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THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY: SELECTED WRITINGS ON THE DIALECTIC IN HEGEL AND MARX

BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

—Special section includes the concluding chapter and introduction excerpts. See pages 5-8

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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WORKSHOP TALKS

More dues for less

by Htun Lin

Many SEIU Local 250 members at Kaiser Hospitals where I work are enraged over a proposed change in our dues structure—much to the surprise of union officials. The union was proposing to increase our dues by charging us 2% of all gross wages instead of a fixed increase.

They were trying to sell this as a "benefit" for low-wage workers in nursing homes. We haven't seen such a strong negative reaction at Kaiser since management demanded and got a two-tier wage structure back in 1986. Rank-and-filers threw out the corrupt old union bosses who betrayed them in that failed strike, but to this day the two-tier wage system pits one worker against another.

The new dues proposal also pits one set of workers in the local against another. One worker said, "Union officials are using the same divide-and-conquer corporate tactics often used by management against us." In 1986 Kaiser tried to convince us to accept their two-tier wage system by claiming current workers would not only continue to make more pay but would even get an extra bonus upon ratification.

Today many professional grade workers, such as X-ray techs, see the union's scheme as a similar clever ploy. This scheme was sold to nursing home workers as "dues relief," claiming: you make less, you pay less. Manipulating the low-wage workers with this promise, union bureaucrats pushed this through.

To ensure victory, the bureaucrats not only sent special absentee ballots to all nursing home workers urging a "yes" vote, they even sent a convoy of buses to take the "yes" voters to the polls. Some workers open-

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BLACK/RED VIEW

Nat Turner's legacy

by John Alan

Several weeks ago, at an anti-war rally in Los Angeles' Pershing Square, a leftist speaker proclaimed passionately that Osama bin Laden was "another Nat Turner fighting oppression and exploitation." This analogy was a complete shock to me. It didn't get a strong reaction from the crowd, maybe because people at this rally knew little or nothing about Nat Turner.

If they knew more, it would be hard for them to find any similarity between Nat Turner and bin Laden. Nat Turner was an African American slave who organized and led a rebellion in 1831, in Southampton, Va., to liberate the slaves. Osama bin Laden, on the other hand, is a wealthy scion of the Saudi Arabia ruling class and an Islamic fundamentalist, who never fought for the freedom of the masses living under the authoritarian domination of the Saudi ruling class.

Clearly, what some so-called leftists are vainly attempting to do is to give a stamp of legitimacy to bin Laden's Al Qaeda destruction of the World Trade Center and the killing of thousands of ordinary workers, women and racial minorities, by arbitrarily relating this wanton act of terrorism to the Nat Turner rebellion.

Nat Turner's insurrection was an open rebellion against slavery and terror. It lasted only two days and

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EDITORIAL

Bush's war on freedoms at home Page 4

War, terror, and humanism collide in Afghanistan

by Gerard Emmett

The world saw some extreme contrasts in Afghanistan following the unexpectedly quick collapse of the Taliban regime across most of the country. First, there was the outpouring of joy by many of the people in areas where the Taliban had disappeared. This was not a celebration of the destructive U.S. bombing or the retrogressive politics of the Northern Alliance, but of the opening to once more express the simple fact of being human. As one young Afghan said, "We weren't allowed to play football. We weren't allowed to go to sports clubs. We weren't allowed to feel like other human beings."

Thus the formerly banned activities now flaunted—listening or dancing to music, watching movies or television, kite flying, men shaving their beards or even, for women, showing one's face in public—cut through the lies perpetrated by the inhuman regime and its allies, Al Qaeda, as well as by the Bush administration.

Bush had planned on a more protracted military campaign during which the political transition could be more closely managed. The new situation is very fluid and presents many challenges and new openings for the revolutionary movement.

For the first time in years, hundreds of women dared to call a march in Kabul on Nov. 24 to demand their rights. In one woman's words, "I came here to demand an education for my daughter. I was a teacher, I am a literate, educated woman, but my daughter has barely been to school." They were forced to postpone it however by the military police of the



Pavel Horejsi/Getty Images

In Bonn, Germany for talks on the post-Taliban reconstruction of Afghanistan, women demand a role.

Northern Alliance who now have de facto power there.

The attention drawn to the condition of Afghan women by the worldwide women's movement as well as indigenous groups like RAWA has helped to create a space in which such a demonstration can be contemplated. The Northern Alliance can cite "security" reasons to postpone it, but in fact their own record on women's rights is scarcely better than the Taliban. This is one reason why many women are cautious right now about throwing off the burqa.

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Afghan women speak for themselves

by Tahmeena Faryal

Tahmeena Faryal, of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, spoke in New York City on Oct. 30. Her remarks are excerpted here. That talk and one in Chicago Nov. 9 were sponsored by News and Letters Committees.

It is very unfortunate that it was only after the events of Sept. 11 that Afghanistan suddenly became the center of the world's attention. For years it was the largest forgotten tragedy in the world. In a way it is good that the Afghan people, and especially its women, are finally getting attention by the world community. But it is also very tragic.

We don't think of the bombing as any solution. Although the U.S. government has promised that it would be very targeted, as we know, there have been many civilian casualties.

Fundamentalism and terrorism can't be limited to just bin Laden in Afghanistan. Right now in Pakistan there hasn't been any pressure on the madrasses [religious schools] which are begetting more and more Osamas. Refugees are coming to Pakistan fleeing the bombing with no shelter, no food, no clothing.

Whenever people hear about our country the question they ask is why are all these tragedies occurring? Are these brutalities the representation of its culture, tradition and religion? The big question that comes to people's minds is why do the people not rise up if they don't agree with the situation there?

The people of Afghanistan have always risen up and fought against invaders and defeated them. Unfortunately, the Russians did not learn from the history of the Afghan people. They invaded our country in 1979. Had they not invaded our country, we would have not gone through all these miseries. The world would not have witnessed the Sept. 11 incident.

The Russians invaded Afghanistan with 100,000 troops, thinking they could occupy Afghanistan and reach their dreams and goals. But the people in Afghanistan rose up against them—from the villages to the cities. The resistance war lasted for 10 years. We lost two million people. One and a half million became disabled, mainly by land mines. Five to six million took refuge in different countries, mainly Pakistan and Iran.

Other countries, such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, France, England and the U.S., opposed the Russians by supporting and incubating the

fundamentalists. When we say fundamentalists, we mean all those who are misogynist, anti-democracy, anti-civilization, and who are dependent on foreign countries for their power.

We have to get rid of the fundamentalists to achieve what we have struggled for—freedom of speech, freedom of expression, freedom of belief, democracy, women's rights and human rights.

In 1992 the fundamentalists took power. They consisted of many different parties, belonging to different countries, and they started fighting each other. They committed the most heinous, unprecedented crimes in the history of Afghanistan. The national museum, the hospitals, and the schools were looted as a result of their internal fighting. There were many cases of rape, abduction, suicide, and forced marriages by commanders of the different groups. The world's leaders remained silent while these atrocities were committed.

Taliban means "religious students." Most of these religious were orphans of the Soviet war. At a young age they were taken to Pakistani religious schools. They were trained, raised and brainwashed in them. They were brainwashed about women. What is a woman? Only a sexual object. A woman is what you can do whatever you want with. With that hatred they forced all the restrictions on women.

The Taliban took control of Kabul in 1996 and soon seized most of the rest of Afghanistan. The people were fed up with the crimes of the other fundamentalist groups, and they thought the Taliban would be better. When the Taliban took power, there was nothing left of the country to destroy. They imposed restrictions, not only on women, but also on men.

They have shut down all the learning institutions for girls and women. They called them "gateways to hell." They ordered all women to be fully covered with the burqa. They ordered women to be accompanied by a male relative, such as a brother, son, husband or father. They even ordered women to paint their windows dark so they could not be seen by men outside.

Photography, TV, cinema, and music were banned, while the Taliban enjoyed all these things. They watched movies and listened to music. They even ordered us to use camels, as during the time of the Prophet Mohammed. But they themselves used the most luxurious cars.

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Young women activists challenge Left

Editor's Note: This month we turn the Woman as Reason column over to Jen Bennett, a young woman involved in the anti-globalization movement. We look forward to any responses or comments readers may have.

by Jen Bennett

In 1953 Raya Dunayevskaya wrote that women "wished to have not only sexual but human relations" to men. She went on to say that "women were out searching for a total reorganization of society. In that search, some women also came to the radical parties. These radical parties failed to recognize this new concrete revolutionary force in society, but that force recognized them, for it had set up new standards by which to judge this so-called revolutionary movement." Dunayevskaya wrote these words almost 50 years ago, but unfortunately there is still a tendency on the Left that would like women to wait for our freedom until after the revolution.

