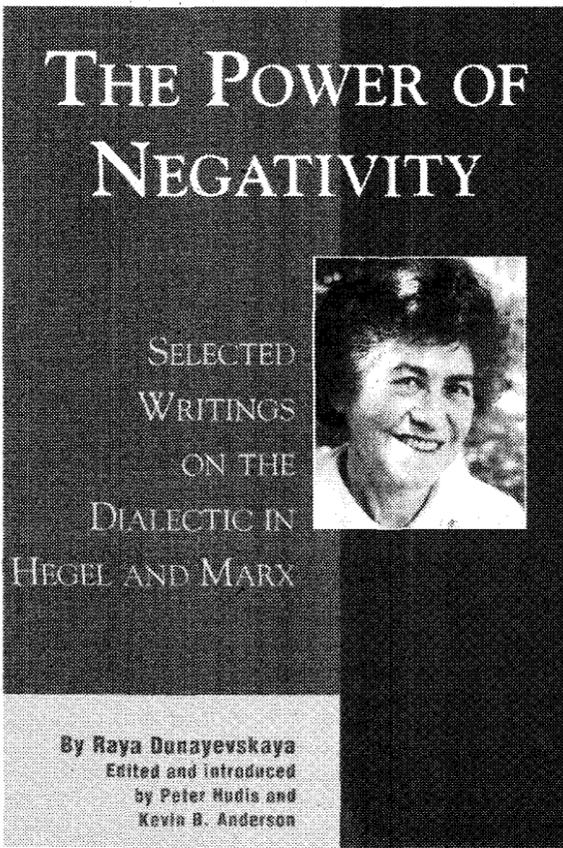
Edited by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson. Published by Lexington Books

This extensive collection of writings on Hegel, Marx and dialectics captures Dunayevskaya's original insight that, contrary to the prevailing view of Hegelians and Marxists, Hegel was of continuing importance to the theory and practice of Marxism. *The Power of Negativity* sheds light on the development of Marxist-Humanism, and also provides a fine introduction to one of America's most penetrating and provocative critical thinkers.

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WHAT THEY ARE SAYING ABOUT THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY....



Dunayevskaya writes, particularly in the letters and talks, like a person "drunk" on Hegel. But, rather than causing her to lose control, this drunkenness is a measure of her intellectual excitement, an infectious one that gets transferred to her readers. She is especially good in linking Hegel, Marx, and Lenin. Her varied attempts to explain the importance of Hegel's absolute idea and theory of negation for the traditions that followed, but also for the hoped-for revolution, are as clear and convincing as any I've seen from her pen. It's a truly impressive display, and one that will delight as well as instruct most readers.
—Bertell Ollman, New York University

Brilliant theorist, committed activist, and passionate scholar, Raya Dunayevskaya was a role-model for my generation. We are fortunate to have her back in this wonderfully edited work that conveys the excitement of a time when, for Raya and her interlocutors (C.L.R. James and Herbert Marcuse among others), philosophy and the struggle against social injustice were two sides of the same urgent endeavor. Her understanding of dialectics as a method whereby each generation has to discover its own revolutionary task, her insistence that Marxism means humanism in the most inclusive sense and that socialism means the social actualization of individual freedom—these are ideas that appear young and fresh against the weary and sophistic pessimism that dominates much theory in the academy today. And more: in contrast to the boring pap of commodified culture and political sound bites, Raya's interpretation makes the logic of Hegel's absolute idea a fascinating and compelling read.
—Susan Buck-Morss, Cornell University

The introduction by Peter Hudis and Kevin Anderson is a fine essay—so lucid and explicit yet sacrificing no complexity. It should be accessible to a range of people—students, or people recently stimulated to think about the nature of capitalism and the requirements of a different society, as well as longtime socialists who need the "placing" of Raya's thought as it's provided here.
—Adrienne Rich, on the introduction

As we enter a new millennium, critical and dialectical thinking is more important than ever in charting the vicissitudes of capital and political struggle. Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on Hegelian and Marxian dialectics are highly insightful and relevant to the theory and politics of the contemporary moment. Thus Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson's collection of some of her most important writings provide access to a valuable theoretical and political legacy.
—Douglas Kellner, UCLA

With the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya, the continent of revolutionary thought underwent a seismic shift, the world-historical reverberations of which we are still feeling today and which continue to grow stronger in this new millennium as the crisis of world capitalism intensifies. Dunayevskaya is one of the great revolutionary thinkers of the last century and her work on the dialectics of philosophy is unsurpassed in the development of Marxist humanism. Expertly edited by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson, this volume is destined to become a classic. History bequeathes us few gifts, and it is up to the present generation of revolutionaries to take advantage of this opportunity to engage with Dunayevskaya's most important ideas, condensed in this exceptional edited edition.
—Peter McLaren, UCLA

CONTENTS...

Introduction: "Raya Dunayevskaya's Concept of Dialectics" by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson	Part 1 • The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism	Part 2 • Studies in Hegelian and Marxian Dialectics, 1956-63	Part 3 • Theory and Practice at a Turning Point, 1964-71	Part 4 • After Philosophy and Revolution: Hegel's Absolutes and Marx's Humanism, 1972-81	Part 5 • The Changed World and the Need for Philosophic New Beginnings
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ON THE BARBARISM OF TERRORISM AND OF WAR



Helen Andersen, from The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution

The Lead article that begins on page 1 of this issue of N&L is a deepening and development of the Statement which the National Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees issued on Sept. 17 and circulated widely. We print here a few of the hundreds of responses we received on the terrorist attack and to our statement.

Arguments, such as "we had this coming," surely cannot be referring to the American people—who, as the radicals who make such arguments had always been the first to point out, do not have a government that represents their true interests. These arguments do not differentiate between the people in power and those oppressed by them at home. There are true struggles around the world that deserve our support and that recognize the "two worlds" that inhabit every country—one the world that exploits, the other the world that is reaching for a new human society in which barbarism does not exist.

**Revolutionary youth
Memphis**

If the attack of Sept. 11 was not a viable protest against the atrocities the U.S. perpetrates around the world, what, in your view, are viable protests and responses to the U.S. and its atrocities?

**B.S.
Internet**

We all need to organize a response to the events of Sept. 11 and the racist reactions that are sure to come. I am also concerned that the anti-global exploitation movement and the movement for a new immigrant amnesty will be derailed because of the shift in the political atmosphere in the past few days. The Sept. 25 amnesty rally in Washington, D.C. was canceled. The forces of global capitalism will not back down because of this tragedy. If anything, their hand has been strengthened. Austerity measures around the globe will increase. In the U.S., the political leadership has made it clear they plan to invest every dollar they can in defense and have no qualms about wrecking social security or other social programs to do it. We need to form new anti-racist coalitions and redouble our efforts to stop the rise of exploitation worldwide.

**Jerry Mead
Chicago**

You could see just what your Statement is arguing against, at a meeting I attended here the week after the attack, when one of the leftists present got up and focused all her criticism against the actions of the U.S. But she evidently could not bring herself to criticize the action of flying a plane into a building and killing thousands of innocent people. She immediately lost all credibility with the audience, which was composed of working people. If you could send me some more copies of your Statement, I can put them to good use.

**Activist
Kent, Ohio**

I am impressed with the Statement. It might be good to point out that the prob-

lem of religious fundamentalism is not confined to Islam, but that there are comparable tendencies within Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism and Shintoism. You might also want to point out that the U.S.'s military might did not protect it against this attack, nor would a nuclear missile defense, even if it were in place and working.

**R. Bunting
Oxford**

I have read your Statement with ambivalence. Your point about how this tragedy has empowered the far Right is well taken, as witness the homophobic remarks made by Rev. Jerry Falwell. And yes, it is true that we need to oppose permanent military adventurism overseas. Yet it is also true that the American people want justice to be done and if we don't end terrorism right now, not just Taliban style, but in all its forms including American (remember the Oklahoma City bombing), the horrible episodes of Sept. 11 will occur repeatedly globally. We truly need to bring these criminals to justice. There is no simple editorial or military solution for this very complicated world situation.

**Eric S.
Pennsylvania**

I have emailed your statement to all of my friends. When we wrote to each other after the attacks, we tended to respond to it in a very familiar, lefty fashion. I hope other people will be moved to reconsider their well-meant but wrong-headed positions as I have done. I have never been more proud to be a supporter of N&L than after receiving your Statement.

**Student
Illinois**

Following the emergence of the U.S. as a superpower, the lack of sensitivities to the complexities and volatility of the Middle East region needs to be questioned. I consider Tony Blair's actions reckless to the extreme. As Britain moves to a one-party state, we should challenge all further militarisation.

The media are trying to tell us that war is what we want when it's not. We need to call a boycott of all advertisers who support the war-promoting media. Let them know that we want peace and the point of view which is in support of peace to be given equal time across all media.

**Patrick Duffy
London**

Dan Rather was my favorite evening newscaster for many years because I felt he had some principled positions about national and international developments and gave us relatively objective reporting. It was thus shocking to hear him join in the patriotic breast-beating when he was interviewed on Dave Letterman's show after the Sept. 11 attacks and proudly declared that George Bush was his leader and he was ready to serve him. For me, Rather destroyed the credibility and respect he had been able to claim, and cast a shadow of suspicion on all his future reporting.

