

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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50¢

WORKSHOP TALKS

One-sided unity

by Htun Lin

While workers all across the country continue to suffer from the ongoing fall-out of the terrorist attacks on U.S. citizens, the Bush administration wasted no time granting billions of dollars in corporate welfare to bail out the major airlines. But these same companies in turn wasted no time laying off tens of thousands of workers, even while posturing for national "unity" in the wake of the disaster.

The CEO of Boeing told the *Wall Street Journal* he had enough "market data" to lay off Boeing workers. Low-wage service workers in hotels and restaurants in tourist centers such as Las Vegas, San Francisco and New York City are being hit the hardest.

This is happening just when we have seen two decades of severe cutbacks in the social safety net and when the prevailing ideology is that workers are responsible for their own safety net. Now Bush is spending our Social Security money on war. This was supposed to be our collective nest egg secured in a "lock-box" during the Presidential campaign. Further, Bush wants more tax cuts for the rich.

Corporate media outlets are now editorializing against union workers, such as the 230 members of AFSCME Local 3993 who threatened to strike against BART, the San Francisco Bay Area's rapid transit system. The impasse is not over money but rather workers' concern over eroding job security. As one worker said, "What good is a raise without a job?"

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BLACK/RED

VIEW

Blacks in wartime

by John Alan

"No heaven is reached at the end of the highway of all other stages of alienation. The needed revolutions never end."—Raya Dunayevskaya, *Philosophy and Revolution*.

After the terrorist bombings of Sept. 11, Congress gave President Bush extraordinary powers to make war and curtail civil liberties in this country. There was only one opposing vote; it came from Barbara Lee, the African-American congresswoman who said: "Let us not become the evil that we deplore." Ms. Barbara Lee undoubtedly will be remembered in history for her opposition to Bush's war, in her words, "in the general interest of humanity."

Now there is the usual ideological and political pressure to create "national unity" behind President Bush. In practice this has always meant the curtailment or outright suppression of any serious open critique of the policies of the government. As John Conyers, the dean of the Congressional Black Caucus put it: "Historically, it has been at times of inflamed passion and national anger that our civil liberties proved to be at greatest risk, and the unpopular group of the moment was subject to prejudice and deprivation of liberty. In 1798, Congress enacted the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts, making it a federal crime to criticize the government. In 1861, at the beginning of the Civil War, President Lincoln suspended habeas corpus...Ulysses S. Grant sought to expel Jews from Southern states. World War II brought about the shameful internment of Japanese Americans, which even the Supreme Court failed to overturn."

Those reactionary political acts by presidents, Congresses and courts cannot be hidden by any mythic concept of social unity. African Americans have carried on a ceaseless struggle against racism and oppression in this country. It has been a life and death struggle both in peacetime and in wartime. Today, we need to take a brief look at what happened in the thought and

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War, Islamic fundamentalism grip Middle East, South Asia

by Kevin A. Barry

A new phase of the post-Sept. 11 conflict began when the U.S. bombs began to fall on Afghanistan Oct. 7. Dozens, if not hundreds, of innocent Afghan civilians have been killed already. The U.S. also launched commando raids.

As the bombs fell, not a single leader of Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda or Afghanistan's ruling Taliban was hit, but the food supply of the already famine-ridden Afghan people was seriously disrupted. The respected human rights organization Doctors Without Borders was quick to note both the incongruity of U.S. air drops of food along with bombs and the fact that such measures could only deliver a fraction of the food that U.N. trucks had been taking in beforehand. It is a virtual certainty that thousands of civilians will starve this winter.

At home, the U.S. was hit with biological terrorism in the form of anthrax-laden letters addressed to prominent people in the government and the media. These inhuman attacks—whose source is still unknown—have so far killed only working people. The class nature of capitalist society was plain for all to see as two of those murdered were postal workers, whom the government unconscionably failed to protect. They had ordered anthrax tests for everyone at the White House and Congress, but failed to take the same measures for the workers whose hands had delivered the anthrax-ridden letters to them.

Fear of terrorism has given a big opening to the Right. George Bush, installed by the Supreme Court even though he lost the popular vote, has been immeasurably strengthened. At the same time, we are facing "national security" laws, as well as a government-



University teachers protest against U.S. attacks and against religious bigotry, Oct. 22 in Karachi, Pakistan.

fanned backlash against critics, of a type not seen since McCarthyism.

Consider also the FBI's bizarre "definition" of terrorism, which includes the following outrageous statement found on their website: "The second category of domestic terrorists, left-wing groups, generally profess a revolutionary socialist doctrine." One wonders how many resources America's political police expended on surveillance of the anti-globalization, anti-capitalist movement, during the very months when, seemingly unknown to them, Mohammad Atta and others were finalizing their plans.

CHANGED WORLD SINCE SEPTEMBER 11

Since Sept. 11, we all live in a changed world. First and most obvious is the new stage reached by Islamic fundamentalist terrorism. It announced itself in a series of coordinated actions: the horrific Sept. 11 attacks on New York and Washington, D.C. themselves; the assassination two days earlier, also in a suicide attack, of their chief military rival inside

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Un-Columbus Day in Denver

Denver—The Transform Columbus Day Alliance (TCD) declared that Columbus Day, which began in Colorado in 1905, would end in Colorado as well. The Alliance is an on-going project bringing together a conglomeration of about 80 local organizations, including Native Americans, Chicanos, Jews, anti-globalization youth and others. They delivered on plans to celebrate cultural diversity and shut down the local Columbus Day march.

Recent years have exposed conflict over the celebration of Columbus, who in his own diaries outlined his torturous and murderous acts committed against indigenous people he encountered. He made no secret about his intentions to initiate a slave trade and usurp gold for his own personal fortune.

In Denver, Native Americans had organized since 1989 to end Columbus Day celebrations, culminating in a 1992 mobilization of 6000 people that effectively shut down the 500-year anniversary event. Columbus supporters took that as a sign and did not try to organize another march until last year when 147 protesters were arrested trying to block the marchers' path. Those arrestees, mostly Native American women, set the stage for a more concerted year-long community organizing effort that set out to celebrate ethnic and cultural diversity and end the Columbus Day march once again.

Two events marked the Transform Columbus Day weekend. Saturday Oct. 6 featured the "Four Directions March." This four-in-one march was born from a vision of two local Native American women. Mini-marches started from each of the four cardinal directions on the edges of Denver and moved toward the Capitol Building. Men carrying eagle feather staffs, and young women holding sacred pipes led each march. Aztec or Plains style dancing and drumming followed close behind. The marches were color-coded according to the four sacred colors of Native American tradition: red (east), black (west), yellow (north) and white (south). When the marches merged at the intersection in front of the state capitol, the drums from each group were joined in the center and many cere-

monial songs were sung. The AIM song was also sung before everyone flooded the capitol steps.

Police presence was over-bearing and hostile. The *Denver Post* reported the city paid \$70,000 in police overtime. In the Red March, police tried to arrest a young punk-rocker because he was wearing a studded wrist-band. The crowd gathered round and un-arrested the youth. Much police attention was paid to the black-bloc, which marched from the west with the rest of the Black march. The bloc organized themselves using defensive tactics and other marchers did a good job looking out for each other. March security, comprised of former Chicano and Native gang members, were vigilant, disciplined and served as further deterrent to potential police provocation. Although some mask wearing black-blocers were harassed by police as the march dispersed, there were no arrests.

The second major action of the weekend was the Monday mobilization to prevent the Columbus Day march. Again \$40,000 of police protection was provided by the city, along with a march permit. Transform Columbus Day organizers, who had been in constant dialogue with the city and pro-Columbus groups, maintained throughout that while expressions of "Italian pride" were fine, the TCD Alliance would "make a presence" at any march with a reference to Columbus. The Alliance made good on their promise when about 250 anti-Columbus protesters gathered on the Capitol steps, prepared to move in the direction of the permitted march.

In the end, the pro-Columbus Day faction split in half and the march permit-holder organized no more than a priest and 30 Catholic school students saying the rosary. The marchers carried no reference to Columbus. The day was transformed! However, a group called the Sons of Italy held a small pro-Columbus barbeque at a nearby park and vowed to obtain a march permit next year. The diverse Transform Columbus Day Alliance showed no signs of backing down from their demands and will certainly be prepared for next year's showdown.

—Paul Pollack

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Women demand a more profound anti-war movement

by Sonia Bergonzi

Just before Bush dropped the first bombs on Afghanistan, over 200 people crowded into a little room to officially create Chicago's anti-war coalition. As I sat through the meeting, I was hurled back to the anti-Gulf War movement of 1990-91 where people voted down including the following in the coalition's statement of principles: "We stand in solidarity with women's liberationists nationally and internationally."

This time, in the movement against the 2001 "war against terrorism," there was no proposal that explicitly sought to include women's freedom in our principles of unity, although there should have been. The proposal that was horrifically voted down this time was to "unequivocally condemn the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11." These are the reasons people gave for opposing it: "It would be playing into Bush's racism," and it would "shift the focus away from the real enemy," that is, U.S. imperialism.

MISPLACED SOLIDARITY

What became clear is that the "anti-imperialists" who expressed this view actually find more affinity with the fundamentalist terrorists for their alleged anti-imperialism than they do with the people who are fighting for freedom. Their position is a total slap in the face to all of humanity but especially to the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), who put their lives on the line every day, who exist to fight for freedom from fundamentalist terrorism.

What's worse is that their refusal to condemn the fundamentalist terrorist attacks writes off RAWA, the voice of freedom, and therefore cuts off the pathways, both theoretically and practically, towards building revolutionary solidarity that could impact the international movements for freedom. RAWA compels us to ask what kind of a world we are fighting for.

They challenge the idea that all we need to do as revolutionaries is to fight against the U.S. government and economic policies. The tendencies that refused to vote to condemn the attacks do so because they are divorced from any philosophic concept of freedom.

The same was experienced during the genocide in Bosnia, and again in Kosova. It was feminists who organized to stop the genocidal rapes, who created international solidarity groups to empower, counsel, and aid these women. That part of the Left that is so blinded by its narrow view of who the real enemy is denied the rapes, called women liars, and denied genocide had happened at all. Many felt that because Milosevic was a former "communist," he was a foe to capitalism. He wasn't the "real" enemy. But I doubt the thousands who were tortured in rape camps, massacred and forced to flee their homes realized that.

While feminists know that the call to "fight the real enemy" has always ended in putting off freedom and has served to denigrate and stifle our struggles, what has not been worked out is the development of a different vision of the future, of what freedom would actually be like. During the Gulf War, for example, we feminists couldn't articulate to ourselves as clearly as we needed to that to "stand in solidarity with women's liberationists nationally and internationally" meant that we were fighting for a totally different world and that we weren't going to buy into the "real enemy" ploy.

Because we couldn't envision that new society without going to Marx's philosophy to comprehend and develop the logical movement of our own thought and

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

A harsh reminder that a woman's right to choose includes not only abortion, but the right to have a child, was seen this year in the impoverished mountain region of Huaiji in China. The provincial authorities in Guangdong ordered that county of less than one million people to perform 20,000 abortions and sterilizations during the last six months to enforce their one-child-only policy. County officials cut workers' already paltry wages in half to get money to buy portable ultrasound equipment to carry to remote villages to forcibly test all women for pregnancy and conduct abortions on the spot! Doctors were also ordered to sterilize women as soon as they gave birth after "officially approved" pregnancies.

An Islamic fundamentalist court in the state of Sokoto in Nigeria sentenced a 30-year-old pregnant woman to death by stoning in late October for engaging in premarital sex. It was the first time a woman was ordered murdered since right-wing fundamentalists took over a dozen northern Nigerian states within the last two years.

In the seemingly never-ending game of blaming women for every plague on your house, in September Swaziland's King Mswati III "responded" to that country's AIDS epidemic by ordering all unmarried teenage girls (but not boys) to abstain from sex for five years and publicly identify themselves with green-and-yellow tassels. Married teen girls are exempt, but must wear red-and-black tassels.

desire, we were unprepared to respond to the charges leveled against us.

CHALLENGE TO FEMINISTS

These charges included that we were "cultural imperialists," and that we "threatened to divide and shrink the movement" by angering fundamentalists who oppose women's freedom and who therefore wouldn't come out to demonstrate with us against the war. We were also unable to argue why it was false that feminism has "nothing to do with being anti-war" except to cite how women were specifically affected by war. We never got to the freedom part, to what it means to fight

for human liberation and what that freedom would look like.

So here we are today in 2001: "If you want to get Muslims out to an anti-war demonstration, you can't say you oppose the terrorist attacks." (What planet was he on?) But the fetish is the same—numbers, numbers, numbers to fight the real enemy. We'll never get to freedom with this narrow view. For feminists and others to fight this, we need to be armed with a philosophic con-

ception of a very different kind of world.

The fragmentation of ideas and movements represented by the "fight the real enemy" stance is exactly what humanity struggles against under capitalist society. We want to be whole, not body parts separated from our brains and emotions—whether on the street, in the home, on the job or in the movement. Those who refuse to condemn the terrorist attacks can't aid us in our quest for creating a whole new world.

For more on Women, History, Philosophy and Revolution, Order:

Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future

by Raya Dunayevskaya

See page 7 to order

Other America welcomes other Afghanistan

New York—More than 500 feminists, anti-war activists and leftists jammed Judson Church on Oct. 28 to hear and welcome Tahmeena Faryal of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). Faryal received a standing ovation after describing RAWA's courageous work to improve the horrible conditions that girls and women live under in Afghanistan.

RAWA illegally educates Afghan girls and women, and provides medical care and aid to them in Afghanistan and in Pakistan, where many refugees of Afghan wars reside. Faryal also stressed that RAWA is a political organization. Today it opposes the U.S. bombing of its country, and the Islamic fundamentalism of both the Taliban government and the U.S.-backed Northern Alliance. Earlier, it fought the decade-long Soviet occupation of their country.

The solidarity meeting for RAWA was organized on short notice by the New York News and Letters Committee. Although there was little publicity—mostly e-mail announcements and word of mouth—the sanctuary of Judson Church was filled to more than capacity. Dozens of people had to be turned away. The overflow crowd was proof of the intense interest in Afghanistan since Sept. 11, and of people's eagerness to try to figure out what to do to prevent more killing.

People came to the meeting from as far away as Boston and Albany. Noted feminist writers Kate Millet, Phyllis Chessler, Jessica Neuwirth, and Ellen Willis were in attendance. There were many young feminists, including many of Middle Eastern and South Asian descent.