The anti-globalization youth movement, a movement I took part in, had been working against the ever-expanding power and influence of multinational corporations. It is against a backdrop of global activism supported by much of the western world's populace that the events of Sept. 11 exploded. The Sept. 11 attacks and the subsequent police state in the U.S. have disoriented the movement.

This disorientation comes from a limited vision. Just like the capitalists they abhor, many of the anti-globalization youth see only large structures—the organizations, the buildings, the tariffs and trades. The poor Guatemalan or Mexican or Malaysian women that they invoke stand only as symbols, Madonnas of poverty.

The anti-globalization youth movement's relationship to women in its ranks is similarly problematic. When I was at the university and belonged to an anti-globalization group there, activism on behalf of local women was shunted off to other organizations. The men in the group did not participate in the local Take Back the Night rally, and the women participated, but under the name of a different organization. One of the men in the group bragged about his pornography usage and made a number of misogynistic sexual comments to me and other women in the group. When I raised concerns about these incidents, I was brushed off.

This group would not take a stand against the mass rapes in Bosnia, nor would they admit that Milosevic was a genocidal dictator. For this group, and for many in the anti-globalization movement, any opposition to U.S. imperialism is good.

This cultural and moral relativism hampers the progress of the anti-globalization youth movement, combining the oppression-ranking of the old Left with the cultural relativism of the new Left. In other words, the anti-globalization youth movement believes both that class is the first oppression, race is secondary, and women will have to wait until after the revolution, and that "you can't judge someone else's culture." These tendencies are to be mourned, because they are killing

Prison budget cuts

Oakland, Cal.—California Governor Gray Davis ordered state agencies to prepare a 15% cut in spending. One would think that the proposed maximum security prison in Delano would be the first to be cut, as the California Department of Corrections' own statistics show that for the first time in two decades, the prison population growth is zero and expected to shrink as drug offenders are supposed to be offered drug treatment instead of long prison sentences.

Instead, we are hearing from women prisoners that they are experiencing dramatic cuts in health care. Apparently, the current hepatitis C doctor at Central California Women's Facility in Chowchilla tells women they are "cured" of hepatitis C (the disease is not curable) and denies them life-extending treatment.

According to a report by the HIV/Hepatitis C in Prison Committee women, with HIV are no longer being monitored for disease progression every 90 days. Women with hepatitis C are being denied access to educational material, test results, liver biopsies and medically indicated treatment. Women prisoners who are undergoing chemotherapy are too weak to go to work or school. Yet they are denied a disabled status, forcing them "to choose between saving their parole date and getting life-saving treatments for their disease. This is an unfair and inhumane choice."

We have heard that women who need wheelchairs have been ordered to sign a form allowing CCWF to charge them \$150 if they damage their wheelchair or want to parole with it. The prison then proceeded to take their money, even though the wheelchairs have not been damaged. When the women complain, on paper, trying to indicate they did not mean to allow the withdrawal of their funds, they are being prosecuted for attempting to defraud the state of the \$150.

The inhumanity of the system is clear from the multi-billion dollar tax rebates for multi-billion dollar companies while the laid-off workers get nothing for their livelihood. It is so much more stark when the women prisoners pay for the budget cuts with their lives. We are all in this together. It is urgent that we find a way out.

—Urszula Wislanka

Woman as Reason

a movement that poses exciting new challenges to capitalist hegemony.

The anti-globalization movement is not going to be able to function in our brave new world until they are working for freedom, and this includes freedom for women in all parts of the world. As numerous feminist groups, especially RAWA, have been at pains to point out, women are, distressingly, the canary in the coal mine. When women are oppressed, further widespread oppressions are sure to follow.

When I pointed out this last fact to the anti-globalization group that I belonged to, their response was, at best, muted. Similarly, when I asked them what should happen after they succeeded in disbanding the IMF, World Bank, and WTO, they were unable to give me even the most general description of what was to come.

In the face of these failures on the part of the Left, and in the face of threats from both fundamentalist terrorists and the U.S. government, we must work for freedom for all people. All people should be able to speak freely and be heard. All people should live free of rapes, bombings, genocides and poverty. I would like to see more leads on women and women's issues in *News & Letters*. And I would like to see more people challenging old, sexist assumptions wherever and whenever they appear on the Left.

Margaret Littmann 1913-2001

We mourn the death and honor the memory of Margaret Littmann, who wrote for *News & Letters* under the pen name Maggie Soleil for two decades, and whose generous support helped keep us alive. She reported on events and books about the women of Hawaii, where she moved in 1974. There, she supported the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement, as well as continued her lifelong commitment to the education of children.

What Margaret found compelling about *News and Letters* Committees was the Marxist-Humanist concept of revolution, telling me often that we had "better hurry up with your idea of revolution and that new human world. It's the only thing that will make a difference." When Marx's *Communist Manifesto* celebrated its 150th anniversary in 1998 and Margaret was 84 years old, she commented that it seemed to have been written yesterday, so well did it describe our world.

The rise of the Women's Liberation Movement transformed Margaret's thoughts and activism. In Hawaii, the women's movement informed her life as she threw herself into feminist activism. It's not only that she helped found the YWCA-Kauai Women's Center in 1977, or that she served on the Kauai County Committee on the Status of Women and in just about every position for the Kauai League of Women Voters. But when she saw the need for a shelter for abused women and their children she and her husband, Sidney, purchased and renovated the building, and Margaret wrote the grant for its funding.

In her last years, Margaret struggled with a multitude of physical limitations, including blindness and immobility. Despite these things, she kept up with the world. When in Detroit, Margaret was able to transform a school and make it a more humane place for children. In Hawaii she transformed an entire island, making it a safer place for women and children. Her support of *News and Letters* Committees revealed her desire to transform the world. Now she has left that task to us.

—Terry Moon

RAWA in Chicago

Chicago—On Nov. 9, Tahmeena Faryal of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) spoke in downtown Chicago at a meeting organized by *News and Letters* Committees and co-sponsored by dozens of feminist and human rights groups. Over 500 people, mostly women, packed into the Hot-house, a jazz club that regularly hosts progressive events; over 200 had to be turned away at the door. Tahmeena Faryal spoke movingly about the history of Afghanistan, stressing RAWA's opposition to all fundamentalists, including those in the Northern Alliance.

The following afternoon, Faryal spoke on another panel organized by *News and Letters* at the Harold Washington Library. The panel was entitled "The Struggle for Women's Emancipation in South Asia and the Middle East," and on the panel with Faryal were an Iranian feminist and a South Asian feminist. Close to 200 mostly women packed the room and lingered in the hallways to hear the talks and participate in the lively discussion that followed.

Both events drew large numbers of women out onto the Chicago anti-war scene. This shows that a more profound and principled opposition to the war is desired by women and needed if we want to build a genuine movement.

—Maya Jhansi

Feminist film reveals 'Hidden Half' in Iran

Since Sept. 11, there has been an upsurge of protests in Iran against the Islamic Republic. One expression of the new liberatory desires in Iran is the work of Tahmineh Milani, a feminist filmmaker whose new film *The Hidden Half* landed her in prison on charges of "waging war against God and misusing the arts in support of counter-revolutionary groups." Milani who is now out on bail and on tour in the U.S., faces an upcoming trial and a possible death sentence in Iran.

Readers of *News & Letters* are familiar with her previous film *Two Women*, which challenged the Islamic Republic's dehumanization of women (See March 2000 *N&L*). In her new film, *The Hidden Half*, Milani portrays the life of a woman named Fereshteh, who used to be politically active during the 1979 Revolution, and has had to bury her identity and aspirations during the past 20 years.

Fereshteh's recollection of her past embodies a critique of the Iranian Left from the vantage point of the Left. Her political activity as a 19-year-old student in 1979 consists of distributing fliers and newspapers for her party under extremely dangerous conditions. Her readings are limited to exposes of U.S. imperialism and Stalinist works on economic determinism. Her intellectual and emotional curiosity, however, attracts her to an older nationalist intellectual who encourages her to read widely in philosophy and literature if she wants to be serious about her goals. Her intellectual idol, however, treats her in a male chauvinistic and dishonest manner.