**Newswatcher
Detroit**

Sept. 11, 2001 was a day to be observed in Haiti for what occurred 13 years ago, Sept. 11, 1988—the Saint Jean Bosca Church massacre, where at least 10 were killed and 80 wounded by those trained and armed by members of Uncle Sam's CIA and military forces. Now more than 6,000 have lost their lives because someone the U.S. trained and armed is no longer under their control. I will finish with a poem:

*Uncle Sam, How Many Monsters Did
You Make Today?*

*You made Emmanuel "Tito" Constant for
Haiti, who now lives in New York City
today!*

*You made Augusto Pinochet Ugarte for
Chile, have you no shame today?*

*You made Osama bin Laden for your
Brother Russia, who was in
Afghanistan,
Now he wants to come home to his maker*

READERS' VIEWS

to show what he has learned to do to others.

**George Wilfrid Smith Jr.
Chicago**

We're poised on the cusp of a futile, counterproductive war and must do everything in our power to stop it. Organizing has begun throughout the world, and Israel's Women in Black held a demonstration today opposite the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv, organized by the Coalition of Women for a Just Peace. While condemning the terrorism, the Coalition also calls upon the U.S. and Israeli governments to halt "the campaign of racist slander that turns reality into a mythic struggle between Good and Evil, between a "superior" western culture and an "inferior" Muslim one.

I spent the last week of August in Yugoslavia at an international Women in Black conference attended by 250 women from many countries. It was amazing to see how one small vigil in Jerusalem grew spontaneously into an international movement.

**Gila Svirsky
Jerusalem**

According to a posting on a discussion group I participate in "a debate is raging" in a newsgroup of Scottish Socialist Party members. One of our subscribers posted an N&L Statement and outraged "anti-imperialists" are demanding that he defend it. The discussion has spilled over onto a 400-member UK Left discussion group with people asking who N&L is and others answering by posting the website URL and saying that Hobgoblin will be at the anarchist bookfair next month.

**British Marxist-Humanist
London**

Where terrorism is concerned, we were always at war. We were just very lucky until 8:46 AM on Sept. 11, 2001. The greatest heroes were the people on that flight that crashed in Pennsylvania. Had they not taken matters into their own hands, and had that

FRANTZ FANON

I am 50 and have often wanted to read Frantz Fanon's books to completion but never did. Then I read John Alan's review in your July issue of Fanon's 516 page biography by David Macey and found it as informative and exciting as Fanon's books themselves. It was such a great article it made me want to get the biography myself.

**Reader
New York**

THE ANTI-RACISM WORLD CONFERENCE

The U.S. government finally showed its hand. The UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance has finished but the questions still remain. Is the U.S. government still afraid of a Black Messiah? Secretary of State Colin Powell doesn't count, for he is a trained soldier for the U.S., not for those of us of African descent or those from the mother-continent of Africa. That also goes for the National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, who advised Bush not to let Powell go to Durban, South Africa. What did the U.S. government have to lose from going to the World Conference? What would happen if the masses knew all of the injustices the U.S. did to those of African descent? Did the U.S. blink in the face of the truth against it coming completely to the surface?

**Black commentator
Chicago**

At a recent meeting held here on the UN Conference on Racism held in Durban, South Africa, Detroit Congressman John Conyers blasted Secretary of State Colin Powell as irresponsible for walking out of the conference. He said that while many have been critical of the conference, he thought the final declaration

plane reached the White House, or worse, the Capitol Building, while Congress was in session, we would now be a dictatorship, with Bush at the helm. A very, very scary thought.

**Prisoner
Tennessee**

I'm not a revolutionary but it's terrifying what could happen under the guise of "national unity" to our Bill of Rights, our civil rights and all our liberties. There's a great danger of a new McCarthyism arising out of the present situation.

**M.G.
New York**

Historically, all principled revolutionary organizations have opposed terrorism, as was true of both Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, because they realized that such attacks gave the ruling state power an excuse to impose repressive measures against the population. The truth of that position can be seen not only in the declaration of Bush's "permanent war" which will certainly result in the deaths of many thousands of innocent people in Afghanistan and elsewhere, but also in the sweeping package of repressive legislation proposed by Attorney General Ashcroft to curtail the civil rights of all Americans—but especially those who oppose Bush's drive to war. To Bush's horrifying "permanent war" must be posed Marx's humanist concept of "revolution in permanence."

**Old Radical
Detroit**

Marx wrote about how the dialectic of revolution and counter-revolution "created circumstances and relations that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity to play a hero's part." Now terrorists have rewritten the script to cast George W. Bush, one of today's greatest mediocrities, as a "hero." Bush is not one to deviate from his script, even if the end calls for him to ride off into a nuclear sunset.

**Franklyn Dmitryev
Memphis**

was important because it stated that all slavery had been, and is, a crime against humanity. He also stated that no country wanted to consider the question of reparations for slavery because most of the nations were guilty, including those in Africa, and none of them wanted to set off a national study that would expose their own historical culpability. Most surprising to me was the fact that only about 75 attended the meeting, and most of them were old and white, despite the fact that both Conyers' office and the Michigan Coalition for Human Rights were sponsors of the meeting.

**Observer
Detroit**

RACISM AND SEXISM ALIVE AND WELL

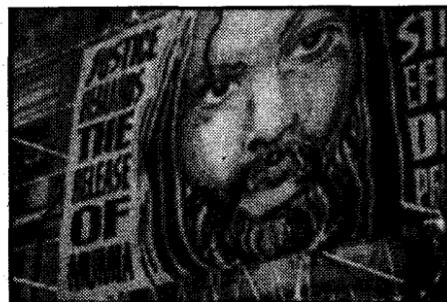
I volunteer at a free health clinic that provides care to people who would not have any other access to a doctor. Most of them are American Indian, Hispanic and Black. Many do not speak English. White people talk about how wonderful the retired white male doctors are to work in this clinic one night a week.

Two days after the horrific attacks in New York and Washington, D.C., a young white male at the clinic pulled out a knife and started yelling racist remarks at the people packed into the waiting room. The doctors grabbed him, got the knife away, and pushed him to the floor, where he continued to yell horrible racist remarks, including sickening comments about what he would like to do to the women in the room. When several volunteers pleaded with the doctors to take the man outside to wait for the police, one of them replied, "If the people in this room have a hard time with what this young man is saying, they should be the ones to leave," and then added, "most of them can't understand what he is saying, anyway." Almost everyone still waiting for medical care did leave, one

woman saying, "I may not understand English well, but I know hate when I hear it. And there is a lot of it here."

**Volunteer
South USA**

FOR MUMIA ABU-JAMAL



We were given a chilling warning of what is in store for all of us when Bush not only created a whole new cabinet office for what he is calling "Homeland Security" (which sounds to me like what they might have called it in Nazi Germany or apartheid South Africa) but put in charge the very man who holds Mumia Abu-Jamal's life in his hands, Pennsylvania Governor Ridge. A shudder went through me when I heard Bush announce his name!

**Mumia supporter
Chicago**

When it comes to the death penalty, "closure" is a psycho-babble term, like rehabilitation, cognitive thinking therapy, etc. In all honesty it is a simple matter to find the term for enacting the death penalty in this country and for treating prisoners so poorly with no attempt or help for self-redemption. The term is simply "revenge." The "closure" myth will be dispelled only when people stop kidding themselves.

**Prisoner
Tennessee**

**CONTINUING THE
STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM**

In the Action Alert issued by NOW, announcing that the Women's Equality Summit scheduled for Sept. 24-25 in Washington, D.C. had to be postponed

until Spring, they stressed that NOW is especially concerned about the increasingly vicious attacks on women's rights advocates. I'm with them 1000% when they say, "We are determined to defend and promote the rights, health and safety of women and girls around the world, whether the threat comes from the brutal and repressive policies of Afghanistan's ruling Taliban or from repressive policies here at home that undermine our hard-won gains."

They were also right when they pointed out on their website that when the Armed Forces said that in this time of need gay and lesbian citizens wishing to join the armed forces would be welcomed, it was only for the war effort. Afterwards their civil rights will once again be denied.

We are told that the world changed on Sept. 11—but not in everything.

**Women's liberationist
Illinois**

The murder of Matthew Shepard four years ago woke up many Americans to the reality of anti-lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered violence and hate. Over the past year the Chicago Anti-Bashing Network has made many Chicagoans aware of police violence against the LGBT community. Amnesty International issued an unprecedented three reports this year documenting gay-bashing by Chicago police. We also need to make the world aware that institutions like the Boy Scouts, Salvation Army and other religious groups encourage violence by promoting anti-gay discrimination. We need as big a turnout as possible from all Chicagoans to the Oct. 6 March Against Anti-Gay Hate.

**Human rights supporter
Chicago**

As the authorities move to gut civil liberties and human rights and justify racial profiling, the Oct. 22nd Coalition feels it is more important than ever that people from different races and backgrounds take to the streets in cities across the U.S. on Oct. 22, 2001, the sixth annual National Day of Protest to Stop Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation.

**Activist
Detroit**

WOMEN FOR FREEDOM



We need to take seriously what the Revolutionary Association of Women in Afghanistan (RAWA) is saying. They're opposed to the terrorists, fundamentalists and U.S. imperialism and war. They also opposed the Russian invasion.

I think the issue is very deep and is not just about how state, individual or group terrorism/militarism affects women, but the philosophical questions about what kind of a world we want to live in and how to fight for that.

During the horrors going on in Bosnia, it was feminists who consistently opposed the genocide and rape camps, calling the rapes genocidal. Their multi-ethnic struggle should have been a pole of attraction the Left stood with. But instead they just wanted to stand against the U.S. and ignored the fight for a multicultural society and for women's freedom. That's what's happening now—women's struggle and vision of a new way of life is being ignored.