Billed as "The Other America Welcomes the Other Afghanistan," the meeting was an attempt to establish a people-to-people, revolutionary ground for the new anti-war movement here. The audience's enormous enthusiasm for the ideas expressed by Faryal, and support for those of the News and Letters speaker, Anne Jaclard, indicate that the meeting may have some meaning for the future of the anti-war movement. The 23 co-sponsors of the meeting included the two new anti-war coalitions that have sprung up in New York since Sept. 11, as well as Direct Action Network, NOW-NYC, a new support group called Women for Afghan Women, Women in Black-N.Y., the Brecht Forum and its Hegel class, groups of South Asian women, artists, and activists, Anjoman Azadi (Iranian Marxist-Humanists in exile), Theater of the Oppressed Laboratory, and more.

Anne Jaclard issued a welcome, calling this international solidarity meeting historic because its U.S. and Afghan participants had come together to oppose their own governments, just two miles from the World Trade Center and less than two months after the terrorist attack. She noted that some people had asked the meaning of "the other America" and "the other Afghanistan" in the title of the meeting. "Other," she explained, refers to the two worlds within each country, the world of the rulers and that of ordinary people, whose aspirations for individual freedom, safety and a whole new way of life are shared across boundaries, and form the impetus for global change.

"RAWA's work means not only hope for social revolution in Afghanistan," Jaclard continued, "but also gives hope to women everywhere who are struggling to redefine our relation to society, to each other and to ourselves—to become whole human beings. RAWA's idea of Women's Liberation can inspire other 'others,' the second world within each country, including the people of the U.S."

Tahmeena Faryal began by expressing RAWA's sorrow over the Sept. 11 deaths, and described her country's grief during the past 22 years. Afghanistan has

been at war since the Russians invaded in 1979; the Russians killed two million people before being driven out in 1989. But "anti-democratic, misogynist, terroristic fundamentalists" then took over the country, backed by the U.S. and other Western nations. "They committed crimes

unprecedented in modern history," she said, including many rapes and abductions of women.

The Taliban, who gained control of the country in 1996, imposed even more restrictions on women and men, said Faryal. Women were driven out of all jobs and schools, and forbidden to leave their homes except when completely covered up and accompanied by a male relative.

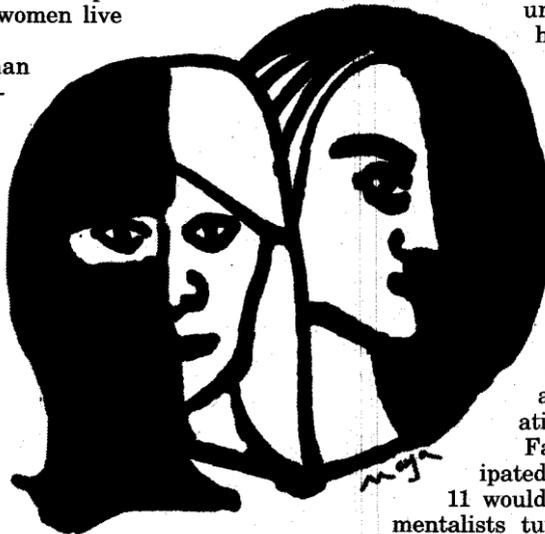
Faryal said RAWA had anticipated that something like Sept. 11 would happen when the funda-

mentalists turned against those countries like the U.S. that had formerly backed them, until the outside powers could no longer control them.

RAWA began in 1987, and remains the only women's political organization in the country, according to Faryal. It operates completely underground. It provides health care that is otherwise non-existent for women. With the economy in ruins, the average life span has been reduced to 43, and the infant mortality rate is the highest in the world. RAWA also establishes small handicraft centers that employ widows, and supplies money to impoverished families who would otherwise survive only by what their children can scavenge in garbage dumps. For these "children of garbage," Faryal said, many only six or seven years old, just having a notebook and pencil is usually only a dream.

Responding to questions, Faryal said that RAWA survives through the contributions of individuals. Having "revolution" in its name scares away most sources of funding. RAWA welcomes support from all organizations that oppose both the Taliban and the other fundamentalists, such as those now being touted by the U.S. She explained that none of the fundamentalists have popular support. RAWA calls for a democratic secular state. If other countries stopped funding the fundamentalists, Faryal said, they would fall at once.

—N.Y. News and Letters Committee Members



RAWA in Chicago

At the Hothouse
"The Other America Welcomes the Other Afghanistan"
31 E. Balbo
(between Wabash and State)
Friday, Nov. 9, 6 p.m.

At Harold Washington Library
Panel discussion: "The Struggle for Women's Emancipation in South Asia and the Middle East"
400 S. State St.
Saturday, Nov. 10, 2 p.m.

Call: 312-236-0799

Tomato pickers on Taco Bell boycott

Memphis, Tenn.—Workers and supporters of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers wound up a national tour at a meeting here. The workers, from Mexico, Central America, Haiti and the U.S., pick tomatoes in the fields of southwest Florida.

Francisca—We're not paid for the hours we wait for the tomato plants to dry and to find work. They don't start paying us until we fill a bucket with 32 to 35 pounds of tomatoes. We're paid 40 to 45 cents per bucket. If it's a good day and it's not raining, I work all day and make maybe \$45 or \$50 for picking two tons of tomatoes.

Once you get home, you have to get in line to get into the shower because we live in a trailer with 10 people. We live in these bad conditions because of unfair wages. We're focusing our struggle on Taco Bell because we know they can afford to pay one penny more per pound for the tomatoes we pick, to be passed on to the pickers. That would almost double what we earn. We haven't had a raise in 20 years.

Lucas—You may work 100 hours one week and 10

the next. We know from our lives as well as from a Department of Labor study that the average income of a farmworker is \$7,500 to \$8,000 a year. Farmworkers aren't included in the law that permits workers to organize and we don't get paid overtime.

For years we focused direct actions on the growers we work for. We haven't been able to create enough pressure to force them to sit at the table for dialogue. So we followed the tomatoes. Taco Bell buys 16 million pounds of tomatoes a year.

First we politely sent a letter to Taco Bell in January 2000. We waited for a whole year and didn't get an answer. In January 2001 we sent a second letter. They didn't answer that

either. So in April we announced the official national boycott of Taco Bell because Taco Bell also has sweatshops—sweatshops in the fields, right here in this country.

Max—When I was in ninth grade, I quit school to pick tomatoes. I'm with the Coalition of Immokalee Workers because I'm tired of being a slave to corporations. I'm tired of corporations telling me what to eat and wear and how to run my life. For me this isn't only about stopping sweatshop conditions. It's also about letting corporations know that they aren't going to run our lives anymore.

Marco—We are abused in the fields by the growers. You can't even go to the bathroom because you need to go and pick more tomatoes. We are people who have two or three kids and can't make it on the wages we get. That's our cause. We don't pay attention to race, social class, where you are from, what you have. What we care about is that right now we have to raise our fists and fight for justice. We've traveled all over this country. Tomorrow we'll be on the road, but one day we'll come back here, not with 10 but 100 workers.

Lucas—What you're consuming from Taco Bell isn't a red, juicy tomato. It's exploitation, sweat, tears, the lives of thousands of workers who produce tomatoes. We can all work together for the same cause. Together we can win the No-Bell prize.

Contact the Coalition of Immokalee Workers at www.ciw-online.org or CIW, P.O. Box 603, Immokalee, FL 34143.

Have bike, must pay

by R. L. Hamilton

Chicago—The Chicago bike messenger is a long time tradition, delivering many of Chicago's corporate packages in a flash. At the same time it has become an exploitative environment for the bike messengers who place their lives on the line every single day on the job.

Bike messengers have been treated as private contractors at most messenger services, though some now consider them employees, and are exploited more today than ten years ago.

New messengers are obligated to pay for their uniform and bag, which can cost up to a couple hundred dollars. They must pay a deposit on a pager, two-way radio or cell phone or a combination of the above. Messengers also have to pay rental fees for these communication devices, up to \$50 a week.

Now most messenger services split half of the commission on packages delivered by bike messengers. But after taxes and uniform and communication rental fees, plus maintenance of their bikes which they also must purchase, new messengers can end up paying back \$600 a month, and maybe taking home only about \$900 a month.

They suffer these huge deductions, yet benefits such as health, dental and paid vacations are nonexistent. Messenger companies have also started a practice of over-hiring in the last year, so as to speed up delivery to their clients. This means the messengers themselves each get less work and thus less pay.

It would not be honest to say we do not break traffic laws, as in this business to even make an income you have to break lots of traffic laws. You are paid by commission, and to make any money at all, it's a very dangerous rat race to say the least. The response from the messenger services to that danger has been to get liability insurance for themselves, which does not cover life or hospital costs for the messengers.

One bike messenger said, "This is a transient business, with messengers hopping from one service to the next in hopes of increasing their average monthly pay. Some guys will change services three or four times a year." This has made it extremely difficult to unionize these workers. A few years back unionization was attempted, though it was hard to get enough support from these exploited workers since they did not stay in one place. Unionization is desperately needed.



Immokalee farmworkers and supporters march in Fresno, Cal.

Strikers keep heat on New Era Cap

Derby, N.Y.—Communications Workers Local 14177 is going into the fifteenth week of our strike against New Era Cap. (See October N&L.) The weather's turning, but the members are ready. One girl brought chicken noodle soup for everyone on Tuesday because it was so cold.

The company thinks we'll give up when winter comes. But the workers are already talking about shoveling out picket lines. We've got people saying "I'll plow," and others saying "I'll shovel." People are joking about building snowmen while on the picket line.

The 111 strikers just finished the picketing individual letters to over 700 major league baseball players whose baseball caps we made, asking them to support us and to put pressure on the owner to bargain. The letters talked about what's going on in their lives. One woman who has been there for 30 years wrote about what it was like when she first started.

Next week there's going to be a meeting between the company and a federal mediator who will try to get us to the point where we can talk to each other again, to work an agreement out, although it's not binding. Hopefully something positive will come out of it. But so far the company hasn't made any moves to resolve this. They are so arrogant. This company has refused to talk with the Workers Rights Consortium, United Students Against Sweatshops, and politicians and religious groups who support us.

Other unions have been helping a lot. They've set up food banks. Because there are a lot of single women out here, some unions have given cereal for the kids and diapers. For the first seven weeks people were struggling, trying to live off of a third of their income. But now we're getting unemployment and strike benefits. Spirits are high.

Charles Kernaghan from the National Labor Committee, with assistance from the United Steel Workers, is bringing in workers from Bangladesh to speak on the conditions workers face there. They're doing a tour through major cities in the U.S., and will be in Buffalo on Nov. 5, speaking at the University of Buffalo and at New Era, outside the plant. We are inviting other local union members to come, which is something we do for all our rallies.

We usually get up to 300 people. It shows we're not alone out here. These issues affect everyone. Civil Service Employees of America, UAW, Teamsters, Iron Workers, AFSCME and others have come out. People in the community come out, Jobs with Justice carries a banner. We're getting tons of support, but the company is not moving. The students did a major campaign yesterday across the country, sending faxes and petitions to get us a good contract.

I think we have so much support because a lot of people are losing their jobs in Buffalo, so people tend to group together to save them. Buffalo has a strong labor community and they want to stick together. We support each other and do our best to keep each other abreast of what's happening.

—Jane Howald, President, CWA Local 14177
P.O. Box 62, Derby, NY 14047

| How to contact | |
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| NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES | |
| CHICAGO 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440 Chicago, IL 60603 Phone 312 236 0799 Fax 312 236 0725 MEETINGS Call for information | NEW YORK P.O. Box 250657 Columbia University Station New York, NY 10025 212 663 3631 MEETINGS Sundays, 6:30 p.m. Washington Square Church 133 W. 4th St. (parish house parlor), Manhattan |
| DETROIT P.O. Box 27205 Detroit MI 48227 MEETINGS Mondays, 6 p.m. Central Methodist Church Woodward and Adams | OAKLAND P.O. Box 3345 Oakland, CA 94609 510 658 1448 MEETINGS Call for information |
| LOS ANGELES 4475 Sunset Drive-Box 181 Los Angeles, CA 90027 MEETINGS Sundays, 5:30 p.m. Echo Park United Methodist Church 1226 N. Alvarado (North of Sunset, side door) | MEMPHIS & MISSISSIPPI 1910 Madison Ave, PMB 59 Memphis, TN 38104 |
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| IRANIAN Anjoman Azadi, 36 S. Wabash #1440, Chicago IL 60603 anjomanazadi@aol.com , www.anjomanazadi.org | |

Workshop Talks

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The *San Francisco Chronicle* on Oct. 13 slammed these workers for disrupting vital transportation in a time of "financial slowdown aggravated by the Sept. 11 attacks," accusing these workers of being "unaware...of the war in Afghanistan."

A not too subtle effort is underway to use the victims of Sept. 11 as a blunt instrument for capitalists to hit workers over the head with, making us take responsibility for the financial decline caused not by us but by capitalism itself. Workers immediately showed solidarity with the victims of terrorism through their rescue actions and widespread individual donations, coming even from many prisons in California. The corporate rulers, however, are trying to use this unity to promote war and to justify attacks on workers.

In Minnesota the two largest state employee unions—representing about half the work force on the state payroll—went on strike Oct. 1. Some 23,000 workers, including highway maintenance workers, janitors, food inspectors and computer professionals, struck over health benefits and inadequate pay. After two weeks, an intransigent state government led by Jesse Ventura finally settled.

Immediately, however, Ventura said he would meet with advisors to find ways to cut jobs. During the strike Ventura had labeled the workers "unpatriotic" in light of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks and the sinking economy, adding, "Everyone has to bite the bullet a little bit."

Bush is now going full speed ahead demanding "fast track" authority for a new round of World Trade Organization negotiations. He is having a love fest with China's totalitarian rulers who are now being allowed to join the WTO.

This means severe dislocation not only for workers in China. Capitalists all over the world are excited by the opportunity to move even more of their manufacturing to China from wherever they have encountered worker resistance. They are attracted to China not only by the low wages, which they can find elsewhere, but precisely because the high productivity in China is a direct product of state repression.

This is happening just when the war is disorienting many leftists away from the multi-faceted anti-globalization movement to focus narrowly on "anti-war" activism. The war drive is also a drive to consolidate the new stage of capitalist production.

I remember a blue collar worker, Felix Martin, who was a sailor under attack at Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941. In his March 1991 column in *News & Letters* he reflected "On the Gulf War: Capitalists Wars and Production":

Out of the rubble of war and terror, one can hear the early voices for freedom, reaching for a new society. I worked for many years as a blue-collar worker at General Motors, and what goes through my mind when I see and read about this war is the assembly line. It seems like war and production are produced in the same way. There are the officers and/or foremen on the one side and in both places—the war zone and the factory—on the other side are the workers, the "grunts," doing the suffering and doing the dying.