At one point when she escapes the counter-revolutionary squads and takes refuge in his office, she is challenged by a woman intellectual and former political prisoner who is from an earlier generation of political activists. Fereshteh's party fliers and her generation are critiqued for being superficial.

Milani presents her own critique of the Iranian Left for being narrow minded, ignorant of philosophy and history, and insensitive to women. The careless practices of leftist organizations which endangered and destroyed the lives of their members in counter-revolutionary times are also heavily critiqued.

It is voices like Milani's which point to a humanist revolutionary direction for the Middle East. It is critical for us to do whatever we can to support Milani against Islamic fundamentalist judges who wish to execute her.

—Sheila Fuller

Women step out and speak-out

Chicago—The Chicago International Women's Day Planning Committee hosted a Fall Speak-Out at the end of October at Roosevelt University. Toni Bond of Chicago Abortion Fund (CAF) and African American Women Evolving kicked off the meeting. Toni focused her discussion on what she called "the perverse relationship between race and reproduction," giving a history of this relationship from slavery to today. She included in this history the limitations within the pro-choice movement and challenged it to operate from an "anti-racist, human-rights framework."

For example, while CAF is confronted daily with the consequences of the Hyde Amendment which denies women on medicaid abortion services, forcing them to sell everything from their TVs to their bodies, the pro-choice movement largely focuses on abortion rights, not access. Toni declared, "I want to know when we're going to reverse the Hyde Amendment? I hear pro-choice activists say it's not possible to win so they don't bother trying. It speaks volumes to their value of women of color. When you don't work to overturn Hyde, you collude with the anti-choicers and maintain a connection between race and reproduction."

Alissa Hull of the Young Women's Empowerment Project spoke next on the sexual trafficking of women and girls, saying that the U.S. government's estimates that 50,000 per year are trafficked into the U.S. are low. She stressed the need to make a distinction between sexual and labor trafficking, noting that sexual assault is more than a labor issue. She said that what is needed in this time of globalization is to "globalize dignity." Maria Gonzales of the Day Labor Organizing Project, and a day laborer herself, was the third speaker. She said, "Women arrive at the day labor agencies at 5 a.m. after dropping children off at a babysitter's around 3 a.m. Sometimes you stand in line for hours not knowing if you'll get work or what kind of a job you'll be sent to. You have to take anything you can get."

She talked about discrimination from agencies that only hire men for certain jobs and "the offers to exchange sexual favors for work. You have to be nice to them if you want to work." Maria asked, "How can women come together to create alternatives? People talk about 'rights' but we just can't find them."

The thoughtfulness of these three speakers can help us rethink not only where the Women's Liberation Movement is headed, but where other movements need to go as well.

—Sonia Bergonzi

V&V Supremo contract and solidarity

Chicago—On Nov. 22, the Chicago workers' movement celebrated a first contract for the drivers and warehouse workers at V&V Supremo Cheese. They rallied at St. Pius Church in the largely Mexican neighborhood of Pilsen where the plant is located. This Mexican immigrant workforce had been on strike for six months, fighting to be recognized as members of Teamsters Local 703.

The production workers had agreed to go back to work while their contract is being negotiated. But the "owners," Gilberto and Philippe Villaseñor, have since locked them out during negotiations.

Their lawyer, John Rodenbaugh, with his firm Matkov, Salzman, Madoff & Gunn, has convinced them to continue to waste time and resources fighting to keep

these workers at poverty wages. In fighting the workers' right to organize, they have already wasted over one million dollars. Now they are attempting to intimidate the workers by locking them out.

Without knowing of the planned lockout, religious, labor, and community leaders gathered in the church to celebrate a settlement which gives pay raises over three years of up to 35% for drivers and up to 25% for warehouse workers. The employer loses the right to arbitrarily reward people at various levels for the same work. The contract institutes a standard, progressive



Summer protest at the gates of V&V Supremo.

Dennis Dixon/News & Letters

disciplinary system and a grievance procedure, and makes the employer agree to binding arbitration.

These provisions reduce the employer's dictatorial domination over the lives of the workers. On the one hand, holding out for six months may have given the employer the ability for now to keep a greater percentage of the wealth that the workers produce. But as Sarita Gupta of Jobs with Justice pointed out, the creative solidarity of workers with the community gained them real victory.

A first contract gives them better opportunities to improve their conditions in the future united as Teamsters. Local 703 Secretary-Treasurer Tom Steide, while gratified at the victory of the union, pointed out the broader aspect of workers' fights in the United States by saying that the ruling class is using the so-called "war on terrorism" to declare "war against workers at home." Jesse Jackson made a similar point by saying the "terrorists must not (be used to) destroy the American Dream."

Margaret Blacksheare, President of the Illinois AFL-CIO, emphasized the appropriateness of having the rally at a Shrine of St. Jude, the patron saint of the impossible. She said that the seemingly impossible was made possible by those who tenaciously stood together as human beings in solidarity to defeat injustice.

—Dennis Dixon

Aid Pakistan strikers!

Lahore, Pakistan—The Civil Secretariat Employees Association Baluchistan carried out an all-out strike in Quetta, Baluchistan on Nov. 19, demanding implementation of the charter of demands accepted by the government in July. The police and other law enforcement agencies attacked the striking workers using brutality and heavy baton charges.

The union had called off a two-week-long strike in July after reaching an agreement. This union is an affiliate of the Pakistan Trade Union Defence Campaign, and PTUDC members had played an important role in that strike.

But four months later the government refused to implement the package they agreed to. After lengthy meetings and negotiations with the government, the union started a protest campaign.

The police have so far arrested more than 100 trade union activists and members of the union. The president and secretary general of CSEA were arrested and have been severely tortured. Comrade Hameed Khan, as the main strike leader, faces severe torture at the hands of the state.

The PTUDC arranged an emergency meeting of trade union leaders in Lahore, condemned the arrests and demanded the immediate release of the leaders and strikers. We are launching a nationwide solidarity campaign. We have plans to hold protest demonstrations in all the big cities and towns of Pakistan. We are in urgent need of international solidarity and help.

The workers' demands are for immediate and unconditional release of Hameed Khan and all other arrested union leaders and workers; no more police harassment of trade unionists; all cases against arrested strikers to be dropped unconditionally, and implementation and acceptance of the Charter of Demands put forward by the CSEA.

Meanwhile, the working people and trade unionists of Pakistan need your help—urgently. Please send your protest messages to: President of Pakistan (e-mail ce@pak.gov.pk), Federal Interior Minister (e-mail minister@interior.gov.pk) and The Governor of Baluchistan, Quetta, Pakistan.

Please send copies of all protest and solidarity messages to the Pakistan Trade Union Defence Campaign: ptudc@nexlinx.net.pk. Donations can be made at www.ptudc.org.

—From Khalid Bhatti, National Organizer PTUDC

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

ly wondered if these tactics were learned from Florida Republicans who selectively counted pro-Bush absentee ballots.

The "dues relief" for nursing home workers is a mirage. Even for these low-wage workers, the new scheme means some part-timers will pay more than the 2% advertised by the bureaucrats. In any case, nursing home workers will still be paying too much to the union, considering what they make under the union contract. The union bureaucrats are exposing their own failure to gain an equitable living wage for thousands of nursing home workers. Furthermore, other workers in higher-paying technical jobs would see their dues skyrocket.

Kaiser workers overwhelmingly rejected the proposed dues changes. Four years into the top-down initiated partnership with Kaiser management which gave Local 250 a lock on organizing new jobs created through Kaiser's restructuring, workers increasingly feel that every union initiative now is to enhance the flow of dues income.

Many workers are asking what could possibly justify this drastic dues increase. Despite this partnership, representation has in fact declined. Countless workers complain how hard it is to get any union help in the workplace. Many of our grievances are now channeled into a management-union committee designed to paper them over instead of giving them a traditional full hearing.

RANK-AND-FILE COMMITTEE

Several hundred workers met and formed a rank-and-file committee to challenge the legitimacy of the dues increase vote. Shocked SEIU bureaucrats responded by saying they will institute the new dues structure only at sites where it was approved and will hold off at Kaiser where it was overwhelmingly rejected. The rank-and-file committee wasn't impressed by this "compromise," and has started a recall campaign against top local union officials.

They also called for de-authorization of the local, which means an open union shop. This shows that workers are so alienated from their union that they actually want the right to consent to membership. This makes sense where the union has decided to totally collaborate with management. We don't want to get rid of the union, but rank-and-filers want to reassert their control.