**Women's liberationist
Chicago**

**U.S.-CORPORATE
LABOR CAMP?**

The California state legislature recently introduced a bill allowing for stricter penalties against employers in the agricultural industry who fail to pay minimum wage to their workers. That's great, but is that the level of organized opposition required to even begin to address the incidence of workplace abuse and exploitation occurring? Routinely in today's "new economy"? That so much effort and momentum is required to take such a little step makes me wonder if any of our legislators are aware of the extent to which employers rule with impunity over their workers, and how indifferent they are to what few labor laws we have.

The workplace is becoming increasingly militant and authoritarian as workers have become increasingly dispensable.

It's ironic that even as Americans are working longer and harder than they ever have in recent history, so that CEOs and stock owners can sit back and watch their fortunes grow, it's "the welfare state" and "lazy free-loading liberals" that are depicted as the main drain on the country's resources and productivity. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Some might still think that the U.S. is a country. In my opinion it's a corporate labor camp, well on its way to becoming a banana republic, for those who are lucky enough to still be employed.

**Greg Loper
California**

I've been in prison since November 2000. I have an addiction to news, especially on racial and women issues. I am so into reading newspapers and sharing various articles with others that I volunteered to pick up the yard trash on weekends just so I can take back the newspapers. That's how I found your issue of January 2001 and I wanted you to know I was able to use a lot of the information, especially on the abuse and exploitation of women, which we used in our Domestic Violence class. You also printed information on what happened in prisons with the lack of health care and women dying because of it. But, unlike other papers, you were straight to the point and didn't sugar-coat anything or make excuses for the staff. We all appreciated that! I am writing because I haven't been able to find another issue, but I am indigent and can't subscribe. Could you send me one or two issues from time to time until I get out in another year?

**Woman prisoner
California**

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Environmental justice delegation of solidarity to Vieques

Memphis, Tenn.—In August I was part of a delegation organized by the Fellowship of Reconciliation that went to Puerto Rico. There were about 14 of us from Hawaii, California, Texas, Georgia, and Memphis, Tenn. Many were environmental justice activists. The Vieques activists wanted our views about how military cleanups were going in the U.S. They wanted to know if they were getting fair treatment on the cleanup in Vieques after the U.S. bombing. Their sampling of vegetation had found heavy metals and other chemicals.

The most beautiful thing to me about Vieques is that everyone is involved—all the way up to the governor—in asking the U.S. to stop the bombing, stop killing the islanders, poisoning the people. As I was boarding the ferry I wanted to make sure we were going to the right place so I said, "Vieques si?" The guard answered me back in Spanish, "Navy out!"

It's no different from what the U.S. government has done at the Defense Depot in Memphis, Tenn. When the government gets into a place, they do exactly what they want to do. In Puerto Rico they have destroyed two-thirds of one of the most beautiful islands I ever saw. We looked down into the valley where the bombing takes place and the lagoons were brown. Everything else was a piercing blue except where they were doing the bombing.

When people got tired of the Navy bombing, Roberto Rubin of Vieques purchased a lot across the street from

War on drugs?

Oakland, Cal.—In early August the national tour of Kemba Smith and Dorothy Gaines, two Black women, war-on-drugs prisoners, whom Clinton pardoned during his last few days in office, reached the San Francisco Bay Area.

Speaking to an overflowing audience of about 200 mostly Black Oakland residents crowded into a church basement, Dorsey Nunn introduced the speakers by reminding us that 2.8 million African Americans are under some sort of supervision of the justice system. There are 20 states whose total population does not reach 2.8 million. Dorsey Nunn wanted this meeting to start a different kind of conversation about the criminal justice system. He said they are not building the prison-industrial complex for a few brothers in baggy pants, it is capitalism itself at work.

Kemba Smith was convicted on the basis that her boyfriend was caught with drugs. She knew nothing, thus she could not snitch on anybody and got an outrageous sentence. She stated that although her situation is individual, it is not unique. She has a purpose now: she can't just sit back and enjoy her freedom until the drug laws and policies are changed. She spoke of other women inside, like a mother, who did nothing wrong, but was sent to prison because she wouldn't snitch on her son. She spent eight-and-a-half years in prison and died there of liver disease because of the prison's medical neglect. What Kemba Smith regrets the most is that she did not know her own history. "If I knew our history maybe I wouldn't have done some things, maybe the person I was involved with wouldn't have been selling drugs." Solidarity is important and concrete to her because her own pardon was the result of the many letters written, many grass-roots organizations coming together.

Dorothy Gaines was sentenced to 20 years in prison without any evidence. The father of her child testified against her in an attempt to stay out of prison himself. That is how the snitch laws work. She urged everyone to become a voice, to join or start their own organizations. There are a lot of good people still in prison on whom we can't give up.

The meeting was closed by youth from Castlemont high school, who informed us that Oakland just passed an ordinance putting Oakland police onto school campuses. It was Columbine, a primarily white school where students were killed, but it is Oakland schools, with mostly students of color who are not shooting each other, whose campuses are being militarized.

The new conversation for which Dorsey Nunn was asking makes it clear that African Americans' opposition to criminal (in)justice, police abuses, etc., is a form of their opposition to capitalism itself. The stories at the meeting also pointed the way out: through solidarity, breaking down the barriers between inside and outside.

—Urszula Wislanka and Mitch Weerth

the Navy. They set up a peace and justice camp so they could still do their rallies and civil disobedience and were a thorn in the U.S.'s side. They took control of the gate and wouldn't let any of the Navy people in. The Navy tried to make another entrance and 2,000 people flocked down to the fence and blocked them. The activists hold a vigil every night at the federal penitentiary because so many of them are in jail.

The Puerto Rican activists got the idea of civil disobedience from the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. They keep going to jail and the government keeps giving them more time to serve. I feel that the U.S. is not hearing anyone of color regardless of where they are. The worst thing is that they have killed leaders there

Angola 3 carry on Black Panther struggle

Chicago—Sept. 11 and its aftermath threatens to engulf us in a renewed militarism overseas and the restriction of civil liberties here. At this moment, it is imperative that we not allow our struggles against racism and the criminal injustice system to be pushed aside.

Angola 3 prisoner Albert Woodfox made several points about the terrorist attack in a phone conversation we had last week. He is concerned about the new "Home Security" cabinet position, staffed by Tom Ridge, because a movement that wishes to unseat a dictatorial government could be labeled "terrorist." Woodfox suggested that the label might be used on anyone speaking out against whatever powerful interests want to do, and noted that China has already referred to the freedom movement in Tibet as "terrorist."

THE LEGAL FRONT

The only evidence against Woodfox and Herman "Hooks" Wallace is the state's so-called eyewitness, Hezekiah Brown, a four time convicted serial rapist on Death Row, who claimed to have seen them murder prison guard Brett Miller. For years, the State claimed this evidence had been destroyed or lost, but when Albert was recently retried, proof that Brown received cigarettes and a pardon as payment for his false testimony was finally disclosed. On Sept. 14 a Writ of Certiorari was filed in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Of the many claims for relief that were made in a hearing this past summer only one was accepted. The other 15 or so were denied. That one claim now gets moved to the judge, who will sign off on it if he thinks that Wallace complied with legal time limits. Wallace's lawyer characterized this as a bad decision. The possibility of an evidentiary hearing still exists, but is expected to take a long time if it happens. Until then, Woodfox and Wallace exist in the same legal limbo as Mumia Abu-Jamal—innocent men falsely accused and imprisoned for their political beliefs and activity.

The other member of the Angola 3, Robert King

for speaking out against the bombing in Vieques.

The health effects of the bombing are just like here: reproductive illness, all types of cancer, including rare forms of cancer—identical kinds of cancers that we have here around the Defense Depot and at Kelly Air Force Base. All of us have the same type of problems—same chemicals. Vieques' groundwater is contaminated—all of it. They can't use it.

Once land has been contaminated by any military facility, it's over with. They were using depleted uranium (DU) tipped tank piercing bullets. But they said they weren't using DU. The Military Toxics Project found out they were. The people want their land back but they want it back pristine and clean like it was when the U.S. got it.

—Doris Bradshaw

Wilkerson, is arriving in Chicago for ten days on Oct. 19. He will have a number of speaking engagements and all are welcome to help with his Chicago tour. He will be speaking at *News & Letters'* office on Monday, Oct. 22 (the National Day of Protest Against Police Brutality) at 6:30 p.m., 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440, in the Chicago Loop.

A PANTHER'S CREED

Woodfox and Hooks released a statement for the upcoming Black Panther Party reunion. It reads in part:

Time has changed our bodies but not our resolve; nor has it taken our strength. Gray hairs adorn our heads, but each grain is buried and cultivated by wisdom born of life's experiences. Our souls are battered

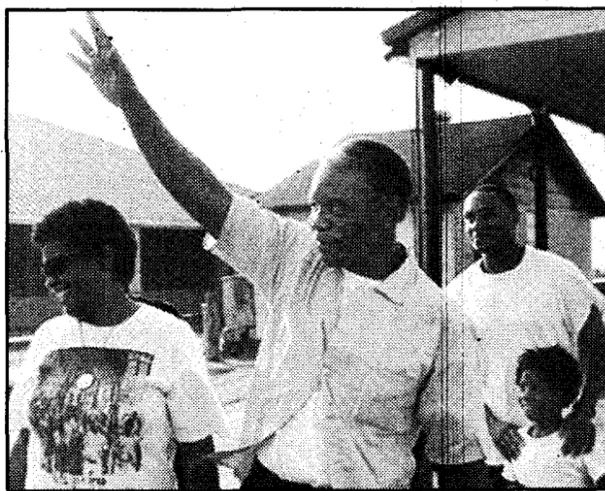
and bruised but we remain defiant...We, like all of you here today, at some time in our lives made a conscious decision to become social revolutionaries. Our humanity would not allow us to close our eyes to the horrors waged against the poor, the homeless, the sick, the workers and artists of this country in the name of the great lie called Democracy!