An Iraqi-American shopkeeper attended a speak-out event after vandals had sprayed a store with racist graffiti reading "Arab go home." He said, "I can't go home. I am already home." He also said, "I heard President Bush talk about a new kind of war for the new millennium. I agree there should be a new kind of war. But it's not the kind Bush thinks. Our war should be against poverty, ignorance, disease, racism, misogyny and oppression."

This concentrated effort to whip up a frenzy of hate against the "other" is part and parcel of alienating capitalist reality which workers face everyday. However, workers have an innate drive to solidarity with each other in order to unite the idea of freedom and reality in a new way. We have already seen tremendous human solidarity in the midst of terror and destruction. We need to dig deeper into the idea of freedom so that this kind of solidarity becomes permanent and the basis for a new society.

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

EDITOR'S NOTE

"War and Revolution" is the title of Raya Dunayevskaya's draft of her 1971 Perspectives report to News and Letters Committees. The yearly Perspectives thesis, and the draft that preceded it, constituted the philosophic, political, and organizational outlook and plans for the organization for the year ahead. In 1971, the completion of her second book, *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*, came during a growing mass movement to end the Vietnam war. Here we reprint excerpts, prepared for publication, from Part III, "Praxis, Responsibility of Intellectuals and Our Tasks." The original thesis can be found in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 4454-4471.

"The chief defect of all materialism up to now (including Feuerbach's) is that objective reality, what we apprehend through our senses, is understood only in the form of the object of contemplation; but not as sensuous human activity, as practice; not subjectively. Hence, in opposition to materialism, the active side was developed abstractly by idealism... Feuerbach wants sensuous objects really distinguished from objects of thought but he does not understand human activity itself is objective activity."

—Karl Marx

All serious struggles in a revolutionary movement have always taken place, not over "tactics," but over revolutionary perspectives. But the theoretic void in the Marxist movement since the death of Lenin—nearly a half-century ago—has been so great that one is tempted to believe that there has been a void in time itself. Those who claim the name of Marxism have let slip out of their minds, not only this half-century, but also the century and a half since Marx worked out his theory of proletarian revolution, his philosophy of liberation as a philosophy of human activity which is the absolute, dialectic opposite of the alienated labor to which capitalism consigned the working class.

Time does not, of course, stand still. Just as Nature does not like a vacuum, so the human mind rebels against a void, against a "forgetting" of theory, against a retrogression in history, both as "past" and present, and a stifling of what is first to be. Because of this elemental and compelling need from the movement from practice itself, we must expose the current reduction of Marx's concept of praxis to the "practice," i.e., the carrying out, by the rank and file, of the "theory," i.e., the Party line that the leadership, the intellectuals, have elaborated for them.

This is not a "translation" of the word praxis, it is a perversion. The fatal character of this mis-interpretation of "praxis" is more relevant for our day than for that of Marx—when he was alive to work out a revolutionary alternative and thereby discover a whole new continent of theory—Historical Materialism. We must consider anew the historic period in which Marx lived as he saw it.

To this day, Marxists are shamefaced about Marx's alleged "glorification" of the proletariat, and do not accept his analysis of the revolt of the Silesian weavers of 1844 as having had a "conscious and theoretical character." Nevertheless, it was this, just this type of vision, that led Marx to break, not only with exploitative bourgeois society, but also with "socialists," "communists," and academic materialists who could not do what "idealism" had done—develop "the active side" (Marx's emphasis) of subjectivity.

Though the class nature of capitalist society is decisive, Marx did not limit his analysis of subjectivity to the difference between petty-bourgeois, egotistic subjectivity and proletarian, social subjectivity. Indeed, he insisted that "human activity itself" was "objective" (Marx's emphasis). Marx defined praxis as "revolutionary, critical-practical activity." Put concisely, Marx's great discovery—Historical Materialism—illuminated the whole of society as well as its transformation.

As shapers of history, as "Subject," the workers were becoming whole men and women, achieving a synthesis of mental and manual labor, of theory and practice, of philosophy and revolution. Of course, it is what men do that is decisive in history, but theory remains an active force because ideas are not abstractions. They have a dialectic of their own and are integral to praxis itself. Praxis has many forms and each and every one is dialectical—develops through contradiction. Thus, even when it is seen as no more than "material activi-

Marx's concept of praxis today

ty," i.e., alienated labor, it is this very alienation that produces the "quest for universality" so that class struggles at the point of production lead to political struggles and finally burst out as social revolution.

That these basics of the Marxism of Marx could be reduced to "the small coin of concrete questions," as Trotsky phrased it, speaks volumes about the administrative mentality of our state-capitalist age. Thus today's Trotskyists, along with the "New Left," follow Stalinism (be it Russian or Chinese or the "Structural" Althusser variety in France) with their endless discussion of "tactics." Their turning away from the Humanism of Marx, labeling it "pre-Marxist," speaks volumes about our age, but says nothing at all about its absolute dialectic opposite—the movement from practice to theory. It is as if revolutionary power does indeed come "out of the barrel of a gun" instead of the self-activity of the masses in elemental outburst.

They likewise disregard the very nearly continuous movement that began in the 1950s in East Europe and has since covered the globe. Yet this movement, not only as practice but as elements of theory, is far richer than its political expression in any existing party "to lead," including those who are not tied to a state power and do throw around the word revolution with great abandon. Nowhere have theoreticians—I naturally do not mean petty-bourgeois intellectuals but those who claim the name of Marxism—met their historic responsibilities.

Everywhere, no matter where we look, the challenge from practice has not been met. Look at France in the near revolution of May 1968, or the U.S. of 1970-1971 where one million poured out in anti-war demonstrations, but was quiescent in the face of the "My Lais" committed against Blacks right here. Look at the "New Left" in Great Britain who are tied, not to an actual party, but only to a concept, or look at Japan, where back in 1960, far in advance of the mass outbursts in any of the technologically advanced countries, the youth proclaimed their opposition to the U.S. and to their own government, and did so in the face of opposition from Communism which wished to restrict the snake dancing mass revolt to protests only against the U.S. Or look at Africa, where a new Third World was born, or to Italy, where no less than two million workers joined the Communist Party in opposition to private capitalism. But Italy is now face to face with the rise of neo-fascism because neither private capitalism nor state capitalism could stop the economic crises and total decadence. Again, everywhere, the challenge from practice has not been met....

Intellectuals (and not only where state power and outright exploitation of labor practiced as in Russia and China, in East Europe and Cuba, but intellectuals of our state-capitalist age who do want to uproot capitalism as they see it and work for emancipation of labor) have completely and totally forgotten (because it is not organic to them as it is to labor) what Marx meant by a class-less order. It is not just a dialectical "principle" which is at stake; it is a life and death struggle. It is what Hegel called "individualism that lets nothing interfere with its universalism," i.e., freedom, and Marx called labor's "quest for universality" which underlines alienated labor's struggle to abolish the old exploitative society, and creates a new, class-less one where "the freedom of the individual is the basis of the freedom for all."

It is for this [reason], and for no other reason, that Marx felt compelled to break with the bourgeoisie also on the very concept of what theory is. He saw theory coming from labor and only labor because labor is not only muscle but Reason. It is this which "disciplined" Marx. Historic responsibilities of Marxist intellectuals begin with listening to the masses, and not being caught in the delusion that it is the intellectual brain wave which

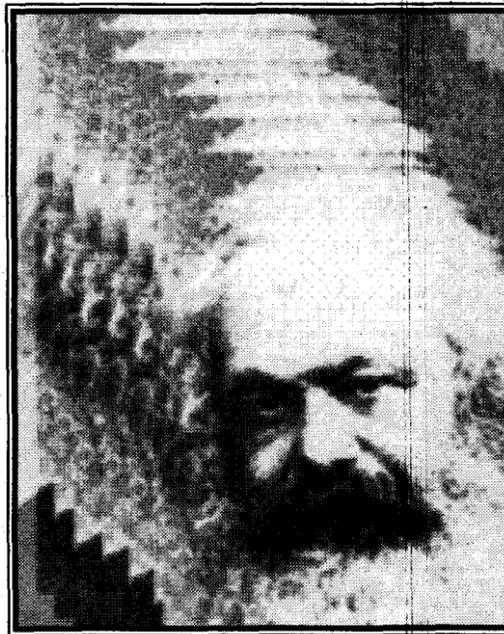
produces theory. Once you can hear and do listen to the voices from below as if your life depended on those voices—because it does—then, and only then, can you elaborate theory, not because you become a mere recording machine, but because, having recorded these voices, your task, far from ending, has just begun. That defines not only intellectual responsibility but our tasks, and the key work remains projection—projection of Marxist-Humanist ideas.

First and foremost, of course, is the concretization of the Perspective [thesis] on "War and Revolution" in a manner which will determine not only our activities in the anti-Vietnam war movement, but in all class struggles, Black struggle, Women's Liberation, Chicano, Indian. The determinant for all activities as well as writings, talks as well as relations—all without exception—is the concept of social revolution. We must free our mind from thinking that this is exhausted in the anti-Vietnam war activity as if that is the equivalent of a social revolution. There is no equivalent when there is not uprooting of class relations in one's own country, no ending of racism, no making inseparable the forces of revolution from their Reason. And there can be no social revolution when one, like the Trotskyists, hang on to one or another group of state-

capitalist societies calling themselves Communist.

Nor can there be a spontaneous, elemental mass uprising when one is concentrating on "shortcuts." No matter how great the martyrs like Che [Guevara] who "lead" it, there can be no social revolution when one substitutes himself for the masses, or when the method used in the projection of ideas repeats the capitalistic division between mental and manual labor, with intellectual "prerogatives" blotting out workers' thoughts. One must practice theory by uniting the two daily in every struggle, in every human relation, be it Black and white, youth and adult, men and women, actual class struggle or merely the manner of writing them up so that the story itself projects philosophy and revolution. In a word every single act is the theoretic preparation for revolution the day before, the day of, and the day after revolution. This must be done both within a national and international context....

Were it necessary to summarize the whole of [this] thesis in a single sentence, it would be that, just as philosophy and revolution are inseparable, so are thought and action from organization, for the organization of thought determines organizational life even as the concept of social revolution determines the final confrontation with exploitative capitalism and its barbaric wars at home and abroad. There can be no peace anywhere without a revolutionary uprooting of the old.



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THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY

Selected Writings on the Dialectic of Hegel and Marx by Raya Dunayevskaya

"In the mid-1970s we finally got to know Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* which let us hear him think. By not being a work finished for the press, it compels us to work out, to labor at what Marx has only in notes. This is what we must all work at for our age. Here is why we so urgently need . . . to continue the development . . . in completing [what] the trilogy of revolution has begun. In the process, let us not forget what that great revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg, did for us, not only in letting us discover her unknown feminist dimension, but in posing the question of the relationship of spontaneity to organization so insightfully that, though she had not worked out the answers, she helped create an atmosphere that makes it impossible any longer to ignore all the ramifications of spontaneity.

Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*, when reread with the totality of Marx's Marxism—where we found the "new moments" Marx experienced on what we now call the Third World and the new forces of revolution as Reason, be it Women's Liberation, Black or youth—demanded a reexamination of all the great revolutionaries, especially Lenin and Luxemburg, who seemed to be so deeply divided on the question of organization. It was that reexamination in this year of the Marx centenary, in this nuclear world, in the imperative nature of the challenge to post-Marx Marxists, which would not let revolutionaries off scot-free of the organizational question."

From Chapter 15, Section B, "Letter to the Youth on the Needed Total Uprooting of the Old and the Creation of New Human Relations" by Raya Dunayevskaya.

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Views of world crisis from the Middle East, South Asia

Impact of the war on India, Pakistan

by Maya Jhansi

While India and Pakistan jockey over the chance to be the U.S.'s favored ally in its so-called "war against terrorism," the ramifications of this war spell out nothing but disaster for the whole of South Asia. The situation has already heightened communal tensions throughout India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Indian officials are engaging in provocative talk of war, and on Oct. 15 India fired hard into Pakistani positions at the border. Pakistan fired back, and though the firing has ceased for the moment, both countries stand poised at the brink of an impending war.

Already Pakistan is teetering on the brink of civil war. The streets, not only of towns and villages in North Pakistan, but also Karachi and Islamabad have been filled with Islamic fundamentalist protesters upset with Musharraf's decision to drop the Taliban, which it nurtured and supported, in favor of the U.S. If the Northern Alliance takes over Kabul or plays any major role in the overthrow of the Taliban, the situation in Pakistan could get out of control.

With Musharraf at one pole and fundamentalists on the other, Pakistani peace activists and leftists find themselves in a real bind. On the one hand, security agencies have been preventing peace activists from holding anti-war rallies, and on the other hand, some religious groups have been attacking non-governmental organization (NGO) offices for their supposedly "westernized" ideas.

Many NGOs in the North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) and elsewhere have reported being attacked by unruly mobs in recent weeks, and Musharraf's government has done little to protect them. This is not hard to believe, since Musharraf, a military dictator who ousted the corrupt Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif two years ago and recently gave himself the title of President, is hardly a democratic leader. Although he has replaced the openly pro-Taliban leaders in the army and the Inter-Service Intelligence, his hold on power in Islamabad is precarious to say the least.

TENSIONS RISE IN INDIA

In India, this crisis has likewise fired the flames of communal and religious tensions. While the central government has been headed for the last few years by the right-wing Hindu revivalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the power of the Hindu Right had been held in check by the politics of coalition building. But the Hindu Right is using this moment to push forth its anti-Muslim agenda with impunity by raising once again the issue of building a Hindu temple at the site where, in 1992, a frenzied mob tore down a mosque in the north Indian city of Ayodhya. That act of terrorism resulted in the death of over a thousand people, and is today one of the most volatile issues in the country.

The Indian government also banned and then arrested 300 members of the Student Islamic Movement of India, an Islamic fundamentalist group with alleged ties to Osama bin Laden, and it has done its best to suppress anti-war protests called by Muslim leaders. An anti-war movement in India is very vocal, however. In Kolkata, over 100,000 people marched to protest the U.S. war on Afghanistan.

In South Asia, Islamic and Hindu fundamentalism are symbiotic—each grows when the other grows, and right now, we are witnessing a growth in both. While they claim to oppose one another, in fact they are united in the attempt to erase and suppress the rich, diverse and multidimensional histories and cultures of South Asia.