One worker cited the statement placed in front of the Constitution and by-laws in 1988 when a new administration came in office as the union came out from under trusteeship: "Local 250 members are free to determine their own fate now." The fraudulent practices committed by today's union bureaucrats reveals sharply how top-down business unionism will always fail to live up to declarations like this.

The rank-and-file committee is now asserting workers' independence. We want to think and speak for ourselves, especially on what it means to be a member. The very creation of the labor-management partnership sidelined workers and our concept of a union.

It is important that this revolt be about more than just stopping them from stealing more of our money. Maybe this dues revolt can signal a renewed drive toward genuine unionism where we workers organize ourselves in the workplace, including a drive for a living wage for nursing home workers and all other low-paid workers.

FedEx benefits drop

Memphis, Tenn.—On Jan. 1, FedEx is changing the schedules for part-time workers. The schedules have been based on how they hired you. When you first apply they tell you right off what hours they need you for. What job you're able to get depends on when you're hired and what they offer.

I've had the same hours since I was first hired: three days a week, around 8 a.m. to 3 p.m., although the hours change somewhat every day. But they're changing that now for everyone who works in the hub where we sort and load packages, all the part-time workers.

You have to choose to work either five days or two days. If you work five days, you have to work 30 hours and you keep all your benefits. If you work two days, you lose all benefits except tuition reimbursement. Before this, all part-time workers got all the benefits.

This is going to be hard on a lot of people like me. Since there are no unions, our managers have been stressing to us that if we don't want the change to please petition management about it. Nobody is really happy about this situation. A lot of people are going to quit. I'm probably going to lose my job.

FedEx is known for not laying off people. Lately they've been hiring a lot of people because they got a contract to deliver mail for the U.S. postal service. But since the economy has been doing worse, they said that last year they got twice the number of packages that we've gotten this year.

I think they're trying to get people to quit so they can hire new people for these new shifts with no benefits. I also think with this new shift, that they won't be paying more money for people who work at night. At least, this is what we've all been hearing.

—Young soon to be ex-FedEx worker

P.O. workers at risk

Chicago—A friend of mine in the main post office knows the worker in Washington, D.C. who died from anthrax. The anthrax crisis wasn't taken too seriously by the Post Office. There's a machine that they can use to sterilize the mail. They haven't put one in Chicago, only in D.C. They'll only put a machine like that where the big shots are.

The problem is deeper than an emergency that's over in a minute. You can see their attitude in other ways. When Sept. 11 happened, the whole Federal Building was let out, but we were still there working. That made everyone pissed off. We were there three layers underground, and no one anywhere knew what was going on, but had to stay there and work.

When it came to the anthrax threat at our facility, people were brought in to check the mail for contamination and to check the air. They were in gear and on the job for one day. We thought the inspections were going to happen at least monthly, but they didn't come back.

The cost involved is why the anthrax problem is not taken seriously. Now they're trying to save money by adding two buildings to my route. They've never taken any buildings off my route. I have asked for help on Mondays which are rough because there are two days of delivery to do, but "no way" is what I hear.

Now the union is negotiating a new contract. The Post Office wants to take away our sick hours. They are always trying to take away something. We currently have a no-layoff clause, but the Post Office wants that back, too. If that goes, I'm out of there.

—Letter carrier

Free speech fight

Memphis, Tenn.—The University of Memphis made its stand on democracy crystal clear a few weeks ago when it forbade students from passing out flyers in the student cafeteria informing them of the Immokalee tomato pickers' boycott against Taco Bell (See "Tomato pickers on Taco Bell boycott," November N&L).

Before we were there ten minutes, the Aramark cafeteria manager told us we had to leave. One student insisted that we had the constitutional right to be there and he wouldn't leave. Two cops came and one told us: "On this campus, you don't have any freedoms unless we give them to you."

Of course this is just the beginning of our struggle. The next move is a letter to the campus paper not only about the Taco Bell boycott, but our right to free speech. When they threw us out, they guaranteed we would take the struggle to a higher, more visible level.

—Students in support of Taco Bell workers

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EDITORIAL

Bush's war on freedom in the USA

The massive assault leveled since Sept. 11 by George Bush and his attorney general, John Ashcroft, on a wide number of civil liberties guaranteed to us by the U.S. Constitution, has reached such a chilling point that some legal scholars are calling it nothing less than a "constitutional coup d'etat." What finally brought forth the alarm was the sweeping presidential order of Nov. 13 empowering Bush to conduct secret military tribunals for those he, himself, as commander-in-chief will decide should be tried as suspected terrorists.

Those who can be imprisoned and sentenced to death include any noncitizen accused of aiding or abetting "acts of international terrorism, or acts in preparation therefore that have cause, threaten to cause... injury to or adverse effects on the United States, its citizens, national security, foreign policy, or economy."

Spain made it known at once that it would not extradite the eight men it had captured and charged with complicity in the Sept. 11 attacks unless the U.S. agreed to try them in a civilian court. European Union officials said they doubted that any of the other 14 nations—all of whom have renounced the death penalty and signed the European Convention on Human Rights—would agree to any extradition that would involve a military tribunal.

Most frightening of all has been the speed by which one blow after another to the civil rights of all of us has been delivered under the guise of being "anti-terror."

• Over 1,000 non-citizens were detained in the immediate post-Sept. 11 dragnet of people who might have some connection to that carnage, of whom over 600 are still being held, most of them on immigration

charges. Not one has been charged with involvement with the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. That no one knows where they are being held, or who they are, has led civil libertarians to liken them to the "disappeared" of Latin American dictatorships.

At the same time, the USA Patriot Act was rushed through Congress, establishing a broad definition of "terrorism" that, the ACLU pointed out, could include activism on anything from opposition to the World Trade Organization to Vieques. It threatens the free speech which up to now has been protected by the Bill of Rights. The very acronym they painstakingly created by the ludicrous title of "Unity and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Interrupt and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001" lends strong support to Samuel Johnson's warning that patriotism is, indeed, the last refuge of scoundrels.

• Among the most threatening changes the Patriot Act has effected is the abolition of the separation between the overseas spying of the CIA and domestic policing of the FBI, which was established 25 years ago in the wake of Watergate and Richard Nixon's attempt to use intelligence-gathering against his political opponents. Passage of the Act was quickly followed by Ashcroft's dispensing with the Freedom of Information Act, while Bush removed any former president's papers from the public domain.

The furor created by Bush's presidential order establishing military tribunals temporarily diverted attention from the plan Ashcroft had revealed only a few days earlier. Not content with the 1,100 detained in the biggest federal dragnet in U.S. history, he was

now ordering the interrogation of 5,000 more young men from Middle Eastern countries, present legally in the U.S. on student or business visas. Finally, opposition to the draconian edicts that have been issued since Sept. 11 is being heard, both in the media and in Congress. Only one lone dissenter in the Senate, Russell Feingold, raised his voice the day the Patriot Act was signed, reminding his peers of the many assaults on our freedom—from the Alien and Sedition Acts of John Adams, through the internments during World War II, to the McCarthy persecutions of the 1950s and the spying on anti-war protesters in the 1960s.

While we are constantly being told of the sky-high popularity ratings for Bush in the wake of Sept. 11, it is hardly believable that the Black voters of this land have forgotten the way he achieved power by stealth. Nor can anyone truly have forgotten that John Ashcroft, who has become the most powerful attorney general in recent U.S. history, less than a year ago was in trouble having his appointment confirmed because of his racist and fundamentalist views.

It is clear Bush and Ashcroft knew where they wanted to take this country long before the reactionary Islamic fundamentalist movement handed them their opportunity on Sept. 11. The question now is how much further they will go. We are already being told that the Pentagon is considering a plan to unify all military aspects of "homeland defense" in a single, giant command similar to the Central Command conducting the war in Afghanistan. It would represent an enormous expansion of the military's power within the U.S.

What is important to see is that the changes we have seen enacted over the last two and a half months are not a mere expansion but a basic and frightening restructuring of military and police powers that represents so serious an attack on our civil liberties that it gives new meaning to the permanence of the war that has been declared on civil liberties and on us.

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Fighting environmental racism

Atlanta—I attended a meeting of the Board of Scientific Counselors of ATSDR (Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry) in November. This was set up to address many communities' concerns about ATSDR.