You possess the shovel, the dirt and the Power to eventually bury the capitalist mode of production. Realize that no matter how long it has been or

how much time has changed you, you are still Black Panthers!... In closing, we ask that you hear the words of our beloved comrade and friend, Robert King Wilkerson, who was freed this year by the support of the people along with his own fighting spirit. It is this kind of spirit that has allowed us to survive so many years of darkness and despair. Power to the People!

—b.l.s.

National Committee to
Defend the Angola 3
—Chicago
P.O. Box 617511
Chicago, IL 60661
773-250-3477



Robert King Wilkerson leaves Louisiana State Prison.

Black/Red View Durban racism conference

(Continued from page 1)

The other contentious issue at the Durban conference was the demand by African Americans and Africans for financial reparations for the enslavement of millions of Africans in the "New World." While African Americans demanded that the U.S. pay today's African Americans, the Africans formed a bloc to demand payment from the countries of the European Union, many of which participated in and benefited from slavery. They described slavery as a crime against humanity and demanded funds "to rebuild Africa, since Europe as a technologically developed and industrial based economy was built off the sweat and blood of the people of Africa."

UNHEARD VOICE OF THE POOR

As Lorenzo Komboa Ervin put it in his report from the conference: "...the UN's bureaucrats simply will not allow real empowerment of the poor...They would rather like to empower lawyers and international lobbyists to get grants and fees... Any honest evaluation of the conference would show that this conference is set up for lawyers and non-profit association/civil rights bureaucrats. The poor only had a voice in the conference when thousands of landless 'squatters,' workers, students, indigenous people and others protested in the streets outside the conference venue. This class difference was one of the most blatant and disheartening features of this conference itself, too many were marginalized and had their cries muffled. These were both oppressed and indigenous peoples." ("Some dangerous political thoughts" by Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, Sept. 9, 2001, posted on AntiRacismNet)

Also, the concentration of African Americans and

African NGOs on reparations and an apology from western capitalism for their historic exploitation failed to align their cause with other peoples who were exploited by world capitalism. The African American NGOs should have carried to Durban a more universal agenda on their opposition to today's exploitation and oppression of capitalism.

No UN conference will call for the transformation of capitalism by the creation of a new society based on transformation of real human relationships. Instead, what the UN conference proposed in Durban last September was: "Recognizing that failure to combat and denounce racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance by all, especially by public authorities and politicians at all levels is a factor encouraging their perpetuation. [And] reaffirming that states have the duty to protect and promote the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all, including indigenous peoples, people of African descent, people of Asian descent, migrants—documented and undocumented, refugees and asylum-seekers..."

Here, clearly the state and only the state is the protector of human freedom. African Americans know from historic experience that this is pure nonsense, the state only protects us when masses in the street are doing battle. Our constitutional rights are continuously violated by racial profiling, police brutality and other discriminatory practices. The question on the agenda, how to get beyond the barbarism of capitalism, cannot be solved by legal constitutional means, even in the international arena. Only when masses themselves confront these contradictions with a more universal idea of freedom that is one with their self-activity can we build a new society, free of racism.

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Colombia in times of intensified war

Since the 1970s one of the major focuses of the United States government in Colombia has been the illicit drug business and its concomitant booming economy. In 2000, the introduction of Plan Colombia and its \$4.7 billion from the international community to fight the drug trade and "restore Colombia's democracy," would magnify that focus and allow for the pursuit of other discrete international interests.

Under Plan Colombia, then-U.S. President Bill Clinton proposed \$1.3 billion in military aid to the Colombian military to eradicate illicit drug cultivation. Intended to push into Amazon regions of high civil conflict, where coca crop is abundant and where an otherwise ignored peasant population is governed by the insurgents, the U.S. government stated that they would not "discriminate between who is the drug trafficker and the insurgent." With a population of approximately 22,000, the insurgent movement was now labeled as "narcoguerrilla," conveniently combining the economic war against drugs with the political counter-insurgency war.

It would not be shocking if the focus on Colombia is shifted again by the tragic events of Sept. 11, combining the war on terrorism with the counter-insurgency war, as the U.S. government is certain not to discriminate between who is the insurgent and who is the terrorist.

Thus far, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), has condemned the Sept. 11th attacks although they consider them a consequence of "the politics of U.S. imperialism." In a letter written to Colombian President Andres Pastrana by the FARC's oldest living leader Manuel Marulanda, the FARC rejected the classifications of "terrorist" and "drug trafficker" used in reference to the insurgent group by the Colombian military and the U.S. government. A document released by the Colombian military's "Human Rights Violations Tracking System" stated that "terrorist attacks" in Colombia maintain a permanent state of anguish amongst citizens which is comparable to the attacks that destroyed the Pentagon and Twin Towers. They later mimicked the U.S. government's mentality by cataloging insurgent groups FARC and ELN with illegal paramilitary forces, United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia (AUC). They stated that "not in vain, the FARC, ELN and AUC make up part of the black list of terrorist organizations published by the United States government."

In a time of great confusion and fear, citizens of the world flock to newsstands and television sets to try to

understand how exactly the war on terrorism will unfold. Journalism and the media are crucial in ensuring informed democratic participation in finding a solution. So what about journalism in Colombia or coverage on Colombia in the U.S.?

In the past two decades, journalism has become one of the most dangerous professions in Colombia. Fifty-eight journalists have been assassinated in the past ten years and in the year 2000 alone, seven were killed and approximately 23 were kidnapped, attacked, raped or harassed due to politically charged stories they were covering. The majority of U.S. journalism on Colombia focuses on the atrocities committed by the various insurgent groups and the "persistent drug violence." This is quickly realized if one performs a search of articles on Colombia in major U.S. newspapers. Monitoring organizations such as Amnesty International, however, have found that the paramilitary, in collaboration with the Colombian military, is responsible for 80% of the country's political violence. It is equally rare to encounter articles that cover the Colombian military and their role in the ongoing violence although they are recognized worldwide as having the worst human rights record in the Western Hemisphere.

After year's of media images and newspaper articles focused on Colombia's violent conflict, and after a devastating month filled with endless TV images of the twin towers collapsing, capitalist market geared mass media coverage is getting us prepared for war. This seems less like an ethical obligation to disseminate information and more like a mechanism to create the fear and hysteria of a war-like atmosphere so as to undermine thoughtful democratic participation and justify the use of extreme force against a struggling country, its people, ecology, and so on.

First it was a faceless war on drugs and now it is the faceless war against terrorism. No matter what the U.S. government calls it, a war with no face is a war with no limits, and a war with no limits is a war whose goal is war itself. The faceless enemy exists everywhere and we are always in danger of it.

With a growing number of Colombian journalists in exile or working under great fear, and with a distorted representation of Colombia in the U.S., what do people think of Colombia, and are they ready to accept the Colombian insurgent culture as a terrorist culture? As the U.S. reaches out to the world to fight terrorism, my question remains, the war on drugs or the war on terrorism, where does Colombia stand in times of war?

—Raquel Cisneros Ramona



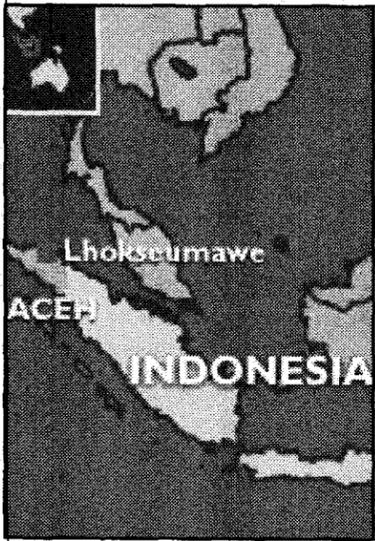
Acehnese denounce terror at home and abroad

The Acehnese community deeply condemns the terrorist attack in New York, Pennsylvania and Washington. "We send our commemoration and sympathy to our brothers and sisters in U.S. We know what it is like to live in fear as we have done in the past 12 years under the threat of the government of Indonesia," said Radhi Darmansyah, SIRA International Affairs Coordinator.

SIRA is a non-government organization advocating human rights, democracy and peace. This organization concentrates especially on popular referendum voting for the Acehnese on the right of self-determination within Indonesia or independence.

The perpetrator of the Sept. 11 tragedy, supposed internationally sponsored terrorist groups, should be brought forward and tried in an international court. The international community should assist the United States in finding and apprehending these individuals.

Aceh, an oil-rich region of Indonesia, has fought for 26 years against the Indonesian government for inde-



pendence. The Acehnese, a devout and tolerant Muslim population, want justice, revenue-sharing and peace in the region, but the government has only responded with military oppression. After 12 years of the worst military operation and violence, which has killed 6,000 people, the Acehnese people largely support an independent movement advocated by the Free Aceh Movement (GAM).

There has been more violence this year alone, after Henry Dunant Center facilitated peace talks between the Indonesian Government and Free Aceh Movement. Indonesian police arrested six GAM negotiators on the day Megawati took over the Presidency from Abdurrahman Wahid.