This is most evident in the attempt to blot out the unique and hybrid cultures that arose out of contact between religions and ethnic groups. This is particularly true of Kashmir, which is caught in the crossfire between Pakistani state-sponsored terrorism and brutal repression by the Indian army. Since Kashmir acceded to India in 1949, India has chipped away at Kashmir's autonomy to the point that the BJP, in its election platform, proposed taking out Article 370 of the Indian constitution, which guarantees Kashmir its autonomy. Since 1989, however, the movement for Kashmiri self-determination has been increasingly infiltrated and taken over by Islamic fundamentalist tendencies that are foreign in origin and in ideology.

In Kashmir, as everywhere else, people are being increasingly hemmed into old dualities. Bush and bin Laden are trying to force the issue into the false duality of "Islamic" terrorism or U.S. "democracy." Kashmiri people are hemmed into a false choice between terrorism and the repressive Indian state. All of it is a battle for the minds of humanity—both in Afghanistan



Rally in Pakistan against war and terrorism

and around the world. Nowhere is this more evident than in South Asia where the threat of disastrous destabilization is very real. To the Hindu fundamentalist, Islam is a foreign invading enemy embodied in the Mughals. They forget that Islam came to the subcontinent centuries before the Mughal invasion, through the spread of Sufism throughout South Asia as early as the 11th and 12th centuries.

The Hindu fundamentalist is united with the Islamic fundamentalist, especially of the Taliban persuasion. It is true that the reactionary Zia Ul-Haq—the military dictator that the U.S. funded to help in its support of the Afghan mujahedeen in the 1970s—is the one who fostered the growth of the *madrassas* (religious schools) that trained the Taliban. Today there are over 4,000 *madrassas* in Pakistan. One of the first *madrassas*, however, was in Deobandh, India, in the state of Uttar Pradesh, established in 1867. This *madrassa* spread the teachings of Muhammed ibn abd al Wahhab, the founder of Wahhabism, an Islamic fundamen-

(Continued on page 9)

Islamic fundamentalism: from Iran 1979 to today

by A. Azad

With his armed attack on Afghanistan Bush has shamelessly declared that there is "no neutral zone" for anyone, that we must side either with him or the terrorists. Bin Laden, meanwhile, has warned that his fundamentalist followers are going to kill more Americans. One thing is certain: neither Bush nor bin Laden have any concerns for the lives of innocent people.

This is not war between good and evil or Christianity and Islam. If it was, Iran's Islamic government would be on bin Laden's side, instead of moving closer to the U.S. So what is this war about? I believe this is a war of greed, a war of power. It is an imperialist war between a superpower that wants to hold on to everything and claim a new world order vs. those who want to share part of this power.

Bush and bin Laden claim to have different philosophies, but they use the same language. One tries to go back to the past by using the name of Islam. The other tries to go back to the past by using the rhetoric of justice and freedom. The real danger is not what they are doing against each other, but that they are trying to involve all of humanity in their dirty war.

ROOTS OF FUNDAMENTALISM

During the Cold War the Western powers welcomed the formation of an Islamic front against Communism through the formation of a "Green Belt" of Islamic allies in the Middle East. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia were major parts of this and they had a variety of intelligence coalitions with the U.S.

In Pakistan the Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) was instrumental in creating the Afghan mujahedeen. The ISI worked alongside the CIA, setting up training camps and supplying weapons to fight Russia after it invaded Afghanistan in 1979. The ISI trained 83,000 mujahedeen from 1983 to 1997. It continued its operations even after Russia left.

But the CIA or ISI did not create Islamic fundamentalism. Its roots lie in social conditions in the Middle East. The collapse of Russian Communism, the confusion of the Left, the seeming lack of any revolutionary alternative to capitalism, have all created conditions for retrogression, for the return back to religion.

In Iran, Islamic rule arose in 1979 as a form of counter-revolution that arose from within the revolution itself.

Before the 1979 revolution, the Shah's secret police (SAVAK) arrested a large number of Islamic fundamentalists. But the regime always treated them much better compared to secular or Marxist political activists. Whereas many genuine leftists were killed by the Shah's regime, the fundamentalists survived and were able to eventually bring down the Iranian revolution.

During the Shah's time a Marxist group called Fedayeen guerrillas engaged in armed struggles against the regime. The Shah was an absolute power in Iran and his secret police strangled any movement before it could take shape. The Fedayeen were influenced by theories from Cuba's successful revolution. With armed struggle they wanted to show the people that they were not weak and that the Shah's power was not absolute. They thought that if they could start an armed struggle, masses of people would get involved in revolutionary activity.

In contrast, today's terrorists use their activities to kill people, to kill freedom, to help rulers to limit our freedom.

It is true that today's Islamic fundamentalist groups often use revolutionary methods, such as the party form of organization (except now "the Party" is the "Party of God," and "the Leader" is the Imam, or "God's Messenger") as well as revolutionary language (slogans like "Down with U.S.," "Down with Imperialism," "Down with Israel"). Yet for them revolution means war. They are replacing revolution in permanence with permanent war.

In her article "What is Philosophy? What is Revolution?" (October 2001 N&L) Raya Dunayevskaya asks, "What is anti-imperialism?" She shows how the Islamic fundamentalists in the Iranian revolution used anti-imperialist slogans to kill the revolution. Today we have to be rooted in the second negation in order to distinguish fundamentalist or counter-revolutionary tendencies from the real movement for liberation. It is not enough to know what we are against, we also need to know what we are for. The reason that the Left in Iran failed to recognize Khomeini's counter-revolutionary and fundamentalist ideas is that it was not clear about what happens after the revolution.

In order to move in that direction we, in

(Continued on page 9)

PHILOSOPHIC GROUND FOR COMPREHENDING REALITY

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Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya on revolution and counter-revolution in the Middle East include:

- The Syrian Revolt: The Cold War in the Middle East (October 1961)
- The Arab-Israeli Collision, the World Powers, and the Struggle for the Minds of Men (June 1967)
- Lebanon: The Test Not only of the PLO but the Whole Left (August 1976)
- Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution (March 1979), in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*
- Stop Carter's Drive for War (on the Russian invasion of Afghanistan) (March 1980)
- Begin's Israel Moves Further and Further Backward to his Reactionary, Terrorist Beginnings (January 1982)
- Letter to Hanna Batatu on revolutions in the Middle East (January 1986)
- Reagan's Bombing of Libya and the Changed World (March 1986), in *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*

The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection contains over 15,000 pages of material documenting the development of Marxist-Humanism. On deposit at Walter Reuther Library at Wayne State University in Detroit, the collection is available at numerous libraries on microfilm. Contact *News & Letters* to obtain these and other writings in the collection.

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WAR, PEACE, REVOLUTION AND DIALECTICS

Thanks to the October *News & Letters* for taking a genuinely dialectical approach to the war. Marxist-Humanism states not only what it's against, but also what it's for: the revolutionary dawning of new social relations in which the authentic humanity of all human beings will at long last be confirmed. This dialectically elaborated humanist vision is capable of bringing a number of "doubles" into view, the understanding and analysis of which is urgently called for by this world-historical moment. First, the Sept. 11 disaster is a double disaster. Second, within all of the contending nation-states, there is a "second": a second America of ordinary working people to rally against the permanent war mobilization; and a second Afghanistan beyond the pale of Taliban atrocities. Now is the time for this second America and second Afghanistan to stand in solidarity with one another.

The Taliban no more represents mainstream Islam than "Christian identity"—the theology behind most of the

"white power" movement—represents mainstream Christianity. Both are the logical terminus of fundamentalist depredations, the logic of which is to transform revolutions into their opposite, whether the American Revolution or the Bolshevik Revolution or, today, the revolutionary aspirations of people throughout the Muslim world who long to be free. George Bush is a "born-again" Christian who speaks of democracy and freedom but whose "election" by the Supreme Court is more the subversion of democracy, and whose attitude of "Homeland Security" threatens to subvert the civil liberties without which democracy is a sham. Bombing Afghan infrastructure and civilians will not "smoke Osama bin Laden out of his cave" but have the reverse effect of making more bin Ladens. One marcher's banner in New York put it succinctly: "No to war AND terrorism! For a new HUMAN society!"

**Tom and Beverly
Spokane**

City of Detroit workers have not forgotten how President Bush was "elected." When someone said that 85% of Americans support the war on Afghanistan, another replied, "You know they only poll white folks. They didn't come and talk to us."

**Listening
Detroit**

After the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Kofi Annan and the UN, there were immediate protests from some Rwandans, where the UN failed to intervene against the genocide, and Bosnians, especially from Srebrenica, where the commander of the UN peace-keeping forces had drinks with Mladic while the latter's troops were rounding up 8,000 men and boys for the slaughter. We need a new society so peace no longer means the peace of the grave.

**Environmentalist
Tennessee**

The October *N&L* was a real education for me. I got a much better understanding of fundamentalism and anti-imperialism from Peter Hudis' article and I related to what Htun Lin said in his column about his experiences in Burma, and to David Mizuno Oto's reports from African Americans concerned about discrimination against Arabs and other dark people today. I was horrified by the Sept. 11 attack but also by the attacks afterward against Arab-looking people in the U.S. I want to send this issue to some prisoners I write to and a number of other friends. Whether or not they could read it online, it is good to have an issue like this in your hand.

**Black woman
Oakland, Cal.**

N&L began pointing to the threat of "permanent war" the moment of the Sept. 11 attacks, but the words seemed abstract to me until I heard Vice President Cheney the other day. He said the

war we began last month was permanent and might not end even in our lifetime. I choose to believe it is still not too late to choose another future for our children and grandchildren. Marxist-Humanism's vision of a human society is needed more than ever.

**Grandmother
Detroit**

When Rep. Kucinich put forward a bill to establish a U.S. Department of Peace, many in the peace movement were excited. To me it seemed like a P.R. effort to enable a group of politicians who voted for Bush's war to claim they're really for peace. They know the bill won't pass, but if it did it would just be another arm of U.S. imperialist diplomacy, just as surely as the "Department of Defense" is really all about imperialist war. Diplomacy may sound good as against military action, but has everyone forgotten the anti-globalization struggle against the diplomacy of free trade agreements?

**Activist-thinker
Memphis**

If a Department of Peace were ever really sponsored by the U.S. government it would be turned into a warped idea. No matter how positive they would try to make it sound, it would involve capitalism.

**Women's liberationist
Tennessee**

The October Lead-Editorial shows a plastic re-organization of the U.S. empire. Suddenly they are making deals with a whole host of new devils: with China which executes labor organizers, or with Russia where they are dropping opposition to using tactical nuclear weapons in the Afghan mountains in exchange for not opposing Russia's war in Chechnya. Bush is embracing an authoritarian regime in Pakistan whose overthrow by Islamic fundamentalists could bring to power those who would be unafraid to use the "Islamic A-bomb." This new barbarism is now the standard for world relations.

Fundamentalism and capitalist imperialism may look like opposites but are not the absolute opposites. You need to dig deep to find the true voices of opposition.

**Ron Brokmeyer
Oakland, Cal.**

There is an important Iraqi dissident, Kanan Makiya, you and your readers should know about. In his latest article he discusses how legitimate grievances have made Arabs more resentful and angry at the West today than at any other time in modern Arab history. But he says the Sept. 11 apocalyptic act unleashed on the U.S. shows that Arabs and Muslims need to face up to the fact that their resentment at America "has become unmoored from any rational underpinnings it might once have had."

He says that we cannot go on attributing all of the ills of the world to either the great Satan, America, or the little Satan, Israel, and argues that we have to draw a line that separates us from the Osama bin Ladens just as it was necessary for Americans to separate themselves from

READERS' VIEWS

the KKK. Anyone who wants to read his articles can go to the internet and type in Kanan Makiya to find lots of references to his work.

**Iranian dissident
Chicago**

The Sept. 29 anti-war rally in Washington, D.C. was large considering how soon it was after Sept. 11, but there were fewer than 20,000 there. Most appeared to be young and old peace movement people. The IAC, a front group for Workers World, dominated everything with their speakers and signs. The issues were anti-war and anti-racism, but nothing was said about the new developments of Sept. 11. The same demonstration could have taken place 10 years ago! Also, there was so much anti-Israel talk that I had a problem staying. They gave the impression that the Middle East situation was the cause and justification for the attacks in the U.S. I know the German press did the same.

**—German visitor
New York**

I didn't need to add anything to the Statement of your stand on the events of Sept. 11. Since Oct. 7 the Bush administration has begun what it had heralded: war for revenge. The situation in the world becomes more and more dangerous. That is why this sentence of your National Editorial Board is so important: "In a word, those opposing Bush's drive for war need to take this moment to stop and think." In your Perspectives thesis, printed in your August-September issue, you put it well when you said that the movements of the 1960s failed because they thought they could pick up theory "en route." If the Left wants to be successful in our contemporary situation, this lesson has to be learned.

**Worker
Amsterdam**



**WOMEN'S
LIBERATIONISTS
ON THE
FRONT LINE**

The anti-abortion fanatics revealed their affinity with terrorism when they took advantage of the fear caused by the destruction of the World Trade Center to send anthrax threats to over 100 Planned Parenthood and women's clinics. Not only did they make it difficult for HAZMAT teams to check on the real threats, but they revealed a single-mindedness similar to Osama bin Laden's in their mutual willingness to kill anyone who gets in their way to reach their goal. And we're supposed to believe they care about life?

**Terry Moon
Memphis**

As part of a national series of "Scarves for Solidarity" events, several hundred non-Muslim women are wearing hijab in defense of Muslims harassed since Sept. 11 at Wayne State University and the University of Michigan. I was proud they were standing up against prejudice but disturbed that the chosen symbol, the headscarf, was one that Muslim women in Iran had fought against only 22 years ago when Ayatollah Khomeini imposed it on all women going out of their homes. What we need to find is a way to support freedom of religion and culture for Muslims in the U.S. at the same time that we support those who seek freedom from religious, theocratic oppression.

**S.V.G.
Michigan**

The war in Afghanistan continues and so does the Israeli occupation. In that context the news that the international movement of Women in Black was not awarded the Nobel Peace Prize carries little weight but we were disappointed

No section of the Indian Left has taken a clear position against war as well as the dangerously reactionary nature of Islamic fundamentalism. I have issued leaflets that incorporate a stand much like yours, which has created a strong impact among peace activists and has initiated considerable discussion among Left intellectuals as well. Our position must be made clear: No to terrorism. No to war.