I've been one of the special consultants to the board's Community/Tribal Subcommittee (CTS) for four years. The first two years, I thought we were making progress. After a change of leadership, nothing was accomplished. We just didn't know if they would ever put in place any of our recommendations to change certain procedures to be more responsive towards communities. The CTS had two years to put these recommendations in place. They're trying to say now that on some things they didn't understand what we were talking about.

There's a special committee to look at five communities and to look at the new guidelines for ATSDR and see if they used our recommendations and how they used them, and if they were being responsive to the community. Four of those communities are at military sites. One is an industry site. We wanted to go back over each health assessment to see if ATSDR followed the procedures the way we wanted them to. We know there's been a major time gap in doing them. Some health assessments take ATSDR two years; some take six months because they don't do any research, they just take whatever the polluter gave them and that's it.

The "health assessment" is not a health evaluation as you might think. It is a site evaluation, because they only look at the site. I've said this over and over. Public health means having a clinic in our hands, taking care of people's health in the community. But public health has a whole different meaning to agency people. There needs to be clarification of that. Because people of color are not receiving any help when it comes to health issues. And we're not going to receive it because of the racism.

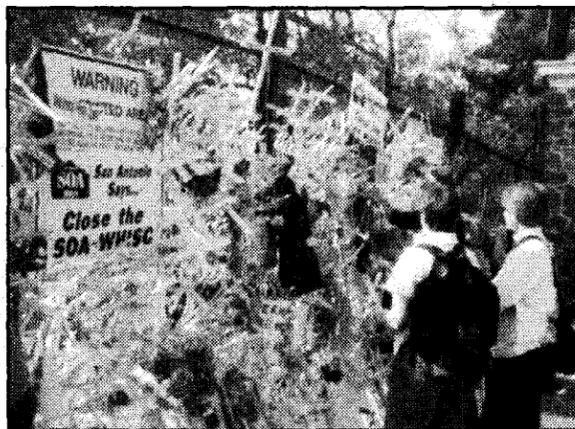
The anthrax the postal worker in New Jersey died

from shows the racism in dealing with people of color: they gave him a Tylenol and sent him home even though the man had told them that he might have anthrax. They could have given him Cipro as a precaution. But I feel that because he was Black, they just don't care about his health. Period.

I think the only way communities of color are going to get the help we need is to raise doctors in the community and get the churches, which are what many of us are involved in, to start setting up clinics all over the country. We need to get our own people to work in these clinics.

—Doris Bradshaw

School of assassins



As many as 12,000 people took part in three days of protest at Fort Benning, Georgia's Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (formerly known as the School of the Americas) from Nov. 16-18. The annual protest condemns the school's role in training military officers involved in human rights violations throughout Latin America.

Ray Corvus/News & Letters

Kyoto treaty scandal

Last month the world's nation-states finally agreed on rules to implement the 1997 Kyoto treaty on global warming. While their Marrakech, Morocco, conference was busy turning the budding disaster into a business opportunity, opposition came from within and without the conference hall. A new category of "climate justice" has emerged from the convergence of environmental justice, indigenous and solidarity groups, who link the problems of climate change to racial justice, workers' rights and social transformation.

Kyoto's great scandal is its transformation into opposite—from an instrument to control global warming, into the basis for a new "carbon trade" industry. Over the last four years, the U.S., Russia, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand won unfettered trading in greenhouse-gas emission rights, plus massive credits for scientifically discredited and unverifiable "carbon sinks"—forest and farm practices that theoretically withdraw carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. As a result, few countries will have to take action to reduce emissions. Instead of being cut, emissions will keep growing.

As Tom Goldtooth of the Indigenous Environmental Network declared, "With emissions trading, corporations have found a new way of continuing their ruthless commodification of nature....We need real solutions that address the root causes of climate change and environmental racism, not corporate solutions like carbon trading that will not do anything to stop greenhouse gases in the U.S."

The "Clean Development Mechanism" (CDM), originally meant to help transfer renewable energy and energy-efficient technologies to poor countries, has been turned into its opposite to provide credits for environmentally damaging industries—nuclear power, giant dams and "clean" coal—to make a killing through mega-projects in those countries. Even environmental groups that accept this "first step" vow to fight such projects.

Last year's Declaration of Indigenous Peoples on Climate Change denounced the CDM for reducing forests to their carbon sequestration capacity, resulting in "projects which adversely impact upon our natural, sensitive and fragile eco-systems, contaminating our soils, forests and waters"; and the "intervention of oil, gas, nuclear and large hydroelectric power station, logging and mining companies, in their exploitation of natural resources in indigenous territories."

Not only did the declaration attack the policies and mechanisms that exclude participation of indigenous peoples and "permit developed countries to avoid their responsibility to reduce emissions at source, promote the expansion of global capital, and deepen our marginalization." It pointed to new concepts and practices of development, as opposed to current practices in both industrialized and Third World countries.

—Franklin Dmitryev

Black/Red View

Nat Turner revolt's legacy

(Continued from page 1)

Turner became a hunted fugitive. Hundreds of peaceful African-American slaves were killed by whites seeking vengeance. Within a month Turner was captured, put on trial, found guilty and hanged. But his brief tragic revolt universalized itself in William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator* and the Abolitionist movement.

The Nat Turner Rebellion was profoundly different from the wanton, egocentric terrorism of bin Laden and his Al Qaeda. In their terrorism there is no concept of how the idea of freedom is immanent in the activity of the masses. Nat Turner was conscious of how deeply the idea that drove him was in the Black masses. Or, as he said in his confession: "I see, sir, you doubt my word [about not conspiring in a slave insurrection in another county]. But cannot you think that the same idea [freedom] prompted others as well as myself to this undertaking?"

In the nineteenth century U. S., the Black revolt was the fulcrum of the unfolding of the idea of freedom, including the first women's movement that emerged out of Garrison's Abolitionist Movement.

The conspiratorial terrorism of bin Laden's Al Qaeda is akin to what Hegel called the struggle of the "pure heart" which rationalizes any means to attack from outside what it perceives to be the corrupt "way of the world." The "way of the world" for Hegel was the mod-

ern capitalist world. The purity of the "pure heart" as embodied by bin Laden includes the hatred of women and the need to eradicate any who disagree with its narrow constrictions on behavior. Today some so-called leftists claim that the Al Qaeda terrorists are "freedom fighters" because they, too, have a conspiratorial view of how the world changes.

They claim that the violence of Al Qaeda is caused by U. S. imperialism in Third World countries. Yes, U.S. imperialism conducts its own state terrorism and plays a major role in dominating the economy and the politics of the Arab and other Third World nations. But the road toward the ending of that domination begins with mass action against one's own home grown oppressors, not by the mass murder of innocent people thousands of miles away. Indeed, the Islamic fundamentalist regimes with which U.S. imperialism peacefully coexists, like Saudi Arabia, are opposed by bin Laden because, if anything, they are not oppressive and restrictive enough toward all sorts of individual freedoms. Bin Laden's fundamentalism is a new element of that oppression.

Rather than extolling terrorism that creates no new freedom but only death, we need to return to a philosophy of freedom that captures what Marx called "the quest for universality" among ordinary workers who want to overcome alienation from within "the way of the world."

Special section.... Just off the press!

THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY: SELECTED WRITINGS ON THE DIALECTIC IN HEGEL AND MARX BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

—Table of Contents and Excerpts from the Introduction, pages 6 and 7

—Readers' Views begin on page 8

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES**Editor's Note**

"On political divides and philosophic new beginnings," written on June 5, 1987, is the last writing we have from the pen of Raya Dunayevskaya, who died on June 9, 1987. We reprint it here because it serves as the conclusion to the new book, *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx* by Dunayevskaya.

Written as one of her monthly "Theory/Practice" columns, the essay further develops her new perceptions on Lenin's philosophic ambivalence in terms of its impact on the dialectics of organization. It also returns to discuss, on new ground, many of the philosophic themes she addressed in the early 1980s, following the publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. It was first published in the In Memoriam special issue of *News & Letters*, on July 25, 1987.

The abysmal lower depths that the Reagan retrogression has sunk the world into throughout the seven years of this decade have polluted the ideological air, not only of the ruling class, but have penetrated the Left itself. Such a deep retrogression urgently demands that, along with the economic and political tasks facing us, we look for philosophic new beginnings.

In the midst of the work I am doing on my new book, "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," I have been digging into research on two opposed forms of organization—that is, our opposition to the vanguard party-to-lead, and our support of forms of organization born out of the spontaneous activity of the masses. Suddenly I realized that the relationship between these two opposed forms was exactly what I had posed back in 1982, on the eve of the publication of my third book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. I then (September 1982) added a paragraph to chapter 12 of that just-completed work. It was this articulation, which I reached only after the book was completed, that made me feel that the process of working out such questions demanded a book unto itself.