Even on her last visit to Aceh on Sept. 8th, Megawati did not stop the violation of human rights; the military continues its violence. Some protesters were arrested on the day of her visit to Aceh because they were asking to cease the military oppression.

—SIRA

Reactions from a saddened New York City

New York—I am an AIDS researcher and a poet. I work for a research NGO that was housed in WTC Building 2. Luckily, I was not in the building when the planes hit, and all of my co-workers escaped without serious injury, but I watched the building burn not knowing which of my friends and co-workers were caught inside.

This has been deeply traumatizing to us all in many ways. And many of us lost relatives or friends in the disaster.

But in my conversations and emails with my co-workers since then, none of us seem to be vengeful. We are more concerned about what the U.S. may do in response. We do not see any justice in bombing the Afghan women who have suffered enough, or any of the other millions of innocent people who are likely to suffer the same kind of trauma that we have.

Some of us are also trying to come to terms with why there are people out there who would do such a terrible act. The simple answers that the media and politicians give do not explain it. They avoid discussing the pain we must have caused others. They avoid why the U.S. may have acted in ways that caused pain. We need to think about that and to discuss it.

May we all have a peaceful world.

—Social Scientist

The courts in lower Manhattan reopened a week after Sept. 11, even though they have no telephone service and the subway stops near them are closed. In landlord-tenant court, some landlord lawyers refuse to consent to put off cases and some judges are evicting people like usual. Landlord lawyers refuse to lend their cell phones. The "normal" scene inside the court con-

Chicago conference on anti-globalization

Chicago—The Chicago Coalition Against the FTAA sponsored an event Sept. 15 titled, "On the Road to Justice: IMF, World Bank and FTAA Teach-In" on the campus of the University of Illinois at Chicago. The daylong conference was planned well in advance of the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11 and went on despite the fact that travel restrictions arising from those events prevented two activist speakers from attending.

The conference was part of a local campaign to organize people to attend the protests against the World Bank and International Monetary Fund meetings scheduled for the last weekend of September. Those meetings were canceled after the attacks.

Invited guest Jonah K. Gokova, chair of the Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development, did manage to make it to the meeting. He spoke in the morning plenary session about the impact of World Bank and International Monetary Fund economic structural adjustment plans on the lives of the people of his country. He said that the official acronym of the plan, ESAP, is popularly referred to as standing for "Extended Suffering of African People." He expressed a will to develop an alternative to the existing system and said, "we cannot accept that globalization is a program that cannot be changed."

Workshops following the plenary session discussed such topics as militarization, privatization of public services, and environmental struggles.

—Kevin Michaels

Defend Mario Bango!

Warsaw, Poland—About 40 youth demonstrated at the Slovakian Embassy on Sept. 14 to demand justice for Mario Bango. Both he and his brother Edo are Roma and are anti-fascist activists. Edo Bango participated in the Genoa anti-globalization protests. After returning to Slovakia, when Edo was viciously attacked by a fascist, Mario defended his brother, killing the attacker. Although he called the ambulance and the police right away, he is being tried for common murder.

There was a concern among the demonstrators that the Sept. 11 bombing of the World Trade Center might get associated with the anti-globalization movement. They extended sympathy to the victims of this barbarism.

Another demand at the demonstration was to end homophobia. Recently the Minister of Justice in Slovakia made a statement that homosexuality is a disease, which should be cured. The demonstrators stressed that such a statement could have been made in any of the East European countries and it has to be vigorously opposed. It was heartening to see an anti-racist movement in Poland carried on by a new generation of activists.

—Urszula Wislanka

Oxford peace rally

Oxford, England—At dusk on Sept. 22, hundreds of people gathered at Carfax Tower, for a torchlit peace procession. We were there to mourn and commemorate those who died in the terrorist attack on the U.S.; to oppose the drive for war in reaction to that attack; and to bring together Christians, Muslims and Jews as well as non-religious people in a united call for peace.

It was impressive to see so many people coming together at short notice, and it clearly showed that there is a substantial body of public opinion that does not want our own government, or the U.S., to have carte blanche for military actions in the name of a "war against terrorism."

The gathering split up so that people could go to the mosque, the synagogue, the cathedral, and the Friends meeting house.

A spokesman for the mosque condemned militant fundamentalism and expressed sympathy for all the victims in the U.S. Support for this event was very broad and it did not bear the imprint of any particular organisation—either religious or political.

—Richard Bunting

trasts with the sad but helpful atmosphere of ordinary people in the streets. The streets are lined with barricades manned by ubiquitous police, FBI, and military personnel. You have to show identification to move. Now you know what a police state looks like.

The gray cloud of dust still hangs over lower Manhattan. The stench is a constant reminder of the tragedy, and everyone in the street appears solemn. Each time you cross an avenue, you can't resist the pull to look down at the cloud and envision the amazing deaths, now said to be 6,500. Still no telephone, fax or mail. The streets are relatively empty. Many stores and lunch places have closed; some are so small that they probably will not be able to reopen. Strangers are kind and polite in small ways that are untypical of New York's usual intensely capitalistic culture of speed and selfishness. We are all so sad.

—New Yorker

Terrorism, Bush's retaliation: inhumanity of class society

(Continued from page 1)

amounts of military materiel are being poured into Pakistan, which has been pressured into serving as a staging area for attacks on the Taliban—even though Pakistan was instrumental in bringing the Taliban to power and still has close relations with it.

Afghanistan has long resisted foreign invaders, and the U.S. seems to realize that it would be futile to try to occupy the entire country. It is instead focusing on a series of military attacks, ranging from commando raids and bombing missions to arming the Northern Alliance, a loose grouping of less-strict Islamic fundamentalists opposed to the Taliban who control a small part of Afghanistan near its border with Tajikistan.

The U.S. is also sending troops to Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, which will serve as staging areas for attacks on Afghanistan. For the first time U.S. troops are operating on the soil of the former Soviet Union.

The battle lines do not stop at Afghanistan. As Bush stated in his Sept. 20 speech to Congress, his aim is not simply to attack Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda organization. He is rather projecting "a lengthy campaign unlike any other we have ever seen....It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated."

That can only mean one thing—that we are in for permanent war.

Let us not forget that the Israelis haven't been able to eradicate suicide bombers, even after imposing near-total restrictions on the movement of Palestinian civilians and targeting political figures for assassination—policies that Bush now seems to be adopting in his global "fight against terrorism."

The only way that Bush can even attempt to "find, stop and defeat" every terrorist opposed to the U.S. around the world is by imposing conditions of permanent militarization, especially since the indiscriminate kinds of military intervention now being contemplated by his administration are likely to only further swell the ranks of the terrorists.

What we said after Clinton attacked Sudan and Afghanistan in 1998 in response to the bombings of the U.S. embassies in East Africa—that the rulers are seeking to impose conditions of permanent war—has now come to pass. We are being thrust into a new, voracious, and deadly militarism.

THE WAR AT HOME

The first casualty of this is our rights and liberties at home. For the first time a cabinet-level "Office of Homeland Security" has been created, headed by Gov. Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania, the man who set an execution date for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Ridge is being given broad and undefined powers to coordinate surveillance of all kinds. An array of restrictions on civil liberties and political rights are being formulated, with little public discussion and debate.

The Justice Department has announced new regulations allowing it to detain immigrants indefinitely, without having to state any cause. Previously it faced a 24-hour deadline to release detainees or charge them with a crime. Additional provisions being considered are so broad that they may even enable the government to detain an entire ethnic group if it so chooses.

Ridge's "Office of Homeland Security" is also being given wide powers to allow the government to engage in telephone wiretaps and email searches.

Racial profiling is being openly promoted after coming under searing criticism from minority communities for years. Randall L. Kennedy, a Harvard law professor, wrote, "The events of Sept. 11 are going to make it more difficult to get rid of racial profiling, both at the street level—what police actually do—and at the formal level of the courts."

Taken as a whole, the restrictions on civil liberties threaten to transform the very character of this country. The rights that Americans have fought to preserve and extend for generations are coming under direct attack.

The terrorists who destroyed the World Trade Center and a section of the Pentagon handed Bush the greatest gift he could have asked for. It has given him a free hand to expand the military, gut domestic social programs, and bury the memory of his stolen election. On a single day the terrorists succeeded in totally shifting the ideological ground and handed the far Right one of its greatest victories.

We now face an explosion of repressive, counter-revolutionary forces which threaten to push this entire country backward.

INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS

This does not mean Bush has all the cards in his hands. Forces have been unleashed by the events of Sept. 11 that may be beyond anyone's control.

First, the impact of the attacks will almost surely send the U.S. into a recession. Over 100,000 workers have so far been laid off in New York, and 140,000 airline workers have been laid off nationwide. Combined with the cost of rebuilding lower Manhattan—the \$20 billion allocated so far is just the beginning—and the fall-off of consumer spending and investment resulting from the disaster, the Sept. 11 attacks will usher the U.S. into a full recession.

In the 1990s U.S. economic growth accounted for 40% of the overall growth in the world economy. An

economic downturn in the U.S. is sure to have a global impact. The U.S., Japan, Germany—the world's three largest economies—were all headed for recession, even before Sept. 11. For the first time since the mid-1970s, all the major players of the global economy are either in a recession or about to enter one.

The U.S. "won" the Gulf War of 1991 by getting Japan, West Europe, and the Gulf states to fund it to the tune of \$100 billion. Where is that kind of money for permanent war going to come from today?

Second, world politics—especially Middle Eastern politics—is far too volatile for the U.S. to simply ride roughshod over each and every country.