**Revolutionary
India**

About 20,000, according to the media, took part in a march in London called by Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, under the title, "Peace and Justice for All." We were at Trafalgar Square at the end of the march and noted two main strands: one was the CND itself, expressing a pacifist opposition to the war; the other was the SWP, which immediately defined the issue as "anti-imperialism." Most of the other left groups were there, too, but the general tone of the event revealed little evidence of new thinking to answer a new kind of crisis. We sold a number of copies of *N&L*.

**British Marxist-Humanist
London**

What is needed is another type of anti-war coalition than the kind that has been organizing the demonstrations we have seen so far. I am all for democratic discussion of various viewpoints, but the vanguardist groups like the ISO and Workers World are an albatross and it is a shame that they should be the ones to lead the movement. What we need is a coalition of those who understand the complexity of the situation, such as the thesis you have presented in the October *N&L*. I know many who might be willing to help.

**Willing to try
San Francisco**

nevertheless. The prize would have been a boost to the international demand to end the occupation and get peace. Women in Black vigils continue throughout Israel and are expanding. There are also more vigils springing up all over the world. Prize or no prize, we will not remain silent.

**Gila Svirsky
Jerusalem**

Thank you for printing the statement of the Revolutionary Association of Afghan Women (RAWA) in the October issue. That is what solidarity with all forces for freedom means. A young friend said their statement tells us in the U.S. what being Afghan means. I wish you had also included contact information for RAWA. Will you please print it in your next issue?

**Women's liberationist
Detroit**

Editor's Note: See page 2 for news of RAWA's current national tour. To assist with the tour contact rawa_afg@yahoo.com. For background information visit www.rawa.org.

LABOR ON THE FRONT LINE

When Andy Phillips wrote of the mine disaster at Blue Creek, where 10 rescue workers were killed along with the three they were trying to rescue, he said it was an "eerie reminder" of what happened to the firefighters in the N.Y. terror attack. We need to have a daily national outrage over the ongoing terror workers face under capitalist production. The Blue Creek mine disaster could have been avoided if warnings about methane were heeded. Look at the story of anthrax that dominates the news now. Contrast the immediate precautions taken for congressmen who were sent home, to the treatment of the postal workers who were told to stay on the job.

**Outraged
California**

AN APOLOGY TO OUR READERS AND TO DAVID MIZUNO 'OTO

We greatly regret that the words "Nosei Network" in the article by David Mizuno 'Oto, titled "Bay Area Battles Racism" (p. 11, October 2001 *N&L*) were changed by mistake to "Yonsei Network." It was an especially serious mistake by the editors inasmuch as Nosei Network was founded in 1999 by young Japanese Americans who didn't think they fit into the orthodox generation lineage of Issei, Nisei, Sansei, Yonsei, Gosei, etc. The author has informed us that it would be very offensive to members of Nosei Network to be labeled Yonsei, even though there are Yonsei in the organization. They expressly do not want to be linked to any generation—hence, "No" sei. They also mean to convey the double entendre "nosay" (no say in the JA community) and "no se" ("I don't know"—in other words, alienation). We want to thank David Mizuno 'Oto for allowing us to set the spelling right.

—The Editors

What kind of world do we live in when one of life's most basic necessities, the ability to work and earn a living, is so closely tethered to the ability to make war? Why did the columnists, whose job it is to dissent from conventional wisdom, end up losing their jobs? Do journalists now have to toe the administration line in order to keep working? My heart goes out to other workers as well—the over 20,000 who lost their jobs as part of the economic fallout from the terrorist acts in New York. As a unionist I solidarize with all those who are victims of the terrorist attacks and what followed.

**Unionist
Oakland**

Americans who are part of the labor movement understand well that "in unity there is strength." But does the need for unity against the threat of terrorism mean workers should forfeit the right to strike for a decent standard of living? When 22,000 public employees in Minnesota decided on Oct. 1 to strike for a decent contract they exercised their democratic right under the law. The truth is workers always think twice about striking and when they do strike, it is usually because of the employer's unwillingness to be fair and reasonable.

**Labor researcher
Los Angeles**

**YOUTH ON THE
FRONT LINE**

Six students of Delhi Students Union were arrested on Oct. 8 while distributing antiwar leaflets in East Delhi. Police seized all the leaflets in their office, thoroughly interrogated their members present and put two of them under house arrest. They went to the extent of arresting the owner of the printing press too. There are heavy charges against those detained that include sedition, spread of communal hatred between different religious sections and breach of peace. This police action is an attack on our democratic right to express our strong condemnation of the war that has begun. We are calling for a

wide protest to demand the release of those detained.

**Jang Roko Abhiyan
India**

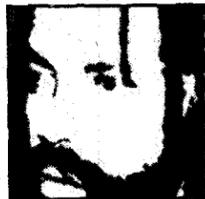
**PHILOSOPHY
AND THE LEFT**

Running an archives column by Raya Dunayevskaya in the October issue that addresses the current situation by beginning with Hegel talking about philosophy, you are going against a lot of resistance not only in the mainstream but in the Left. It's important that she shows not only the urgency of raising a banner of full freedom but the dangers of not looking at the concrete in the Hegelian sense of "concrete Universal" which led part of the Left in the Iranian Revolution to hail as revolutionary an act that actually helped the counter-revolution. Today we see that the failure of the Left to raise a banner of a totally new society can't be separated from the descent into lesser-evilism, missing the concrete of the two worlds in each country. Reducing the blame for everything to U.S. policy is a big step backward from the movement against global capital that had just begun to recognize that it is the capitalist system itself that has to be negated.

**Marxist-Humanist
Memphis**

I was part of the Left that Dunayevskaya was criticizing in her October archives column. Now I can see that the reason the fundamentalists took those hostages was not to help the revolution but to displace it. I was taken with the section that says theoretical differences are not liquidated just because you are a revolutionary. I keep hearing now that we need a united front but when you bury the dialectic with three points of unity it can wind up serving some vanguard ideology. Dunayevskaya was right that theoretic differences reappear when a new objective situation arises.

**Asian-American
California**



**FOR
MUMIA**

Man of honor!
Uniting force!
Militant for the right causes!
Independent thinker!
African born in America but loving Africa!

Afrocentric at heart!
Black and proud!
Unity for all righteous human beings!

Justice for humankind!
Armor shielding for the powerless!
Mentor for the youths!
Alliance maker for what is right!
Leader who deserves to lead!
**George Wilfrid Smith Jr.
Chicago**

**THE LABOR SCENE,
NATIONALLY AND
INTERNATIONALLY**

A public International Labor Rally is going to be held in Paris on Nov. 8, to build support for the International Conference Against Deregulation and For Labor Rights for All, to be held in Berlin in February 2002, with representatives from America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. I have been invited to address the meeting in Paris on behalf of the All Pakistan Trade Union Federation and to share our views on the situation in Pakistan and Afghanistan following the terrorist attack on Sept. 11. The workers and people of Pakistan condemn the atrocious act of terrorism. We also denounce the American government for any attack on Afghanistan. In Paris I would like to describe the sentiments of the people and workers of Pakistan against monopoly capitalism and its worldwide domination and plunder of down-trodden people.

**Gulzar Ahmed Chudhary
All Pakistan Trade Union Federation**

TV here reported 4,000 protesters at the Labour Party conference, fewer than predicted but large under the circumstances. The control by the media and the incorporation of labour union activists and leaders means that little dissent is allowed to show. But long-time activist Claire Raynor resigned from the party over its refusal to treat elderly people fairly. The budget is under strain and it's possible that even the money set aside for police and health may be lost. The build-up for a never-ending war has proceeded with little public discussion or debate.

**Patrick Duffy
England**

The Western North Carolina chapter of the Council of Conservative Citizens, a white-supremacist organization, sponsored a protest here aimed at the immigrants in the area, specifically Hispanics. They blame them for the increasing unemployment rate and crowded schools. It was attended by 75 immigration opponents, blue-collar workers and white racists, who stood by the town's Confederate monument and held signs saying "It's Our Borders, Stupid" and "No illegals, No unemployment." One of the most disturbing parts to me was that two Black women attended, saying they couldn't get a job because of "them."

**Worried citizen
North Carolina**

A civil suit was filed in federal court this past summer on behalf of Mexican Industries workers in Detroit by UAW Local 600. Since 1994 the owners, children of former Tiger baseball pitcher Hank Aguirre, have allowed the company to fall into bankruptcy. About 1,200 workers nationwide lost their jobs when the company finally closed this year. In many families in the Hispanic community, several members are unemployed. The union is fighting a widely-held belief that the plants closed only after they became unionized. The battle for decent and fair labor conditions has been dealt a major blow.

**Observer
Detroit**

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- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** (1996 edition)\$15.95
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Views from the Inside Out

by Robert Taliaferro

The abusive conditions of male prisons have been documented for over 100 years, from de Tocqueville's and Dickens' travels around the country. The harsh realities of American prisons have been rather enigmatic to those visitors to this country who find such abusive conditions at odds with the defining principles espoused by the U.S.

Despite those documented facts, there is at least one population that—though the fastest growing—is generally relegated to the backburners of discussions regarding prisoner abuse. This ignored population is women. In many male facilities around the country, prisoners have this uninformed opinion that women are given less time for the same—or similar—crimes as men commit. This might be true somewhere, but nowhere is it farther from the truth than in the U.S.

Many women who find themselves incarcerated were subjected to physical, emotional, and spiritual abuse while they were in the community, often perpetrated by men in their lives. Whether incarcerated for drug crimes, or murder, one of the most consistent things that one can find in all the women's stories are incidents of abuse. The abuse does not end when they enter the prison gates. In fact, in many cases, it is only exacerbated by a system that was the judge of their "criminal intent."

The irony is that this abuse is also promulgated by male guards and prison administrations that feel they can deal with women prisoners any way that they choose, with impunity.

Women have different needs than men when they are confined, something that many prisons ignore, especially since those prisons were generally constructed to house men in the first place, and were not prepared to meet the needs of the influx of women prisoners caused by the war on drugs. Even when those prisons are designed to house women, they generally lack in vocational, educational, and special needs programming that one might find in a male prison.

Women often lose what support networks they once had with regard to family ties. As an added insult, if they are mothers prior to incarceration—or become mothers while confined—they are burdened with the

Trials of women prisoners judge society

pressures of what will happen to their children. Without any support network, they become ripe for harassment and abuse because they are essentially powerless to argue the point.

When society makes laws governing the conduct of citizens, it should be expected—and demanded—that those in power should comply with the concepts and ideas that these laws propose. If we are to live in a country that demands the highest standards of decency from other countries who are moving toward the espoused freedoms of democratic government, then we should demand those high standards from and within

our own government and country.

Prisons are a reflection of society at large. More prisons, and the abusive conditions prevalent inside of those prisons, is a damning indictment of any society and its government.

As you read this, a woman sits alone in a dark cell unable to view the majesty of the Rockies just outside her wall. She sits hungry, cold, and hurt because of refused medical care. She's in the hole because she chose to use the courts to fight for her rights, and now fears for her life because she refuses the advances of her keepers. Another woman has been fondled by a man under the auspices of a "search," has been forced to give "favors" for extra food, or an aspirin, or is being shackled to a table "for security" as she's about to give birth. As you read this another woman is preparing herself for the trauma of losing her child to the state.

Incidents like this indicate a growing sickness in this culture that extends well beyond the crimes found inside its jails—a vain attempt to defend depravity from within as moral, and just, and failing at this attempt badly.

Rosa Luxemburg, once imprisoned under similar conditions in Germany, talks to her sisters across the years: "See to it that you stay human. Being human means joyfully throwing your whole life on the scales of destiny when need be, but all the while rejoicing in every sunny day and every beautiful cloud."

For maintaining one's humanity, despite the inhumanity of those around you, is how you win.

Cops vs. free speech

Chicago—If there ever was a need for a paper like *News & Letters* what occurred on Oct. 18 at the Chicago Police Board meeting proved it to me.

There was a small group of individuals who were to speak during the open portion of the meeting to the Board, Superintendent Terry G. Hillard, and Callie Baird, chief of the Office of Professional Standards. The sixth item to be addressed on the agenda was "U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance 2001 Local Law Enforcement Block Grants Program." Finance Director Frank Wilson spoke and answered one question. The question came from a board member.

When it came time for the public to ask a question, the police officers who were there for security started moving. No individuals went to speak. So the Chicago Police Board approved the over \$17,000,000 for the program.

The seventh item on the agenda was questions and comments from the public, prior sign-up required by telephone. I had called to be on the list to speak. I was the only individual not allowed to speak. My first amendment right was taken not once, but twice.

I did have two issues of *News & Letters* with me, July and August-September, with the two poems for the 11 year old girl beaten by the police, which the Chicago Police Board members saw!

—George Wilfrid Smith Jr.

American Civilization on Trial

Black Masses As Vanguard

The Black dimension is crucial to the total uprooting of existing, exploitative, racist, sexist society and the creation of new, truly human foundations.



\$2

See order form on page 7

Black/Red View

(Continued from page 1)

practice of African-American masses in 1941 and see how their battle against racism set the stage for the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and today.

In 1941 when the United States was at war with Germany and Japan, A. Philip Randolph, the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, announced that he would organize a March On Washington Movement (MOWM) to demand the end of segregation in defense jobs, in government departments and the armed forces. Randolph said MOWM could eventually bring out 100,000 protesters. The vision of 100,000 angry Blacks in Washington was enough to get President Franklin Roosevelt to issue an executive order establishing a committee on fair employment practice.

Some historians have said that the Fair Employment Practices Committee was no big deal when you compare its feeble enforcement powers to its demands. But others have noted, correctly, that the greatness of the FEPC was that it was brought into being because of Randolph's threat to bring Black masses out in the street.

African Americans were outraged when the march on Washington was cancelled. I remember Randolph coming to Chicago to try to explain the decision to can-

Wartime Black struggle

cel the march to angry African Americans. A most accurate and concise expression of African-American thought during those years was the very popular slogan "Double V," meaning victory over racism and fascism at home and abroad.

The African-American press constantly pointed out that the United States could not claim it was fighting a war for freedom while it had a racially segregated army and nation. This great contradiction exploded in Detroit in 1943 when a race riot left 34 people dead. Twenty thousand white auto workers went on a "hate strike" against the upgrading of Black workers in a plant making aircraft engines. Despite this opposition, nothing could stop the African Americans' irrepressible drive for freedom.

Randolph's unrealized attempt to end the practice of racism in America during World War II was the prelude to the Civil Rights and the anti-Vietnam war movements of the 1960s. Barbara Lee's courageous vote may well be an indication of new expressions of the idea of freedom coming from African-American masses. History has shown that the Black revolution is a ceaseless and ongoing movement for freedom that will not stop at any particular stage of alienation.