This became even clearer when I realized that though [*Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*] was already at the printer, and had dealt with forms of organization both in Marx's day and in the early 20th century—with Lenin, Luxemburg, and the council communists—I nevertheless felt compelled to write a Philosophic-Political Letter to my colleagues on this subject. I called it: "On the Battle of Ideas: Philosophic-Theoretic Points of Departure as Political Tendencies Respond to the Objective Situation" (October 1982).⁽¹⁾ Here I would like to take up two points from the Letter, which begins:

I am taking advantage of the fact that we do not yet have the new book in hand, which will plunge us into so many activities that we will have a tendency to forget "abstract" philosophic points of departure . . .

I returned to the final chapter 12 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. Its penultimate paragraph read:

It isn't because we are any "smarter" that we can see so much more than other post-Marx Marxists. Rather, it is because of the maturity of our age. It is true that other post-Marx Marxists have rested on a truncated Marxism; it is equally true that no other generation could have seen the problematic of our age, much less solve our problems. Only live human beings can recreate the revolutionary dialectic forever anew. And these live human beings must do so in theory as well as in practice. It is not a question only of meeting the challenge from practice, but of being able to meet the challenge from the self-development of the Idea, and of deepening theory to the point where it reaches Marx's concept of the philosophy of "revolution in permanence."

It was at that point that I asked that the following paragraph be added [to that book]:

There is a further challenge to the form of organization which we have worked out as the committee-form rather than the "party-to-lead." But, though committee-form and "party-to-lead" are opposites, they are not absolute opposites. At the point when the theoretic-form reaches philosophy, the challenge demands that we synthesize not only the new relations of theory to practice, and all the forces of revolution, but philosophy's "suffering, patience and labor of the negative," i.e. experiencing absolute negativity. Then and only then will we succeed in a revolution that will achieve a class-less, non-racist, non-sexist, truly human, truly new society. That which Hegel judged to be the synthesis of the "Self-Thinking Idea" and the "Self-Bringing-Forth of Liberty," Marxist-Human-

'On political divides and philosophic new beginnings'

ism holds, is what Marx had called the new society. The many paths to get there are not easy to work out.⁽²⁾

I also suggested an addition to the Introduction of the book, to be added directly after I pointed out that "just as the young Marx, in first turning to what he called "Economics," had discovered the proletariat as the Subject who would be the "gravedigger of capitalism" and the leader of the proletarian revolution, so, at the end of his life, Marx made still newer discoveries as he turned to new, empirical anthropological studies like Morgan's *Ancient Society* as well as to the imperial incursions into the Orient and the carving up of Africa.

Here is what I proposed to add at that point:

That seems to have been the first point so misunderstood by post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Frederick Engels, who, without having known of the massive *Ethnological Notebooks* Marx had left behind, undertook to write his own version of Morgan's work—his *Origin of the Family*—as a "bequest" of Marx. When Ryazanov discovered these notebooks, he rushed, before he ever had a chance to decipher them, to characterize them as "inexcusable pedantry."⁽³⁾ If an Engels, who was a close collaborator of Marx and without whom we could not have had Volumes II and III of *Capital*, could nevertheless suddenly have gotten so overconfident about his own prowess of interpreting

"Only live human beings can re-create the revolutionary dialectic forever anew. And these live human beings must do so in theory as well as in practice."

Marx as to assume he was speaking for Marx; if an archivist-scholar like Ryazanov could, at a time when he was actually publishing those magnificent early essays of Marx (the 1844 *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*), spend a good deal of his first report of the Archives of

Marx in asking for 20 to 30 people to help him sort these manuscripts out, and yet pass judgment before he dug into them—it says a great deal about literary heirs but nothing whatsoever about so great an historic phenomenon as Marx's Marxism. Isn't it time to challenge all of the post-Marx Marxists when even those who have achieved great revolutions—and none was greater than the 1917 Russian Revolution—did not, in thought, measure up to Marx? Isn't it time to dig into what Marx, who had discovered a whole new continent of thought, had to say for himself?

My letter to my colleagues then concluded:

The fact that in my latest work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, I focus on Marx's "translation" of absolute negativity as the revolution in permanence, calling that the absolute challenge to our age, will draw greater criticism from academia and outright attacks from post-Marx Marxists. This makes it necessary to be prepared, not only for that encounter, but for further concretizing that challenge. With this in mind, I decided to add that paragraph quoted earlier directly to the Introduction. For while it is true that the actual events of the 1970s—Women's Liberation on the one hand, and the publication of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* on the other—are what first led to a renewed interest in Rosa Luxemburg; and while it is true also that the Women's Liberation movement helped disclose the feminist dimension in Luxemburg never before recognized; it is not true that that is the goal of the new book.

The need to see all post-Marx Marxists in strict relationship to Marx's Marxism is what revealed that even so great and independent a revolutionary as Rosa Lux-

emburg did not fully comprehend Marx's dialectic of liberation and thereby committed her biggest error—disregard of the revolutionary nature of Polish desire for national self-determination. Put simply, the determinant of the new book is Marx's philosophy of revolution. This is not for any academic reason, or any sort of orthodoxy, but the fact that his works disclosed a trail to the 1980s and revealed the problematic of this age.

The totally new question that Luxemburg posed—socialist democracy after gaining power—pointed to a new aspect of Marxism itself.

The new moments in Marx that the book discloses and that center around what we now call a Third World are not limited to the manner in which Marx revealed an

"Asiatic mode of production" in the *Grundrisse*. Rather, this is extended to the 1880s as Marx was commenting on Morgan's *Ancient Society* and other then-new anthropological works on India, on the Australian aborigines, as well as his letters both on his visit to Algeria and his correspondence with revolutionaries in Russia on the ancient commune there and its possible transformation into an altogether new type of revolution. In a word, it is to revolution in permanence that the book keeps returning, whether the subject is Luxemburg, or Lenin, or Women's Liberation, or the Hegelian dialectic. At the same time, we must keep in mind that, whereas it is Marx who transformed Hegel into a contemporary, and transformed the Hegelian dialectic into the Marxist dialectic of liberation, the revolution is also present in Hegel. Hard as Hegel tried to confine this to a revolution in thought alone, he made his presence felt in history, even as he spoke of the *Philosophy of Mind* and *History of Philosophy*. As Hegel put it:

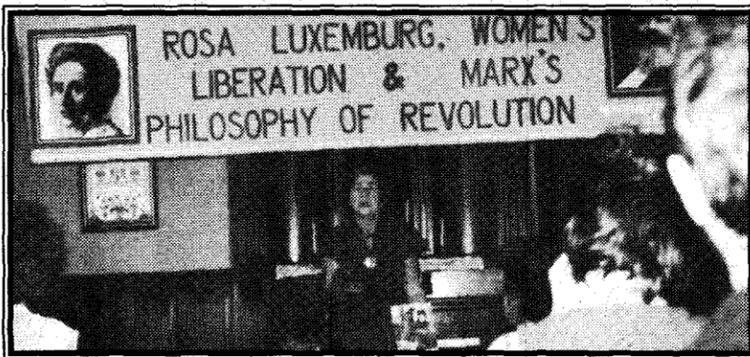
All revolutions, in the sciences no less than in general history, originate only in this, that the spirit of man, for the understanding and comprehension of himself, for the possessing of himself, has now altered his categories, uniting himself in a truer, deeper, more intrinsic relation with himself.⁽⁴⁾

Now return to our own situation, and think of the attacks that we will be facing in 1987, when we state openly that even the one post-Marx Marxist revolutionary who did reach deeply into philosophy—Lenin—nevertheless did not do so on the question of organization. In truth, he never renounced his position on the vanguard party set out in 1902 in *What Is To Be Done?*, though he often critiqued it himself. He profoundly extended his new breakthrough in philosophy to a concretization of the dialectics of revolution, and yet never changed his position on the need for the "thin layer of Bolsheviks" [LCW 33, p. 257] as a vanguard party organization. In 1982 in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, we critiqued Lenin politically. To fully work out the dialectics of philosophy and organization for our age, it is now clear that that critique must dig deep philosophically.