Afghanistan was suffering from a deep social crisis even before Sept. 11. Famine, poverty, and repression



by the Taliban had sent a million refugees fleeing to Pakistan. The threat of U.S. military intervention has further swelled this crisis; over one million more refugees are now en route to Pakistan which has closed its border with Afghanistan.

The vast majority of Afghans would be glad to be free of the Taliban. It would never have come to power without the direct aid of Pakistan, and, to a lesser degree, of the CIA. Since taking power in 1996 after a civil war between competing factions of Islamic fundamentalists, the Taliban has imposed one of the most repressive regimes on earth. Women are forbidden in public without being covered from head to toe and with a male escort; women cannot hold jobs or attend school; all forms of religious expression other than the Taliban's Wahabbism (a puritanical form of Islam imported from Saudi Arabia which is rejected by most Muslims) are outlawed; and Shi'ites as well as Afghanistan's numerous national minorities have been brutally repressed.

While few ordinary Afghans are willing to die for the Taliban, the matter is different when it comes to the thousands of "volunteers" from around the Middle East who have been fighting in Afghanistan as part of bin Laden's organization.

Bush has pressured Pakistan into serving as a U.S. base for attacks on the Taliban, but the move is fraught with danger and contradictions.

Pakistan's military regime is itself dependent on support from Islamic fundamentalists. For instance, the group Harakat ul Mujaheddin, which the Pakistani military has made use of in its battles against Indian troops in Kashmir, is allied with bin Laden. Bush appears to have told Pakistan's General Musharraf that if he supports the U.S. war against Afghanistan the U.S. will support Pakistani interests in Kashmir—though that could end up strengthening forces allied with bin Laden.

Even more ominously, if Pakistan becomes destabilized because of Musharraf's support for the U.S., a real nightmare scenario could occur—the emergence of an Islamic fundamentalist regime in Pakistan armed with nuclear weapons.

U.S. troops are now in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, which have been torn for years by battles with fundamentalist factions. Russia, which still has thousands of troops in Tajikistan, apparently agreed to the U.S. troop deployment in exchange for the U.S. allowing it a free hand in its genocidal war against Chechnya.

China, which shares a border with Afghanistan, has also joined the U.S.'s "battle against terrorism," presumably in exchange for the U.S. remaining silent over its crackdown against an insurgency in its largely Muslim province of Xinjiang.

Meanwhile, Bush's effort to enlist Arab countries like Syria and Arafat's PLO in the "battle against terrorism" has evoked complaints from Israel's Sharon, who tried to make use of the Sept. 11 attacks to extend a total military crackdown against the Palestinians and subvert what is left of the peace process. Bush has for now leaned on Sharon to at least pretend to return to the bargaining table, but the Israel-Palestine conflict has a life of its own that can explode at any time.

THE SECOND AMERICA

Third, the most critical factor which may be beyond Bush's ability to control is the reaction of the American people to his drive for war.

Hundreds of rallies and marches have been held across the country against the new militarism and the racist attacks against Muslims, Arab-Americans, Palestinians, South Asians and other people of color. Though Bush has also decried these attacks, many Muslims, immigrants and people of color who are critical of his war moves feel increasingly vulnerable because of his declaration that all who are not for his

"war against terrorism" are against him.

Some of the demonstrations against Bush have been spontaneous, like the protest in Union Square in New York, on Sept. 14. Over 200 rallies with such messages as "Islam is not the enemy, War is not the answer" have been held at colleges nationwide.

Most critical is the force which has been conspicuously absent from Bush's speeches and declarations—the Black dimension.

The Black dimension has been pivotal in opposing every stage of U.S. militarism. This is directly related to the fact that each such stage of militarization overseas is connected to mounting racism at home.

Black Americans were among the first to oppose the Spanish-American War of 1898. They were pivotal in opposing every U.S. military intervention since then, from World War I to the Vietnam War and beyond. Let us also not forget that the Harlem riots of 1943 took place in the midst of World War II.

The memory of events like the April Cincinnati rebellion have not been forgotten. Not only are racial profiling, police abuse, and racism just as real now as then, they are being amplified by Bush's drive for war. The spontaneous street protests by Black youth in Cincinnati on Sept. 26 in response to the acquittal of the cop who killed a Black youth last April is but one indication of the revolt brewing in Black America.

WHAT TO DO?

It is imperative that we completely and totally oppose Bush's effort to respond to anti-human terrorism with an equally inhuman policy of indiscriminate military intervention, just as we must oppose all efforts to restrict civil liberties at home or scapegoat Muslims, immigrants or people of color. But an effective opposition to this new militarism will not emerge unless we project a total view rooted not just in what we oppose, but what we are for.

It is therefore all the more disturbing that some on the Left have only mildly condemned the Sept. 11 attacks and argue that the real culprit is U.S. imperialism. U.S. military intervention against Iraq and its support of Israel, some say, has created a climate which drives opponents of the U.S. to pursue such "desperate measures" as suicide attacks. As John Keller put it in "The Chickens Come Home to Roost," "When a big country uses its military or money to push around a smaller country, the small country can only fight back via terrorism."

This amounts to a bizarre spectacle. While the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks remain silent as to their motives, "leftist" commentators from Alexander Cockburn to Naomi Klein are trying to provide the rationale for them. All we need to know, presumably, are the crimes of U.S. imperialism, and then the reasons for the Sept. 11 attack supposedly become "understandable." All too many leftists seem to view their role as being conceptual ambassadors for the perpetrators of the Sept. 11 disaster.

Such "explanations" misconstrue the nature of the forces which conducted the attacks. Reactionary Islamic fundamentalism is not simply driven by hatred of U.S. imperialist acts against Iraq, Palestine, or any other country. Islamic fundamentalism is just as much driven by hatred of feminism, homosexuality, and workers' rights. Groups like Afghanistan's Taliban, Algeria's FIA, and the terrorist cells in Egypt have murdered Marxist professors as well as indigenous writers and singers. They represent a rejection of those aspects of western society created through decades of struggles by workers, women, gays and lesbians and minorities for a more open and free society.

Such reactionary tendencies are most of all driven by hatred of the struggles for liberties which are indigenous to Afghan and Muslim societies, which they falsely denigrate as "western." Islamic fundamentalism is not just a holdover of "feudalism"; it is a product of the modern world and is a reaction against the struggles for freedom which are endemic to it.

The root of the inhumanity unleashed on Sept. 11 is class society and the barbarism intrinsic to it. This is the ground which gives rise both to imperialism and reactionary forces such as those responsible for the terrorist attacks.

Bin Laden fights the U.S. not from a position of seeking freedom for the masses, but as the representative of one national (or transnational) ruling elite in contention with another one. The nature of the Sept. 11 attacks supports this view. As is true for all ruling classes who conduct warfare, the masses were wholly expendable, their humanity unimportant.

Tamim Ansary, an Afghan-American opposed to the Taliban wrote: "We're flirting with a world war between Islam and the West. And guess what: that's bin Laden's program. That's exactly what he wants. That's why he did this. Read his speeches and statements. He really believes Islam would beat the West. It might seem ridiculous, but he figures if he can polarize the world into Islam vs. the West, he's got a billion soldiers. If the West wrecks a holocaust in those lands, that's a billion people with nothing left to lose, that's even better from bin Laden's point of view. He's probably wrong, in the end the West would win, whatever that would mean, but the war would last for years and millions would die, not just theirs but ours."

(Continued on page 11)

What kind of 'anti-war movement'?—participant reports

(Continued from page 1)

cy..." It had 10 co-sponsors, including the Black, Jewish, Arab, and Christian Student Associations.

Speakers included Dr. Bayakly, head of a local mosque; Calvin Allen, the Associate Director of the International Programs at Memphis; Erica Chung, President of the International Student Organization; the head of the Indian Student Association; and myself for News and Letters Committees.

On Sept. 21 VFP met again and broke down into seven working committees, including ones on the media, racism, and children. Missing in VFP meetings is place for discussion, even though it is clear there are many different ideas about the meaning of Sept. 11 as well as what is the best way to respond.

Topics we plan to take up in the future include educating ourselves on the Muslim religion and the history of Afghanistan, and analyses of Sept. 11 issued by Left and progressive Christian organizations.

—Terry Moon

CHICAGO CONTRADICTIONS

Chicago—The effort to oppose Bush's drive to war seemed to get off to a good start in Chicago on Sept. 18, when 400 attended a meeting at the University of Illinois. The event was called by the Direct Action Network. The small group formats and report-backs allowed for a lot of discussion. The general sense was that people didn't want a typical anti-war coalition but a "movement for human dignity" that opposed Bush's drive for war, the Sept. 11 bombings, and all efforts to take us backward on racism, sexism, and civil rights.

The inhumanity of class society

(Continued from page 10)

It isn't just that the perpetrators of the Sept. 11 attack have played into Bush's hands. Bush's drive for "permanent war" against "terrorism," with him even calling this a "new crusade," also plays directly into the hands of bin Laden.

These seeming opposites, Bush and bin Laden, are not so opposite. They are the reverse mirror image of one another. The other of the other turns out to be...the same. Just as bin Laden's acts strengthen Bush, so Bush's indiscriminate military intervention provides bin Laden with what he wants—a prolonged war between "Muslims" and the West.

TWO WORLDS IN EACH COUNTRY

Yes, U.S. imperialism is a terrible force which wreaks enormous destruction throughout the world. And yes, the U.S. is implicated in the crimes against humanity of the Taliban and bin Laden—the CIA supported bin Laden when he fought the Russians and U.S. aid to the Taliban in the 1980s enabled it to eventually come to power.