Earley Story still fighting Memphis frame-up

Editor's note: As reported in the May 2000 *N&L*, former deputy jailer Earley Story was framed on drug charges after having testified against the Shelby County Sheriff's Department in the case of a racist beating of prisoners by officers. Here is an update on his case.

Memphis, Tenn.—I took a stand for justice, against brutality in the Shelby County jail. I guess the powers-that-be said: Well, we're going to show this n----- his place. And we're going to get these five other guys too. I have a tape of the undercover officer admitting to framing us. When I turned the evidence over to my attorney and the District Attorney's office, instead of dismissing all charges, they dodged our court date.

The judge would not allow the tape to be heard by the jury. This was Judge John P. Colton Jr., the same judge that Tennessee used for Philip Workman (see May 2001 *N&L*). The judge didn't say why he would not allow it. I insisted to my lawyer, who was forced upon me, that that tape be played. When I found out that they weren't going to play it, I was outraged. I got convicted on one of three counts.

When Bernard Kimmons, a jailer, went to trial, his lawyer 100% didn't represent him. I turned the tape over to his lawyer. He faked like he would use it, but he refused to. This man got convicted on all five counts.

Then Victor Campbell, another jailer, got convicted on three counts. When the confidential informant took the stand and made a statement about making phone calls, the groundwork was laid. Campbell told his

lawyer he wanted the tape played. Judge Colton called for a recess and sent the jury out. He started going off on me and threatened to put me in jail. He said I was withholding evidence. I told him, I've been trying to get that tape into the court for over a year. We've got a lot of other evidence but that tape is just 100% solid evidence that we were framed.

I gave that tape to newspeople too. Every day in Kimmons' and Campbell's trials, a reporter was there from the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. And she didn't write anything on it. When politics is so crooked and so powerful that it can even control the news media, that's a dangerous thing.

These folks got power, but they ain't got all power. That's why I'm going to continue to fight. It is really sad when people that are supposed to uphold the law just blatantly ignore it. It's total disrespect that my children may have to give their lives for this country, and this country doesn't care enough about me to give me a fair trial, let alone to completely give me my freedom back.

Although my skin color had a lot to do with it, it's not just my skin color. We have some Blacks in power that will do anything for money. And people like Judge John P. Colton Jr., District Attorney Bill Gibbons, and others in Memphis know that. I wish I could tell you that this will be over tomorrow but it won't be. I can only reassure you that I'm not giving up my fight.

—Earley Story

Half year in Denver jail

Denver—I recently visited David Martin in the Jefferson County, Colo. jail. David is currently in his fifth month of incarceration as a grand jury resister in the famous Santa Solidarity case in Denver. When I saw him he looked healthy and was in good spirits. He told me that he's been able to write more since he's been in jail. He told me a story about how a guard complimented his intelligence [all mail is screened] in a recent letter he'd written to his mother about Afghanistan and U.S. foreign policy.

David's problems began shortly before Christmas last year when the Campaign for Labor Rights in Washington, D.C. made a call for solidarity actions at Kohl's department stores around the country. Kohl's was producing a number of its winter garments at a sweatshop in Nicaragua whose workers were trying to organize. The workers at the time were being brutally repressed by company-paid thugs. Rank-and-file union leaders faced trumped-up charges of assault and conspiracy pressed by the government. [The workers have since earned union representation thanks to the international labor solidarity that was demonstrated.]

When the Denver Peace and Justice Committee called for an action at Kohl's, David volunteered to be the emcee for the rally outside. Participants at the rally leafleted patrons of the store to inform them of Kohl's complicity in Nicaraguan union busting. Speeches were made favoring the right for all workers to organize and opposing U.S. corporate unionbusting activities.

While the rally was happening outside, four individuals—who were not part of the protest—entered the store dressed in Santa suits and began to engage in profit-depreciating activities. They vandalized clothing and spraypainted anti-sweatshop graffiti on the walls. In the end, the Santas escaped. By all accounts, David was not one of the Santas. He was emceeing the rally.

The police responded to the vandalism by raiding the office of the Peace and Justice Committee and seizing all of their mailing lists and computers. The Committee maintains that they neither planned nor endorsed the actions of the Santas.

In May a grand jury was formed, the first of its kind for a misdemeanor vandalism case. David was called to testify and refused. He was immediately jailed. David refuses to testify in defiance of the grand jury system that denies people any constitutional rights, including the right to an attorney.

David has been in jail for almost five months and is due to be released in November when the grand jury expires. The police seemed to have been banking on David's testimony; so far no suspected Santas have been arrested. It is possible for the grand jury to be renewed after its six-month term expires, but it seems unlikely given the lack of police action.

—Mile High Mike

EDITORIAL Bush's war at home demands new thinking

The terrorist outrages of Sept. 11 and succeeding wave of anthrax attacks have served to "legitimize" the unpopular regime of President-select George W. Bush. It has now been one year since this country experienced the shock and outrage of his stolen election. The blatant vote rigging, racism and thuggery that stole the Florida vote (presided over by Governor Jeb Bush) appeared to leave an indelible stain upon his ill-gotten presidency. At his inauguration festivities Bush was hard-pressed to buy a spectacle that would make him appear presidential in the face of more protestors than supporters.

Now, Bush is momentarily enjoying the highest popular approval ratings that have been recorded for any modern president. Some of the most reactionary forces in American life, as represented by our Confederate-speaking Attorney General John Ashcroft, have been given a free hand to implement policies that they have only been able to dream about in the decades since Richard Nixon's push for single party rule.

THE BANNER OF 'LAW AND ORDER'

Bush and Ashcroft, along with a compliant Congress, have pushed through new "get tough on terror," "law and order" measures that surely represent their own long-standing dreams of power, but that just as surely represent the worst possible response to the current crisis.

The new laws passed by the House and Senate give drastic new powers to law enforcement agencies: an increased ability by government agencies to conduct secret searches of properties and business records; increased use of wiretaps with a decrease in judicial oversight, including surveillance of email and internet use; and, despite some toning-down, broad threats of detention and deportation of immigrants.

There could be even worse to come. In testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Sen. John Warner and Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz discussed the possibility of using the U.S. military in domestic law enforcement under the rubric of the *posse comitatus* act so beloved by the radical Right. The FBI is openly discussing the use of drugs and torture in order to extract confessions from suspects.

This is indeed "law and order" beyond the dreams of Nixon's avarice. But all the inhuman laws and orders that went into the creation of the prison-industrial complex did absolutely nothing to prevent the carnage of Sept. 11. No extension of its clampdown logic can successfully protect the American people from further acts of terrorism, whether from bin Laden-style fundamentalist fanatics or from the homegrown neo-Nazis

South Asian crisis

(Continued from page 5)

talist tendency most widespread in Saudia Arabia and the ideology of Osama bin Laden. The Taliban are called Deobandi Muslims because of this connection.

Wahhabism arose as a self-proclaimed reform movement against the impurities indulged by certain Muslims, particularly Sufis. Wahhabism was strongly against mysticism, praying to saints (a practice common in Sufism), making pilgrimages to tombs and special mosques, lighting incense and votives at tombs or mosques. It sought to get back to the essential oneness of god, to get rid of any intermediary, such as a saint, between god and the believer. Wahabbism accepts the authority only of the Quran and the Sunna—it rejects all reinterpretation of the Quran and Sunna by the reform movements of the late 19th and the 20th centuries. And they insist on a literal reading of the Quran.

Wahhabism arose in the mid-18th century in large part as a reaction to the mystical, humanistic and tolerant Sufism practiced by the masses. Today the Islamic fundamentalism espoused by the likes of bin Laden and his sympathizers seeks to impose a monolithic world view on Muslims in different parts of the world, and thereby erase the multifarious and diverse Muslim and hybrid cultures around the world. The Hindu fundamentalists in India would like nothing better.

We cannot fall into the false rhetoric of "Islam vs. the West" that bin Laden is trying to propagate. If it were not for Arab culture, we would not have "Western" culture and civilization as we know it. And we cannot allow fundamentalists or the U.S. war machine to limit the contours of our imagination. As Rumi, the great Sufi poet of the 13th century, tells us:

*You own two shops,
And you run back and forth.
Try to close the one that's a fearful trap,
Getting always smaller. Checkmate, this way.
Checkmate that.
Keep open the shop
Where you're not selling fishhooks anymore. You are
the free-swimming fish.*

who are their admirers.

The knowledge of this is openly stated in the announcement by the Bush administration that this war is permanent. The FBI has begun to single out domestic political organizations that it might target and, unsurprisingly, they are groups that have been involved in left and anti-globalization politics. This targeting began immediately after Sept. 11 when many domestic political prisoners were placed in isolation, from Sundiata Acoli to José Solís.

'CRIME' AND TERROR AND HISTORY

Bush is attempting to use the terrorist threat to stamp out the living heart of the American revolution. The technology of anti-humanism can serve Bush and bin Laden equally well, but the struggle for human dignity inevitably escapes them. What is vital now is for the forces of revolt in this country to reconnect with a vision of a new society that is the

absolute opposite of both Bush and bin Laden and other terrorists.

The terrorist attacks on the U.S. brought out the tremendous reserve of compassion, bravery and heroism that exists within the American people as among all people. These qualities do not find their historic counterparts in the American slavemasters who, Taliban-like, outlawed education. They are found in the Abolitionist and Civil Rights Movements which fought in the press, in field and forest, on the battlefield and at the schoolhouse door against injustice.

This courage and strength is seen today in the movement against the prison-industrial complex and police brutality, among the family members of victims of police murders who fight for justice in the teeth of state terror, and among prisoners who fight to understand the social relationships that have put millions into prison and to articulate alternative social visions. This is a world away from the Bush administration's media-focused food drops over Afghanistan, done even as it contrives dirty political deals which, after the war, will betray the hopes of the Afghan people for genuine freedom.

It is necessary as well to see the heroism that exists among the oppressed people of Afghanistan, as with the efforts of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan and other secular and revolutionary forces there who fight against the fascistic misogyny of the Taliban.

Before Sept. 11 the greatest challenge facing the

Aceh's new challenge

New York—Nazaruddin Abdul Gani, a humanitarian worker in Aceh, escaped death last December by the barest chance. He and three friends were kidnapped by the Indonesia military and his friends were shot; he managed to run away (See his story in the March 2001 *N&L*). After he told what happened, his life was in danger again. Human Rights Watch got him out of Aceh and he has been living in New York.

He said, "On Sept. 11, I was attending a language school on Rector Street, across from the World Trade Center. When the airplane hit, we ran outside to see what the noise had been. Debris was falling from the sky all around us. First I grabbed my camera and took pictures. Then I ran for my life—for the second time in nine months."

Radhi Darmansyah, a leader in the student movement that spearheaded the Acehnese demand for a referendum on independence, currently heads the SIRA International Affairs office in Washington (See his statement in the October 2001 *N&L*). He was near the Pentagon when it was attacked. He also reached for his camera before leaving the scene. Why? Both young men are so committed to documenting atrocities in Aceh, that they instinctively took pictures before thinking of their own safety.

Nazar and Radhi thanked *N&L* for its continuous coverage of the Aceh liberation struggle, and said: "In Aceh, we live in fear all the time. The Indonesian military slaughters people who have done nothing, just like the attack on the World Trade Center. We are so sad for all the innocent people killed. Jihad and crusade only mean more war and death. We have to break from this violence and bring freedom and peace to everyone." They added that it had felt good to attend an anti-war rally in New York.

The killing and repression in Aceh has worsened recently. With all eyes on the terrorists, the new president of Indonesia has sent more troops and given the green light to the military to pursue her policy of terrorism in Aceh. No one is talking about the 10 to 20 Acehnese killed by the security forces every day. The U.S., anxious for allies in Muslim countries, is throwing human rights concerns to the wind and increasing aid to Indonesia. Moreover, the Indonesian people now fear Osama-type terrorists will kill innocent civilians there, to punish the government for not supporting them. All this makes Aceh's struggle for independence even more difficult.

Bush administration, and the ruling class as a whole, came from the movements from below, from the streets: the movement against police brutality and the prison-industrial complex, from Los Angeles to Cincinnati, and the movement against global capital, from Seattle to Genoa. These movements are struggling for an assertion of human dignity as an absolute value as against the dehumanization of racism, sexism, homophobia and capitalism.

Now these movements themselves are profoundly challenged by Bush's reinvigorated reaction and bin Laden's reaction that poses as anti-imperialism. Any movement against the current war must also be, first and foremost, a war of ideas and visions of the future.

War creates terrorists

On the night of Oct. 7, immediately after the U.S.-led military attacks on Afghanistan began, the mosques spread the news to an apprehensive population of the Takhtbai area. This area lies in the North-western Frontier Province of Pakistan, bordering Afghanistan. According to a report from a non-government organization (NGO) activist from Pakistan on the South Asian Citizens' Web, "By 9 a.m. a sizable gathering of 4,000-5,000 people have gathered in this village; a protest march turns into a mob calling for revenge for the military attacks. But against who?"

Since their arch-enemy America is out of reach and the government too powerful, they chose to target anything that was remotely connected to the "West." These people proceeded to attack the Health Society, the Al-Falah hospital, the Maternal Child Care Centre, and the Salik Development Foundation. The latter has worked in the area for some 15 years providing services such as a library, and eight women's skill training centers.

Activists and personnel working at NGOs have been threatened, beaten, and their homes attacked and burned as well. In the Bajaur Agency, 30 km from the Afghan border, a 5,000-strong mob of Afghan and Taliban men went on a rampage to "attack those who speak of secularism and democracy."

In the wake of these reports, Shirkat Gah, a prominent NGO in Pakistan, called a national convention which uncovered a plethora of evidence against the cruelty of hateful masses being led by religious leaders and the apathy of the police and government. People like Zakia Rehman fled burning homes and offices to share their horrific stories with others at the national meeting in Lahore. Salik, a Pakhtun himself, broke down in public while telling the account of his persecution.

Their efforts to have the leaders of these attacks apprehended have gone to naught. Political parties such as the Jamaat-e-Ulema-Islam (a close associate of Taliban), JUI (S) and the Jamaat Islami are publicly calling for these attacks. The government is reluctant to move against the mob leaders so as not to have their blind wrath turned onto itself.

This is what war has done. It has inflamed the anger of a weak and impoverished people. Isn't this what creates terrorists in the first place? In an environment which shuns peaceful means and promotes war, the Afghans and their "brothers" have chosen to retaliate in a similar language—the language of stupid and violent destruction.