The whole truth is that even Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*, which remains the ground for organization today, was written 112 years ago. What is demanded is not mere "updating," after all the aborted revolutions of the post-World War II world, "Ground" will not suffice alone; we have to finish the building—the roof and its contents. This is what I am working on now in the "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy"—I would appreciate hearing from our readers on their thoughts on this.

NOTES

1. See *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx* by Raya Dunayevskaya, pp. 237–257.
2. These and a number of other paragraphs which Dunayevskaya wanted to add to *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* were published in the 1991 University of Illinois edition of that work, pp. xxxi–xxxviii.
3. David Ryazanov, who edited Marx in Soviet Russia in the 1920s, beginning work on the Complete Writings of Marx and Engels (MEGA), made these remarks in a 1923 report to the Communist Academy.
4. Hegel, *Philosophy of Nature*, trans. by A.V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 11.



Dunayevskaya at book party for *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, Detroit, 1982.

News & Letters

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Appendix

Excerpts from 1949-51 Philosophic Correspondence with C.L.R. James and Grace Lee Boggs — Letters of February 18, February 25, and March 12, 1949, to C.L.R. James

contents

THE POWER OF NEGA

Selected
DialeI. The Present
Moment

Marx's oeuvre, which many had declared obsolete, has taken on new life at the dawn of the twenty-first century because the strength of his critique of the destructive power of capital is so missed. Today's unprecedented inequities in wealth and power, accompanied by wrenching technological changes and environmental havoc, as well as monopolization and social fragmentation, are increasingly begetting the sense that the time has come to return to Marx. In a process that conjures up the spirit of the dialectic itself, the very fact which had been heralded as proving the death of Marx—the universalization of capital, as it invades every corner of the earth and all spheres of everyday life—has led workers as well as intellectuals, activists as well as academics, to look anew at what Marx's work means for today. This is reflected in everything from journalistic discourses on the need to face "the specter of Marx," to theoretical analyses on the cogency of the Marxian critique of globalized capitalism.(1) The more the globalization of capital spurs social dislocation and impoverishment, the more we can expect such appraisals of Marx in the coming period.

One surprising feature of much of the current return to Marx, however, is the relative silence on Hegel and the dialectic. This attitude has developed despite Marx's insistence in *Capital* and other works that his method was at its core dialectical and that Hegel's dialectic was for him "the source of all dialectic."(2)

For example, in his *Specters of Marx*, Jacques Derrida on the one hand terms Marx's writings "urgent" for an understanding of today's globalized capitalism, while on the other distances himself from the Hegelian dialectic, which he calls an "onto-theology" and "anthropo-theology."(3) From the vantage point of the Frankfurt School, a tradition once rooted in a form of Hegelian Marxism, Jürgen Habermas rejects the Hegelian dialectic as the remnant of a romantic idealist philosophy of consciousness, and attacks Marx for remaining "tied to Hegelian logic."(4) Even Moishe Postone, a Frankfurt-trained Critical Theorist who has urged a return to Marx's critique of capital in order to comprehend the present crisis, considers the Hegelian dialectic as little more than a philosophical expression of the logic of capital.(5)

At the same time, the present moment is rife with serious studies of Hegel by non-Marxists. The past decade has experienced a veritable explosion of new works on Hegel in the Anglo-American world, as seen in such recent books as H.S. Harris's *Hegel's Ladder*, a 1,600-page study of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*. On a more modest, and yet significant level, new studies on Hegel by feminists, especially those from a postmodernist background, have emerged.(6) Yet instead of intersect-

ing, the ongoing discussions of Hegel and Marx often appear as two trains passing each other in the dead of night, very nearly unnoticed by one another.

Fredric Jameson has spoken to this problem:

This is a time when people no longer understand what dialectical thinking is or why the dialectic came into being in the first place, when they have abandoned the dialectical for less rewarding Nietzschean positions. So there is certainly a need today for a revitalized vision of the dialectic. There I would certainly not abandon Marx, but I would want to go back to Hegel for an enlargement of the way we have normally understood Marx. This is not any particularly new idea with me.

Lenin had already

said that no one could understand *Das Kapital* who had not already worked his way through Hegel's logic. . . . I think the coming years will show an unconscious need for the dialectic which some of us on the left ought to have the mission to satisfy.(7)

The writings in this volume will, we hope, take us toward satisfying this need. At each stage in the history of Marxism, revolutionaries and theorists have felt the need to hew a path out of the seemingly insurmountable barriers facing the radical movement by turning anew to Hegel. This was true of Lenin in 1914, when he responded to the collapse of established Marxism with the outbreak of World War I by delving into Hegel's *Science of Logic*. It was true of such diverse tendencies as the Frankfurt School and French neo-Marxists in the 1930s and 1940s, who turned to Hegel in a period defined by fascism and the rise of Stalinism. Likewise, in the 1950s, in the face of the new challenges posed by the freedom struggles of the post-World War II era, Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87) developed the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism through a direct encounter with Hegel's dialectic.

Dunayevskaya's life and work represent a rare combination of passionate involvement in freedom struggles and intense philosophical exploration.

Born in Ukraine in 1910, she immigrated to the U.S. as a teenager, and by the mid-1920s became involved in labor, socialist, and Black liberation movements. After serving as secretary to Leon Trotsky in 1937-38, she broke with him at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939, and subsequently developed a theory of state-capitalism. She argued that Roosevelt's New Deal, Hitler's Germany, and especially Stalin's Russia, represented varieties of a new stage of global capitalism, one in which the fetishism of state planning was paramount.(8) This work soon brought her into a period of close collaboration with the Trinidadian Marxist and cultural critic C.L.R.

James.

During the 1940s, she also engaged in dialogue with a number of intellectuals of the anti-Stalinist left, such as Meyer Schapiro, and became a sharp critic of those, such as the pragmatist Sidney Hook, who strongly rejected Hegel as a reactionary thinker.

By the mid-1950s, Dunayevskaya moved in a different direction from James, as she developed a new position, rooted in a reexamination of the Hegelian underpinnings of Marx's thought,

which she soon termed Marxist-Humanism.

In the late 1950s, she engaged in an extensive correspondence on dialectics with the Critical Theorist, Herbert Marcuse, and, a bit later, with Erich Fromm, another former Frankfurt School member.(9) In her *Marxism and Freedom* (1958), to which Marcuse contributed a critical preface, she included as appendices the first English translations of major parts of Marx's 1844 *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* and of Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*.

In rethinking and extending Marx's humanist conceptions in light of the contemporary struggles of rank-and-file labor, women's liberation, African Americans, and youth from the 1950s to the 1980s, she developed an original philosophy of liberation rooted in a continuous return to the Hegelian dialectic. On the one hand, this entailed scathing critiques of anti-Hegelian Marxists such as Louis Althusser, and on the other, more sympathetic but nonetheless probing critiques of leading dialecticians, many of them Hegelian Marxists, including Marcuse, Georg Lukács, Karl Korsch, and Theodor Adorno. In her later discussions of dialectics, she also gave prominence to what she regarded as the highly original contributions of the African liberation theorist Frantz Fanon and dissident East European Marxist humanists, as can especially be seen in her *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973) and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982).

II. Contemporary Issues in Dialectical Philosophy

The need to return to the Hegelian dialectic with new eyes is no less urgent today, in light of the crisis confronting all liberation movements whether of workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, lesbians and gays, or youth. This crisis is disclosed by the aborted and unfinished revolutions which have marked this century from Russia 1917 to Spain 1936, China 1949, and Cuba 1959, and from Iran to Nicaragua to Grenada in the 1970s and 1980s. In particular, the experience of the Russian Revolu-

from the introduction by peter hudis and kevin

IVITY

Writings on the c in Hegel and Marx by Raya Dunayevskaya

917 sug-
that even to begin to
path out of this crisis means
ting such questions
that happens
e rev-

erson

tion? How
can we ensure
that a new form of total-
itarianism or bureaucracy will
e again take over after the col-
f the old order? How can end-
division between mental and
labor move from underlying
to social practice?

is where Dunayevskaya's
s founder of Marxist-Human-
e U.S. takes on special impor-
Few thinkers in the revolution-
tition have focused as exhaus-
n these issues as Dunayevska-
pecially on the need to philoso-
confront the question of what
s after the revolution. And
wer have done so by means of
interpretation of Hegelian

cs.
the whole, radical interpreters
el in this century have empha-
sical aspects of Hegel's thought
master-slave dialectic and the
y consciousness in the *Phen-*
omenology of Mind, or the concepts
ce, negativity, or contradiction
Science of Logic. While Duna-

a also addresses these issues,
contribution to dialectics cen-
what many other Marxists
ignored or rejected—Hegel's
of absolute negativity.(10) In
absolute negativity signifies
y the negation of external
s, but also the negation of the
negation of them. The power
ivity gets turned back upon
upon the internal as well as
barriers to self-movement.

negation of the negation is no
llity, for the positive is con-
n the negative, which is the
a new beginning.

of Hegel's first references to
negativity in the *Science of*
urs during a critique of Spino-
tion that "every determina-
negation." Hegel considers
stress on negativity to be a
vance over previous posi-
however, this advance is not
contradiction and in Hegel's
the drawback of dissolving
rmless abstraction," because
of bare negativity lacks
ateness.(11) At this point,
es beyond bare or first neg-
what he calls second or
negativity, with the latter con-
not only a rejection of the old,
e basis for a forward move-
t in all this, care must be
distinguish between the first
as negation in general, and
d negation, the negation of
ion: the latter is concrete,

absolute
negativity, just
as the former on the con-
trary is only abstract negativity"
(pp. 115-16).