But by the same token, these forces are implicated in the crimes of the U.S. Islamic fundamentalism has again and again strengthened U.S. imperialism by taking actions which have undermined revolutionary forces and solidified counter-revolutionary policies.

This was true in 1979, when the taking of hostages at the U.S. embassy in Iran by Islamic fundamentalists helped Reagan achieve political ascendancy. That is true today, when an anti-feminist, homophobic fundamentalism of an even more reactionary bent is breathing new life into the inheritors of Reaganism.

Those fighting for human liberation need to make it clear that the attack of Sept. 11 was not a viable protest or response to the U.S. or any of the atrocities it perpetrates around the world. To even hint otherwise is an attack on freedom movements in the U.S. and internationally and can result only in further isolating leftists from the masses.

For its part, the Taliban no more speaks for Muslims or Afghans than does its ideological twin, Jerry Falwell, speak for the American masses. There are two worlds in every country, including in Afghanistan.

The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan declared, "There is a vast difference between the poor, devastated people of Afghanistan and the terrorist Taliban criminals. While we announce our solidarity and deep sorrow with the people of the U.S., we also believe that attacking Afghanistan and killing its ruined and destitute people will not in any way decrease the grief of the American people. We hope that the great American people could differentiate between the people of Afghanistan and a handful of fundamentalist terrorists."

It is no less imperative to single out the two worlds in this country. We need to decisively reject the argument, recently made by an anarchist, that "The American populace to a large extent shares responsibility for the deaths of their compatriots, as they share responsibility for all the deaths carried out by or in the interests of the U.S. military."

BEYOND 'ANTI-IMPERIALISM'

The notion that reactionary opponents of U.S. imperialism are the "lesser evil" has for far too long disoriented would-be revolutionaries. It has led them into opportunism and *realpolitik*, distancing them from the aspirations of the masses of human beings for genuine liberation. In recent years, such attitudes have caused a section of the Left to betray the Bosnian and Koso-

However, at the the end of the meeting—after half had already left—a member of the International Socialist Organization proposed that the group constitute itself as an "anti-war coalition" and meet the next Saturday to make plans for a city-wide action.

The meeting the next Saturday, attended by 200 and dominated by members of vanguardist leftist groups, had a very different tenor than the Sept. 19 event. DAN proposed an agenda starting with a discussion of "principles of unity." Before there could be any discussion of this, however, many insisted that the group first set a date for a demonstration.

When the meeting finally got around to discussing "principles of unity," it settled on three slogans: oppose Bush's drive to war; oppose racist attacks; and oppose attacks on civil liberties.

A member of News and Letters Committees then took the floor to say that there is one "principle" we must include or else whatever we do will come to naught: namely we have to "unequivocally condemn the Sept. 11 attacks." This

was voted down—on the grounds that such a statement would "dilute" the group's anti-imperialist message!

Even more incredibly, another motion saying "we mourn the victims of the Sept. 11 disaster" was also voted down, though at least a third there voted for it (the majority of the youth, independent women, students, and people of color voted for both motions).

Many of the younger anti-globalization activists did not take the floor, even though the vanguardists were hijacking their efforts right before their eyes. In the end, an "anti-war" coalition was created that couldn't even bring itself to condemn the bombings or even extend sympathy to the dead!

The demonstration held the next Monday, Sept. 24, was hardly inspiring. Only 250 were there, and virtually no passers-by joined the demonstration.

The limitations of this effort to narrow the opposition to Bush's drive to war to

a handful of slogans against U.S. imperialism was not lost on the *Tribune* and *Sun Times*, which ran articles trying to ridicule the demonstration for not mentioning the need to solidarize with the victims of the Sept. 11 disaster.

Despite this unfortunate turn of events, many activists and thinkers in the Chicago area are now discussing taking actions to ensure that opposition to Bush's drive to war will not be separated from a movement for human dignity.

—Anti-war activist

LOS ANGELES MOBILIZES

Los Angeles—On Sept. 22, 400 anti-war activists gathered at the West Los Angeles Federal Building to protest Bush's ultimatum for military mobilization and the threat of prolonged war. There were signs like "War is Not the Answer" and "War = Terrorism x 100."

Reactions by people in passing autos varied. Many were curious and many more people acknowledged support for the protesters than against. For each automobile that flew an American flag, 10 to 15 did not.

As much as the protesters detested the terrorist attacks, they see the Bush administration's military response as ineffective in stopping terrorism, as creating a climate for future terrorist acts, as killing and maiming of thousands of innocent civilians, and risking the lives of many U.S. military personnel.

—Basho

BAY AREA BATTLES RACISM

Oakland, Cal.—On Sept. 12, 700 Bay Area residents gathered at Snow Park in answer to a call for solidarity with Arab-Americans and Muslims following numerous assaults, death threats and actual murders in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks. Organizers, mostly Black, Asian and Latino youth, emphasized that it was important that people of color show up.

A woman from the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee read a statement expressing shock and anger at the brutality of the attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C. Abdul Rahman Zahzah of Students for Justice in Palestine told of Arab American and Muslim students at Cal-Berkeley being subjected to threatening phone calls and verbal assaults.

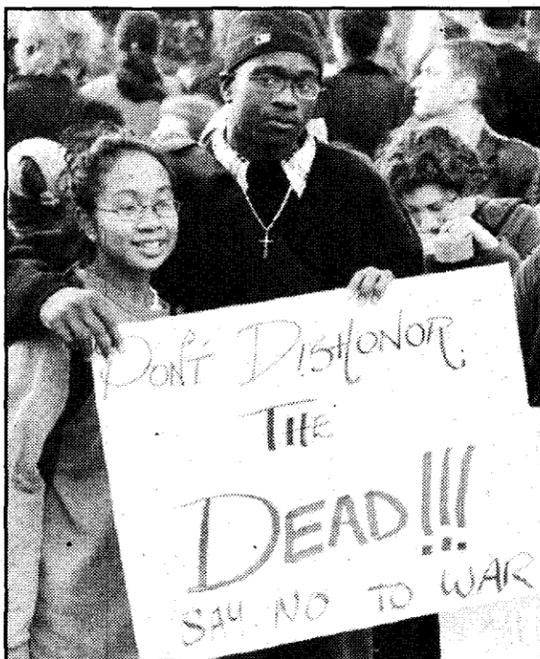
Bay Area African American activist Van Jones said, "We have a special responsibility to oppose any and all acts of scapegoating and hatred and discrimination against our Arab sisters and brothers. I say this because we have all taken a turn at being the darkie they love to hate." He concluded, "We've got something stronger than bombs... We have solidarity. That idea of revolutionary change—is stronger than bombs."

Lisa Nakamura, whose parents and grandparents had been interned in a U.S. concentration camp during World War II, expressed her solidarity with those communities under racist attack. The following night her organization, Yonsei Network, sponsored a peace gathering at Japantown in San Francisco to urge the Japanese-American community to stand in unity with the Arab, Muslim and South Asian communities.

The following night the Snow Park rally organizers and 60 attendees, most of whom were barely out of their teens, met to form the 9.11 Solidarity Committee. A man from Afghanistan argued that we should solidarize with Arabs and non-Arabs alike, since non-Arab nations such as Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran are as likely to be U.S. military targets as any Arab nation.

In the next few days new alliances and coalitions formed. Cal-Berkeley's Stop the War Coalition held the biggest campus rally on National Student Day of Action, Sept. 20. More than 3,000 jammed Sproul Plaza to cheer on speakers who called for an end to U.S. military violence in the Third World, an end to racial scapegoating, and defense of civil liberties.

—David Mizuno'Oto



Protest in Union Square, New York City

Peter Hocher/Independent Media Center

var people, and tacitly to give support to Milosevic's genocide.

The lesser-evilism which underlays much of the Left's silence on Bosnia, and its refusal to support the movement for national self-determination in Kosova, has only succeeded in strengthening the power of U.S. imperialism. The reason so many despair of the struggle for freedom and turn to national chauvinism, xenophobia and statism is that they see no liberatory alternative to capitalism. Instead of responding to each political crisis by repeating the same old slogans against "U.S. imperialism," revolutionaries have a responsibility to oppose all societies and tendencies based on alienated human relations while projecting a positive vision of a new society, what Karl Marx called "positive humanism, beginning from itself." Only in that way can humanity see that there is an alternative to capitalism-imperialism.

In a word, those opposing Bush's drive for war need to take this moment to stop and think.

Nowhere is that more important than for the movement against global capital, which reached a turning point in Genoa this summer. The atmosphere descending upon this country is such that many are asking whether the opening reached in the movement will be shut down. But the answer to this is not to just beat the drum for more activity, as if repeating familiar criticisms of U.S. policy will by itself suffice.

Nor is the answer to "transform" the anti-globalization movement into an anti-war movement, as if we should return to the politics of old. The greatness of the anti-globalization movement is that it contains a deeper and broader message, open to an array of struggles and forces. To narrow the anti-globalization movement to the stance of traditional coalitions of old will only play into the hands of the vanguardists.

The vanguardists will be able to win out, however, so long as the movement keeps its distance from the ideas which can enable it to project a positive vision of total human liberation.

We live at a moment when political opposition must have a total view in order to be effective. We must take a firm stand against all forms of injustice, whether propagated by terrorists, U.S. imperialism, or by anyone else, while developing a comprehensive perspective of the new human relations we are for. Never has dialogue and debate on the need for a philosophy of revolution been more important, not alone for the forward movement of the struggles against global capital, but for their very existence.