Peaceful, democratic alternatives are being silenced and destroyed. Decades of effort, which had built structures of support for people marred and maimed by poverty, feudalism, tribalism, ignorance, patriarchy and an indifferent government, have been destroyed. This terror, a war which has failed to even define its enemy, is only creating more terrorism.

—Rehman

Islamic fundamentalism

(Continued from page 5)

the Middle East, have to break our silence and not to blame everything solely on outside forces, in this case imperialism.

Edward Said wrote in his "The Necessity of Skepticism": "We must start thinking about ourselves as responsible for poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, and depression that have come to dominate our societies. How many of us have openly and honestly stood up for secular politics and have condemned the use of religion in the Islamic world as roundly and as earnestly as we have denounced the manipulation of Judaism and Christianity by Israel and the West? We can no longer hide behind the injustices done to us, anymore than we can passively bewail the American support for our unpopular leaders. A new secular Arab politics must now make itself known, without for a moment condoning or supporting the militancy (it is madness) of people willing to kill indiscriminately. There can be no more ambiguity on that score."

We can start by supporting forces like the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan. The United Front/Northern Alliance, which is working with the U.S., is not any better than the Taliban. They have a history of corruption and the rape of civilians. They are as anti-women and reactionary as the Taliban. We have to promote internationalism at a moment when Bush is raising a banner of nationalism.

War, Islamic fundamentalism in Middle East, South Asia

(Continued from page 1)

Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Massoud; and the Oct. 7 release, within hours of Bush's announcement that the U.S. had begun bombing Afghanistan, of a videotaped speech by Osama bin Laden gloating over Sept. 11 and threatening future attacks. With these events the Al Qaeda network signaled that it had both the suicidal fanatics and the organization to hit at its opponents anywhere in the world. Its global reach was proved in the coming days, as pro-bin Laden rallies took place in many countries.

Second, the U.S., the sole remaining superpower, caught off-guard by Sept. 11, was quick to respond with the declaration of a "global war on terrorism." The Bush administration initiated a level of military-security buildup not seen since the Vietnam War. With Taliban-ruled Afghanistan the only country openly supporting Al Qaeda, it was unclear how the blunt instrument of war would help very much in what should be essentially a global criminal investigation of an underground network. However, the U.S. war drive received immediate support from Western Europe and Japan.

Third, in a major global realignment, the U.S. also received unexpectedly strong backing from Russia's Vladimir Putin, who evidently had his own reasons to join a global alliance against Islamic fundamentalism. Putin helped to provide something totally unprecedented, bases for U.S. troops in Uzbekistan, a part of the former Soviet Union bordering Afghanistan and still under strong Russian influence. This insertion of U.S. power into Central Asia is a major event, and not just because of oil. This strategic region is within striking distance not only of Russia and the Middle East, but also of China and India. Putin later hinted that he might also go along with Bush's anti-missile scheme. In return, he got Western silence about his genocidal repression in mainly Muslim Chechnya. Another realignment was seen in the Middle East, where the U.S. was forced to distance itself from Israel.

Considerably more reluctant support for the U.S. came from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, whose ruling classes have long supported many forms of Islamic fundamentalism and whose populations are extremely angry at the U.S. over its nearly unconditional support of Israel. However, China was surprisingly uncritical of the U.S. war drive, apparently because it too feared the insurgency among the mainly Muslim Uighurs of Xinjiang in western China.

REACTIONARY RULE IN IRAN, AFGHANISTAN

In opposing the reactionary moves of the Bush administration, the Left has too often ignored or minimized the threat of Islamic fundamentalism itself. It needs to be remembered that this is a political force that opposes the global dominant classes, gaining some mass support for that reason, yet seeks to install a regime that would wipe away decades of gains for workers, women, youth, lesbians and gays, and ethnic minorities. Just as much of the Left failed in earlier generations to grasp the dangers of fascism or of Stalinist state-capitalism, so today many on the Left are failing to see the danger of Islamic fundamentalism.

Iran has been ruled by Islamic fundamentalists since they hijacked the mass 1979 revolution, crushing the small feminist movement and then devouring their former allies on the Left. The result has been a theocratic police state that systematically oppresses women and youth, severely represses religious and ethnic minorities, and bans both trade unions and secular political organizations. In recent years, the regime has been strongly challenged from within. It is therefore not surprising that the Iranian masses were among the first in the Muslim world to publicly mourn the victims of Sept. 11. This included small street demonstrations, as well as a moment of silence at a major soccer match.

Another nation that has experienced Islamic fundamentalist rule is of course Afghanistan, where conditions are even worse. The courageous Revolutionary

Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) has conducted an underground struggle against the Taliban. They have run clandestine schools for women and girls and have also smuggled out video footage of the public execution of a woman for "adultery," which to the Taliban could mean simply talking with someone of the opposite sex. As RAWA stated on July 14, 2001, Bastille Day: "No country is heedful of our people's struggle in the hell of fundamentalism. Let us link arms, and, relying on the power of our bereaved people, overturn the government of blood and treason of the fundamentalists" (www.rawa.org).

The U.S. never seriously opposed the Taliban until Sept. 11, even after Al Qaeda moved its bases there in 1996, despite the fact that Al Qaeda was known to be linked to the first attack on the World Trade Center, in 1993. Even today, as the U.S. says it is fostering a "broadly representative" government to replace the Taliban, none have suggested that this include any women's groups, let alone RAWA. Instead, the latest talk by the U.S. is of incorporating "moderate" Taliban leaders.

FUNDAMENTALIST CHALLENGES IN EGYPT AND ALGERIA

Afghanistan and Iran are not the only countries to have come under the gun of Islamic fundamentalism. Egypt, historically one of the most important centers of Islamic culture, began to experience fundamentalist terrorism in the early 1980s. In the 1970s, as he moved away from the left-wing and pro-Russia policies of Gamel Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat courted the U.S. abroad and the fundamentalists at home, the latter as a counterweight to leftist groups that threatened his rule. However, his 1978 separate peace with Israel outraged the fundamentalists, who assassinated him in 1981.

For the next two decades, a brutal war was fought between an increasingly repressive Egyptian state under Hosni Mubarak and fundamentalist terrorists. These fundamentalists had a real social base for a while, taking over not only professional associations among lawyers, doctors, and others, but also setting up social aid programs in the slums. At the same time, their armed fanatics attacked secular, Marxist or feminist students and intellectuals, driving them from the campuses. They nearly assassinated Naguib Mahfouz, winner of the Nobel Prize for literature.

After the fundamentalists were defeated militarily, the Egyptian state kept the repressive laws on the books, recently using them to attack Saad Eddin Ibrahim, a secular human rights activist. At the same time, the government has placated fundamentalist sentiment by allowing all kinds of demagogues to preach on the airwaves and in officially sponsored mosques and newspapers. Some former leftists have become fundamentalists, such as the extremely popular preacher Mustafa Mahmoud. He has published the notoriously anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and also stated that Jews carried out the Sept. 11 attacks to discredit Muslims. The fundamentalists have also harassed feminists such as Nawal el Saadawi by filing lawsuits under the country's blas-

phemy laws.

Given this history, it is not surprising that many of Al Qaeda's members are from Egypt, including the second in command, Ayman al-Zawahiri. Some also originate in Algeria, a country that also experienced fundamentalist terror on a large scale during the 1990s. After fundamentalist parties won the 1991 elections, the military government of Algeria refused to cede

power, touching off a civil war during which tens of thousands were killed. The fundamentalists, who had softened their fanaticism to win the election, gave it full expression during the civil war, when they butchered untold numbers of Marxists, socialists, feminists, union leaders, and ordinary citizens.

One effect of such a war is to close off other forms of opposition to military or capitalist rule, since the population, faced with a choice

between fundamentalist barbarism and "ordinary" dictatorship, usually chooses the latter. In Algeria, it has been only with the defeat of the fundamentalists that we have seen the re-emergence of the mass movement of the Berber minority for democracy and cultural autonomy, a movement that has brought up to one million onto the streets on several occasions.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The danger we face today is that of a false choice between Bush's militarism and Islamic fundamentalism, something that could not only derail the modest beginnings we have seen from the new anti-globalization demonstrations since Seattle, but also launch a new era of reaction worldwide.

It is for this reason that the Left needs to fight hard to maintain its independence from all state powers and from all who offer retrogressive solutions. Too often, post-Marx Marxists have dismissed or forgotten Marx's statement in the *1844 Essays* on "the relationship of man to woman," where he wrote that "on the basis of this relationship, we can judge the whole stage of development of the human being."

By this standard, religious fundamentalism, whether Muslim or Jewish, Christian or Hindu, is a retrogressive force that needs always to be combated, even when it seems to oppose global imperialism. We need to take seriously voices like that of Khalid Salimi of Islamabad: "At the roots of most conflicts in Afghanistan and Pakistan are the rights of women. Men simply don't see women as human beings" (*Chicago Tribune*, 10/17/01).

It is crucially important for us to support critically those forces on the ground in the Middle East and South Asia that are fighting against capitalism, fundamentalism, sexism, and military rule. These include groups like RAWA in Afghanistan, the Berber movement in Algeria, the Egyptian feminists, and the Labor Party of Pakistan, whose antiwar rally in October included speakers from the Women's Action Forum and condemnations of fundamentalism.

While opposing Bush's militarism and authoritarianism, we need also to support the arrest and trial before an international court of reactionaries like bin Laden and the dismantling of Al Qaeda, just as we have in the past called for the arrest and trial of other war criminals like Ariel Sharon, Slobodan Milosevic, the Rwandan *genocidaires*, and Henry Kissinger.

October 25, 2001

U.S. muzzles dissent

The day after Bush's new "anti-terrorism" legislation was passed, Vice President Dick Cheney announced "the new normalcy." As he put it, "Some of these changes in American life are permanent."

This newness has been making itself felt since Sept. 11 in some insidious ways. On Sept. 14, according to *Rock & Rap Confidential*, the Secret Service shut down the website for the band Rage Against the Machine. There have been other instances of censorship by corporations (John Lennon's song "Imagine," Aaron McGruder's comic strip "The Boondocks") but this net censorship is especially chilling.

Under the new laws, it will be much easier for government agencies to spy on citizens, including tracing one's use of the internet. Further, under an executive order signed by Bush, the Office of Homeland Security can seize the assets of any business which, by their definition, "supports terror." That includes internet servers. Sites associated with WBAI radio in New York have been taken down under this threat, including that for Grandpa Al Lewis, Green Party candidate for Senator of New York in 2000. The possibilities for political repression and vendettas are endless.

—Thanks in part to Bill Weinberg's "World War III Report, #3"



Demonstration of Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan, International Human Rights Day, Dec. 10, 2000.

Big Oil makes grab for Arctic Wildlife Refuge

The push to drill for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) is one of the best examples of how the right wing is using the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks as the pretext for advancing their reactionary, destructive agenda. The House of Representatives quietly passed a provision to open ANWR to oil companies, claiming that it was a question of "national security" because the U.S. economy is dependent on oil imported from the Middle East. Previously it was projected to take seven years to bring that oil to market, but now Republicans claim—unrealistically—that it can be done in one or two years.

Much of the time required would be to build a pipeline. Coincidentally, last month in Alaska, one drunken fool with a rifle proved how very easy it is to shut down an oil pipeline, spilling large amounts of toxic oil on the tundra. Just imagine what a determined terrorist group could do. And they call that security!

Environmentalists have argued for years that real energy security—not only from war and terrorism but from environmental destruction—depends on reducing fossil fuel use through conservation, energy efficiency and development of renewable sources of energy, moving toward an environmentally sustainable society. Bush's actual energy policy goes in the opposite direction, focusing on increasing production of oil, coal,

natural gas and nuclear energy.

The environmental movement has fought hard to preserve the precious Arctic wilderness, winning the support of the majority of the country. Yet many of the Democrats are going along with Bush—not only due to their spineless terror before the words "national security" but because of pressure from the union bureaucracy, especially the Teamsters, whose president, Hoffa, wants to claim he has delivered jobs to his members so he can cover up how he has trampled the rank and file.

The United Auto Workers leaders have helped undermine the environmental movement's push for higher gas mileage standards for SUVs and cars, after the auto companies threatened they would respond with layoffs.

Once again the Republicans, Democrats, corporations and labor bureaucracy have proved themselves to be slaves to the inner drive of capitalism for more and more production, even at the expense of the environmental conditions that are required for the future of humanity.

Just like peace, real environmental sustainability requires an end to the slavery of workers, and humanity in general, to the dictates of capital—that is, it requires a new, human society.

—Franklin Dmitryev

Robert King Wilkerson on Angola 3, Black Panthers

Recently freed political prisoner Robert King Wilkerson spoke at the News & Letters library in Chicago on Oct. 22. Wilkerson is on a national tour to publicize the struggle to free Herman Wallace and Albert Woodfox, the still-incarcerated members of the Angola 3.

We take note of what happened on Sept. 11, and we sympathize with the lives that were lost. We understand and share the sentiments of the victims that survived and the sentiments of the families of those that didn't survive.

J. Edgar Hoover used terroristic tactics to bring about the demise of the Black Panther Party. Here in Chicago, it was terror that struck on Dec. 21, 1969 when Fred Hampton was drugged and murdered in his sleep for telling the truth. Hoover stated that if you can't kill them, intimidate them, frame them: Party members that you have in prison—make sure they don't get out.

This brings me to my comrades. We all became members of the Black Panther Party while incarcerated. Albert Woodfox became a member after having made an escape from an Orleans Parish prison. He made his way to New York and met up with some of the Panther 21, who were in Queens at the time, and he became politicized. He was reapprehended and subsequently sent to Angola. At the same time Herman Wallace was also brought to Angola.

After forming the Black Panther chapter in Angola they politicized some of the people who we used to call politically dead. I mean dead to the world because they were taking part in their own victimization. Angola was one of the most notorious prisons in the U.S. Guys were killing each other. We used to call it "committing lemming-cide," after the little animals that mass drown themselves. Prison rape was taking place. All of this was perpetuated by the prison officials.

Angola is a huge prison inside a prison. There is strength in numbers but they can take a few people

and hide them and you'll never see them again. I might not see you for 40 years in the same prison. They built a psychiatric unit. It was designed to kill you or get you to kill yourself.

There was racial segregation, and racism among the guards. Long, long work hours—17 and 18 hours a day—at two cents an hour. You had inmate-guards who were called khaki-backs, because they wore khaki while others wore stripes. They carried guns. They inherited the concept or mindset of the free prison guards; they would run you down, beat you up, kill you. Wallace and Woodfox were upsetting this routine by politicizing the guys. The prison officials saw this as losing control.