As two colleagues of ours wrote in response to our initial statement on the two-fold disaster of Sept. 11:

"The savage assaults of Sept. 11 are not the opposite of capitalism and imperialism, but their reverse mirror image. Epistemologically, the new jingoism and the new jihad are on equal footing: both are fundamentalisms, and both bring forth the intrinsically violent character of all fundamentalisms, as the thought gives rise to the deed. A genuinely dialectical opposition to capitalism and imperialism will not stop short at any 'first negation' that happens to come along: this abstract point finds its concrete dialectical image in the reactionary figure of an Osama bin Laden. The dialectical opponent is as equally obligated to 'negate this negation,' that is, to criticize the irrationality, the insanity and inhumanity of this blind reaction. If the Left equivocates in this critical task, it will only be to its further discredit and marginalization. However much Bush and bin Laden seem made for each other, neither is made for the future we can still project through the darkness of this High Noon."

October 1, 2001

Our Life and Times

Palestinian-Israeli conflict after Sept. 11

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Immediately following the horrific terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, the reactionary Israeli government of Ariel Sharon took advantage of the situation to escalate its attacks on Palestinians. According to a report published on Sept. 14 in *The New York Times*, a newspaper that is hardly a strong critic of Israel: "A total of 13 Palestinians have died and dozens have been wounded in fighting in Jenin and neighboring villages this week, in what has become the most sustained Israeli operation since the start of the Palestinian uprising nearly a year ago."

Given the Middle Eastern connection to the attacks

Rwanda's genocide

It is seven years since the Rwandan genocide of 1994 when 800,000 people in this small Central African country, mainly from the Tutsi minority, were slaughtered by the *interahamwe*, a government militia based among the country's Hutu majority, in the worst instance of genocide since Hitler.

Some 17 trials are now underway in Arusha, Tanzania under the auspices of the United Nations International Tribunal for Rwanda. One of those on trial is a Seventh-Day Adventist minister, Elizaphan Ntakirutama. According to numerous eyewitnesses, Ntakirutama helped the *interahamwe* surround some 5,000 people who had taken refuge in his church, and then joined in the killing.

One would think that an American lawyer with liberal or left credentials would find other things to do than represent a man like Ntakirutama—defending Mumia Abu-Jamal, for example. But that is what Ramsey Clark has done over the past five years. Clark managed to delay extradition from the U.S. through the Texas courts for five years, after Ntakirutama took refuge there. (Texas judges opposed international jurisdiction in any case.)

Why is Clark not being exposed in the liberal or left press as a former progressive who now spends his time trying to help perpetrators of genocide escape their fate? Is the Left's vision of freedom really that narrow, or does it simply not care about Africa?

Egyptian gays jailed

A 15-year-old Egyptian youth was sentenced on Sept. 19 to three years in prison for "homosexuality" and "debauchery," the first verdict to come out of the arrest of 52 men last May in a police raid at a Cairo riverboat club, a popular gay gathering place.

Though there is no law against homosexuality in Egypt, and all the men except two were charged with misdemeanor offenses, they were nonetheless brought before the Emergency State Security Court usually reserved for those who have offended "national security." There is no possible appeal.

The media has whipped up homophobia together with anti-west sentiments by publishing articles linking gays to "Zionism," and headlines blaring "Become a pervert to please Uncle Sam." Extremist religious commentators have stated that Islam requires the execution of gays. Unfortunately, mainstream Egyptian human rights organizations have denied support to the men on trial.

Protests against the trials were held on Aug. 15 in New York, San Francisco and Geneva, and international support has been organized by Al-Fatiha and other gay and lesbian organizations. For more information on the trial, see www.GayEgypt.com, and Amnesty International, www.amnesty.org.

on New York and Washington, and the ghoulish display of joy by some Palestinian demonstrators in Jerusalem and Ramallah, the war criminal Sharon evidently felt that he would now receive even greater U.S. support for his attempts at a military solution to the Palestinian uprising. Perhaps he even dreamed of a repeat of the large-scale massacres he had orchestrated in Beirut in 1982.

However, as the Bush administration geared up for war in Afghanistan, it wanted Israeli attacks on Arabs and Muslims off the TV screens. But Sharon did not give in easily to U.S. pressure and kept up the bloodletting as long as he could. After a full week of stonewalling, Israel finally agreed to halt its military offensives in response to a truce called by Palestinian Authority President Yasir Arafat, yet Israel soon violated the truce by killing six more Palestinians.

One thing that undercut Sharon in U.S. eyes was



Women and men, Jews and Arabs, participated in a demonstration at the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv, Sept. 21, called by the Women's Coalition for Peace.

Serb war criminals

Indicted war criminals Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, directly responsible for the 1995 Srebrenica massacre of 7,000 Bosnian Muslim men, as well as for the notorious rape camps, still remain at large nearly six months after the new Serbian government arrested Slobodan Milosevic.

The reasons behind this reveal the limited character of the changes in Serbia in the year since the overthrow of Milosevic. As late as this summer, the two remained extremely popular. It is said that, unlike Milosevic, these men did not murder Serbs, ignoring of course those Serbs who threw in their lot with multi-ethnic Bosnia. In addition, most Serbs continue to deny that their forces perpetrated genocide in Bosnia.

An aide to current Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic stated a few months ago that the government was reluctant to arrest Mladic and Karadzic because anyone who ordered those arrests "knows that he would be signing his own death warrant" (*Le Monde* July 26, 2001). The pair also spends considerable time in the Serbian entity in Bosnia, under the noses of NATO, but according to a European NATO officer: "Americans oppose an arrest not because of the risks to the commandos, because the British or French are ready to conduct the operation without them, but because they fear reprisals and attacks. Karadzic and Mladic are, in the eyes of NATO and of Belgrade, protected by their status as heroes of 'Greater Serbia'."

how Arafat immediately made strong public statements unequivocally condemning the terror attacks of Sept. 11. Moreover, the Bush administration, desperate for Arab or Muslim allies against Osama bin Laden, had its own reasons for adjusting its attitude toward the Palestinians.

As recently as August, the U.S. was allowing Sharon to run wild, as were the supposedly more progressive Labor Party members of his government coalition. That month, Sharon launched new attacks on Palestinian towns with U.S.-supplied jets, tanks, and missiles. Israel also assassinated top Palestinian political leaders. Most provocatively, on Aug. 10 it closed down Orient House, the unofficial Palestinian Authority headquarters in East Jerusalem.

This latter move, interpreted as an effort to undermine any possibility of Palestinian rule over East Jerusalem, led to protest demonstrations that included both Palestinians and Israeli peace activists. By Sept. 3, 62 Israeli youths had also signed a statement promising to resist the draft because they refused "to take part in acts of oppression against the Palestinian people."

The closing of Orient House was said to be a reprisal for a suicide bombing by an Islamic fundamentalist that killed 14 Israelis at a pizzeria. Using an argument familiar to all who oppose police killings in America, Israel has tried to portray itself as a peace-loving victim of Palestinian terror, but the facts show that the vast majority of the 700 killed in the past year have been Palestinian civilians. In addition, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians live in a state of near-permanent lockdown—unable to get to work, to the hospital, to school, to visit the next town—even inside the areas supposedly under Palestinian rule.

Until Sept. 11, the Bush administration distanced itself from the Palestinians, seeming to give Sharon a green light. For example, Vice President Dick Cheney declared in early August that he saw some justification for Israel's policy of assassinations. The U.S. also blocked a United Nations Security Council resolution that would have called for an international protection force to separate Israeli and Palestinian forces.

With the U.S. now backtracking and with the Palestinian Authority anxious to distance itself from terrorism and fundamentalism, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has clearly entered a new phase.

VW anti-worker pact

In Germany, the powerful autoworkers' union, IG Metall, agreed in August to the "5,000x5,000" formula proposed by Volkswagen. It passed only with personal intervention from Social Democrat Chancellor Schröder. Under this plan, VW agreed to create 5,000 new jobs, primarily tied to a new mini-van project, to be paid at the prevailing wage of 5,000 dm (\$2,350).

In exchange, VW is allowed to extract seven more work hours per week, up from 35 to 42, before overtime pay becomes mandatory. VW will be able to compile up to 200 more of these hours over the standard 35-hour work week now in place for autoworkers. Saturday shifts will be scheduled for these VW workers, and for the whole auto industry, workers now will no longer get paid breaks.

This anti-worker agreement breaks the pattern of industry-wide bargaining in auto. It is similar to the way in which in the U.S. GM and the UAW reached an "agreement" for the Saturn auto venture in Tennessee, before the first worker was ever hired to work in the plant.

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

Who We Are And What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that since its birth has stood for the abolition of capitalism, both in its private property form as in the U.S., and its state property form, as it has historically appeared in state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist as in Russia and China. We stand for the development of new human relations, what Marx first 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 from below 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, became Chairwoman of the

National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works, *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today* (1958), *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

This body of ideas challenges all those desiring freedom to transcend the limitations of post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels. In light of the crises of our nuclearly armed world, it becomes imperative not only to reject

what is, but to reveal and further develop the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present. The new visions of the future which Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her discovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a new Humanism and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as Marxist-Humanism. This is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development*.

Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of her creation and development of Marxist-Humanism, especially as expressed in her 1980s writings, presents the vantage point for re-creating her ideas anew. Seeking to grasp that vantage point for ourselves and make it available to all who struggle for freedom, we have published Dunayevskaya's original 1953 philosophic breakthrough and her final 1987

Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (1989), and donated new supplementary volumes to *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*. News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time.

In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, heterosexist, class-ridden society, we have organized ourselves into 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 copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.