A guard was found slain in the dormitory. The first people suspected were Black Panthers. Officials began *en masse* picking up Black convicts, even in the cell blocks away from the main prison where the body was found. They put them in isolation, beating, intimidating, and whatever other coercion goes with police terror. They found some people willing to say Wallace and Woodfox participated in the murder along with two others.

We have learned that the state's star witness, Hezekiah Brown, received a carton of cigarettes a week. Initially, Brown had the electric chair, but because of his testimony he was recommended for and got clemency. He was released with \$1,000 in his account, which shows his testimony was bought and paid for.

I was arrested in 1970, originally on a robbery charge. They offered me 15 years. I thought they were

crazy and elected to go to trial. The victim, who had said that I didn't remotely resemble the perpetrators, did an in-court identification, which carries a lot of weight. I was given 35 years. I escaped but was reapprehended.

When the Black Panther Party came to Orleans Parish, I was in prison. I was not allowed to articulate what I felt and they did it for me. Their ideology was, to me, something good. We want freedom, we want power to determine our own destiny. We want housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. We want freedom. So I became a member of the Black Panthers.

I also became a target. They couldn't get me for murdering the free guard, so when an inmate was killed the officials got another inmate to say I participated. During the trial we had duct tape over our mouths, hands cuffed and our feet shackled. I remained in solitary confinement from April 1972 until Feb. 8, 2001 when the jury on a federal appellate court recognized that the charge was a frame-up. Since then I have committed myself to free my two comrades. If the Angola 3 are free, then we will work on freeing the Angola 300, freeing the Angola 3,000. There are millions in the prison system.

You either had to succumb to the dehumanizing effect of prison or rise above it. I might be in prison but I never let prison be in me. Over the years we studied Marxism. Up until a few years ago I had an idea that the struggle was dead. But after coming out and seeing so many people taking the forefront, not only in America but around the world, I'm impressed and inspired. Especially the demo in D.C. against the International Monetary Fund. Young people realize what is taking place, not only here but around the world. I am still opposed to capitalism.

'NY Not in Our Name'

New York—The city's largest anti-war demonstration to date took place on Oct. 7. Called "N.Y. in Our Name," it was not large enough, however, to prevent the bombs from falling on Afghanistan at that very moment. About 12,000 people met in Union Square for a prayer service, a rally, and a march to Times Square.

The demonstration was organized by one of the two large anti-war coalitions. The coalition, which is still unnamed, has been functioning through very active working groups on education, labor, etc. Even with very general principles, its inclusion of a condemnation of terrorism proved so abhorrent to the person who printed the flyer for the demonstration that he removed it. So much for democracy!

The coalition is so diverse that the last two meetings of the whole literally fell apart. When its Sept. 25 meeting of 400 people tried to agree on a concrete demand for "justice," the meeting got so bogged down that it ended up adjourning without another date to meet.

Some there wanted to define "justice" as bringing the perpetrators of the attacks before an international criminal tribunal, others wanted to apply that demand to all perpetrators of "crimes against humanity," including the U.S. for its activities in Iraq and Palestine, while still others claimed that the word "justice" should not be used at all because U.S. justice means injustice to people of color.

When fewer people attended another meeting Oct. 16, debate resumed on whether to call for a "fair and independent international tribunal to apprehend and try those responsible for the Sept. 11 attack." The meeting degenerated into chaos and was adjourned without taking up anything else. It is unclear whether the whole group will meet again, or how the working groups will operate without a parent body.

—N.Y. N&L Local member

Rally for Barbara Lee's anti-war vote

Oakland, Cal.—"Barbara Lee we are proud of you," said many hand-painted signs at a rally on Oct. 21. Well over a thousand people, many of them Black, wanted to show support and appreciation for Congresswoman Lee's courageous lone vote in the House of Representatives opposing the use-of-force resolution, which gave Bush extraordinary powers.

In her Sept. 14 speech she said, "There must be some of us who say, let's step back for a moment and think through the implications of our actions today—let us more fully understand their consequences...As we act, let us not become the evil that we deplore."

In the Bay Area, where every weekend since Sept. 11 has seen an anti-war demonstration of several thousand with teach-ins and meetings in between, this one felt different. It was a genuine celebration of a difference we might be able to make. Nobody at this demonstration ignored the horrific act of Sept. 11 or tried to rationalize it. Yet it was clear that war is not the answer to this terror.

Two women I met wore hand-made sandwich boards announcing that all of their sales of bumper stickers, "An eye for an eye makes the whole world blind," would go to support the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan. They are not part of any organization, but felt they needed to do something beyond coming to demonstrations. At a table at the edge of the crowd,



Large turnout on Oct. 21 for U.S. Representative Lee

two other women were distributing a poster they created calling for peace. They, too, were not affiliated with anyone else.

Langston Hughes' poems read by Danny Glover and the speech by Alice Walker were among the expressions that linked Black opposition in America to the dream of freedom. The militarization of our thinking is an impediment to freedom here and around the world.

—Marxist-Humanist participants

Voices of Memphis raised against war

Memphis, Tenn.—Another in a series of peace rallies was held here on Oct. 27, with about 50 people attending. Several local musical groups and a poet performed. A speaker from the Muslim Society criticized the media for broadcasting anti-Muslim prejudice equating all Muslims with terrorists. He spoke about the wave of harassment of Muslims and Arabs after Sept. 11, saying, "We are shocked too. We feel twice the anger—we as Americans have been attacked [by the terrorists] and our religion's name has been used in vain. There is a backlash against us. There are about 5,000 Muslims in Memphis, from all walks of life."

Scott Banbury of the Green Party protested the indiscriminate bombing of people in Afghanistan. "For years," he said, "oil companies have been lobbying the U.S. to install a stable government there so that they

could build a pipeline through Afghanistan to the Arabian Sea, to deliver oil to Southeast Asia. The women's movement and environmentalists have been boycotting Unocal for years because of its dealings with the Taliban, which oppresses women. Why now, after ignoring them for so long, does the U.S. government suddenly claim to care about women in Afghanistan?"

Most of the participants were young. One student told me, "I don't think this violence is going to get us anywhere. It's not addressing the root problems of terrorism. It's more to make people feel better than to address the systemic problems. If justice is what Bush is going for, why wasn't it good enough for the Taliban to hand over bin Laden to a third party? Who defines terrorism? The U.S. That's problematic at best."

—Franklin Dmitryev

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Our Life and Times

Challenge to Indonesia's new president

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The three-month-old presidency of Megawati Sukarnoputri is being tested in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the U.S. After meeting with George W. Bush in late September, she condemned the attacks as well as calls by a number of Islamic fundamentalist groups in Indonesia to "sweep" out Americans from the country.

Megawati, formerly vice president, was voted into the presidency by the legislature after it voted out former President Abdurrahman Wahid for alleged incompetence and corruption. Since then, she has put together a "centrist" government, especially in economic and military matters. However, a male opponent of hers, Hamzah Haz, was able to take over the vice presidency. Haz leads a coalition of Islamic parties and he opposed Megawati's bid for the presidency in 1999, on the reactionary grounds that Islamic law prohibits a woman as leader.

While Megawati represents no interests other than the ruling classes of Indonesia, it is worth noting how the events of Sept. 11 have given more fuel to the political opportunism of the religious Right. While Megawati said nothing critical of Bush or the U.S., Haz commented that "hopefully, this tragedy will cleanse the sins of the United States."

Despite the nationalist secular ideology adopted by Indonesia's first ruler after independence, Gen.

Mozambique strike

Mozambican workers at the Mozal aluminum plant near Maputo went on strike, Oct. 3, for the right to strike and to collective bargaining, better working conditions and pay, an end to discrimination, and subsidies for education for their children. A few hours into the strike, the company fired the workers and called in police and dogs to clear the strikers out of the plant. Workers had struck Mozal, Mozambique's largest company, earlier this year.

Mozal attempted to demoralize workers before Oct. 3 by arresting a leading union representative on phony charges. It sent out dismissal notices without prior warning. It also recruited some 150 white workers from South Africa to scab on the strikers.

Metalworkers in South Africa then called for a solidarity strike with Mozambican workers against Mozal's major owner, the multinational company Billiton. A South African Billiton plant worker where white workers were hired to scab said, "Capital has never respected borders. We are starting to do the same."

IRA begins to disarm

As we went to press, the Irish Republican Army began to disarm, compelled to do so by the revulsion for all forms of terrorism expressed by its own base in both Ireland and America after Sept. 11. However, the apparent end to the military conflict leaves the political struggle against the apartheid-like status of Irish Catholics in the North still on the agenda, as seen in the recent attacks on schoolchildren.

Since the new school year began, Protestant mobs in a Belfast neighborhood have been attempting to block Catholic elementary school girls from walking to school along a route they have used for 30 years, because they consider it "their" neighborhood. They want the girls to take a longer route that would take them into school through the back door. The Protestant mob has spat, cursed, tossed bricks, and even thrown a pipe bomb despite criticism from leading Protestant clergymen and politicians.

Sukarno, Megawati's father, and continued in a different format by Gen. Suharto, there is a current of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia, an overwhelmingly Muslim nation, which has likewise been strengthened by the Sept. 11 terrorists. Armed Islamic fundamentalist groups, though small now, are making an appeal to the millions of unemployed and poor, and especially youth who were in the forefront of toppling former military dictator Suharto.

The most direct challenge at this moment, however, comes from the self-determination movements in Aceh and West Papua. After taking office, Megawati officially apologized for past atrocities perpetrated by the military, especially against internal opposition. She stated her "respect [for] our brothers' choice to live in their own state" in East Timor, even though she had fought the independence movement at every step there.

On Aug. 30, over 93% of East Timorese eligible voters went to the polls to select a constituent assembly responsible for writing a constitution, the first for independent East Timor after three centuries of Portuguese colonialism, 24 years of Indonesian occupation, and the last two years of UN administration. As expected, FRETILIN, the party rooted in anti-colonial, anti-Indonesian struggles, got the most votes, with 55 out of 88 parliament seats.

East Timor is still devastated from destruction by pro-Indonesia paramilitary gangs which rampaged after the majority voted for independence in a referendum in 1999. Economically, East Timor is still totally

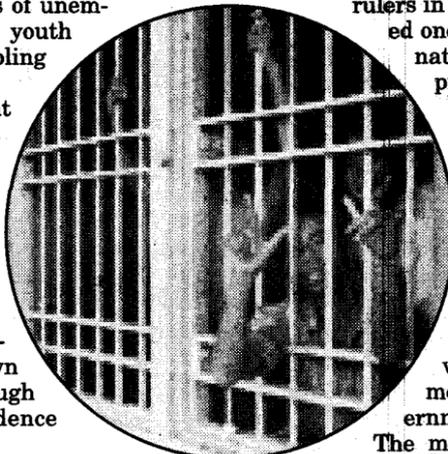
dependent on foreign aid. In the face of all this, the high unemployment rate, the dearth of foreign investment, and the many thousands of refugees still stranded in West Timor, the East Timorese people have taken on self-determination with enthusiasm.

Indeed, Megawati is no different than previous rulers in opposing self-determination. She stated one of her main priorities as "preventing national disintegration." And as with her predecessors, Megawati relies on the military. One of the results of her visit with Bush was a program for closer ties between the military in Indonesia and the U.S.

Megawati had traveled to Aceh in early September and apologized for the "mistakes" and "shortcomings" of the central government in the past. Only two days before her visit, the rector of the state university there was assassinated. He had offered to mediate stalled talks between the government and the Free Aceh Movement.

The military appears clearly implicated in the murder.

The other focus of the Megawati government is "promoting economic recovery." The Indonesian economy is forecast to grow at a moribund 1% rate, yet that would now seem hard given the deepening world recession. The IMF has delayed disbursements of an over \$4 billion bailout awaiting neo-liberal economic "reforms." With at least 30 million people officially unemployed, further economic cutbacks coupled with military repression are sure to result in more mass unrest.



Indonesian prison

Independent Media Center

Israeli rampage

On Oct. 18, commandos from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a leftist group known in the past for its airplane hijackings, assassinated Israeli cabinet minister Rehavam Zeevi in revenge for Israel's having assassinated PFLP leader, Mustapha Zubari, in August. As so often in the past, this attack by extremists came at the very moment when a ceasefire was beginning to take hold, as both Britain and the U.S. pressured Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

Only three days earlier, top Palestinian leader Sari Nusseibeh had reached out dramatically to progressive Israelis in a speech at Hebrew University. Nusseibeh did so by criticizing Palestinian demands for the return of all refugees since 1948 to Israel proper rather than the Palestinian territories.

Zeevi was a repulsive figure, who had called openly for the expulsion of all Palestinians to Jordan. He had just announced that he was withdrawing from the cabinet due to the ceasefire. In the aftermath of Zeevi's assassination, Palestinian Authority President Yasir Arafat arrested some PFLP leaders and also banned the group. Sharon demanded that Arafat turn these and other men over to him for prosecution. He then launched Israel's biggest military operation since 1993, going into Bethlehem for the first time, as well as other towns on the West Bank. By Oct. 25, Sharon's forces had killed over 30 Palestinians, including a teenager leaving church in Bethlehem while carrying his four-year-old cousin. He also defied U.S. calls to end his offensive.

Murder in Brazil

Ademir Federicci, head of the Movement for the Development of the TransAmazon and the Xingu, was murdered in his home, in front of his family, this past August. Dema, as Federicci was known, was a union, campesino and environmental leader in the state of Para, an epicenter in the fight against ranching and logging interests destroying the Amazon, and for the struggle of landless campesinos.

While the police deemed the murder part of a robbery attempt, recent events show that Dema was among seven leaders, activists and their families in Para who have been killed since July 2001. The National Confederation of Agricultural Workers submitted a list to the federal government of the names of 20 leaders in the rural struggles who have been marked for death by death squads linked to large landowners in the region.

Dema was also a leader in the fight against the government's dam and hydroelectric project on the Xingu River, and had criticized the federal Amazon development agency as a trough of corruption for large landowning and mining interests. Environmentalists, farmers' unions and other activists are trying to halt the government's attempts to ram through an environmental impact study on the dam without public input.

Federal legislators who are in the pockets of the ranchers and loggers are also trying to push through a revision of the federal forestry code for the Amazon. The new code would lessen mandatory land set-asides from 80 to 50% of private holdings, and eliminate strict reforestation requirements. The murder of so many rural leaders has not intimidated the movement in Para. Thousands marched to protest Dema's murder, and they are continuing the struggle.

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*.