If the question of absolute negati-
vity were exhausted here, in a more or
less formal process of the negation of
the negation, there would be far less
controversy among radical inter-
preters of Hegel. For example, writing
more than a century ago, Friedrich
Engels, whose studies of dialectics
have formed the basis of most ortho-
dox Marxist discussions of the topic
ever since, did at least mention the
negation of the negation. However,
while extolling a formalized and
sometimes scientific notion of nega-
tion of the negation, Engels also
attacks Hegel's Absolute Idea, which,
he maintains, includes a notion of "the
end of history" in which "the whole
dogmatic content of the Hegelian sys-
tem is declared to be absolute truth, in
contradiction to his dialectical
method, which dissolves all that is
dogmatic."(12) Thus, Engels men-
tions the negation of the negation
as a principle of the dialectic while
attacking the Absolute Idea as dog-
matic and even reactionary.

In contrast to Engels and most sub-
sequent interpreters within the Marxist
tradition, Dunayevskaya finds
extremely important insights for a
dialectics of liberation in Hegel's
Absolutes, which Hegel develops in
the concluding chapters of his major
works. In so doing, she focuses on the
chapters on Absolute Knowledge in
the *Phenomenology*, the Absolute
Idea in the *Science of Logic*, and the
Absolute Mind in the *Philosophy of*
Mind.

Hegel's Absolutes have been fre-
quently dismissed not only as dogmat-
ic, but also as closed ontology. These
are interpretations which, as Duna-
yevskaya argues in many of the selec-
tions in this volume, are hard to main-
tain once one examines Hegel's actu-
al texts. This can be seen from a few
representative passages from the
chapter on the Absolute Idea with
which Hegel concludes the *Science of*
Logic. Hegel begins his discussion by
stating that the Absolute Idea is "the
identity of the theoretical and the
practical idea," thereby holding to a
notion of practice as well as of theory
at the very point where some have
seen only a flight into an abstract uni-
versal. A few lines further in this same
passage, Hegel also writes that "the
Absolute Idea...contains within itself
the highest degree of opposition" (p.
824). Here, at least, Hegel rejects the
notion of an oppositionless totality
which has absorbed all negativity and
particularity, as is so often charged.

Some pages later, at the conclusion
of the chapter, Hegel writes of the

Absolute
Idea as an
"absolute
liberation," as
a
dialec-
tic of free-

Just off the press!

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Edited and Introduced
by Peter Hudis and
Kevin B. Anderson

dom in which
"no transition takes place"
(p. 843). The human spirit
now moves toward libera-
tion, having already worked
through the myriad obstacles
which lay in wait for freedom in
the previous 800 pages of his
work.

Dunayevskaya's focus on
Hegel's Absolutes countered the tradi-
tional Marxist view of them as a
"closed ontology" in which all partic-
ularities and difference are effaced in
the name of an abstract unity. As
early as her initial studies on dialect-
ics in the late 1940s, she emphasized
"the sheer genius of [Hegel's] lan-
guage which defines identity as
'unseparated difference'" (see the
appendix to this volume, part 4).

Nor was she attracted to Hegel's
Absolutes out of an affinity with
Lukács's emphasis on totality.
Throughout her work, from her "Let-
ters on Hegel's Absolutes" of 1953
through *Marxism and Freedom*
(1958), *Philosophy and Revolution*
(1973) and *Rosa Luxemburg,*
Women's Liberation, and Marx's Phi-
losophy of Revolution (1982), she saw
in Hegel's Absolutes "the categories of
freedom, of subjectivity, of reason, the
logic of a movement by which human-
ity makes itself free." As she put it in
chapter 1 of *Philosophy and Revolu-*
tion, her most sustained and impor-
tant discussion of Hegel,

Precisely where Hegel sounds
most abstract, seems to close the
shutters tight against the whole
movement of history, there he lets
the lifeblood of the dialectic—
absolute negativity—pour in. It is
true that Hegel writes as if the res-
olution of opposing live forces can
be overcome by a mere thought
transcendence. But he has, by
bringing oppositions to their most
logical extreme, opened new
paths, a new relationship of theory

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to
practice, which
Marx worked out as a
totally new relationship of philoso-
phy to revolution. Today's revolu-
tionaries turn their backs on this at
their peril (p. 34).

(To be continued next issue)

Notes

1. The protests against the World Trade Organization in Seattle at the end of 1999, and the demonstrations in Washington, D.C. against the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in April 2000, have proved of special importance in having many turn with new eyes to Marx's critique of capital.
2. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, trans. by Ben Fowkes (London: Pelican, 1976), pp. 102, 744.
3. Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, trans. by Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 13, 144.
4. Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Vol. 2, trans. by Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon, 1987), p. 338.
5. Moishe Postone, *Time, Labor, and Social Domination* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
6. See especially Lianne Coole, *Negativity and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000); Judith Butler's Introduction to a new edition of *Subjects of Desire Hegelian Reflections in 20th Century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); and Toula Nicolapoulos and George Vas- silacopoulos, *Hegel and the Logical Structure of Love* (London: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1999).
7. Interview with Fredric Jameson, in Lukács after Communism, *Interviews with Contemporary Intellectuals*, in Eva L. Corredor (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 93. We should add that in works such as *Dialectical Investigations* (New York: Routledge, 1993), Bertell Ollman has steadfastly defended the dialectical core of Marxism throughout the recent period, often in the face of sharp opposition to dialectical thought.

8. Many of these writings have been recently published in *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: Selected Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1992), with an Introduction by Peter Hudis.
9. Some of her correspondence with James, Marcuse, and Fromm is included in this volume. Most of her other correspondence and writings have been gathered in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism—A Half Century of its World Development*, on deposit at Wayne State University Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.
10. For some discussions of Dunayevskaya's standpoint on Hegel, see Patricia Altenbernd Johnson, "Women's Liberation: Following Dunayevskaya in Practicing Dialectics," *Quarterly Journal of Ideology*, Vol. 13: 4 (1989), pp. 65-74; Thomas M. Jeannot, "Raya Dunayevskaya's Conception of Ultimate Reality and Meaning," *Journal of Ultimate Reality and Meaning*, Vol. 22:4 (1999), pp. 276-93. See also the entry for Dunayevskaya in *Women Building Chicago, 1790-1990: A Bibliographical Dictionary*, ed. by Rima Lunin Schultz and Adele Hast (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).
11. G. W. F. Hegel, *Science of Logic*, trans. by A. V. Miller (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1969), p. 113. Subsequent pages references are directly in the text.
12. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy, Marx-Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 26 (New York: International Publishers, 1990), pp. 360-61.

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READERS' VIEWS

WELFARE 'REFORM'

One wonders how Michigan Republican Governor John Engler's spokesperson fixed her mouth to say that changes in welfare rules would "help more families make the transition from welfare to work." The new rules require single parents to work 40 hours per week (currently it's 20 for parents of babies and 30 for parents of school age children). There are no more exemptions for parents caring for disabled children or for their own aged parents. I know no one working a poverty job who knows from week to week what their hours will be, and they rarely work 40, even with two jobs. The mouthpiece said work exemption requests would be reviewed individually—hey, who can even reach their caseworker in a timely fashion?

**Observer
Detroit**

FOOD NOT BOMBS FOR AFGHANISTAN

On Thanksgiving weekend 30 of us took to the streets in Memphis to a blustery Food Not Bombs (FNB) Parade. We wanted to show solidarity with starving people all over the world, especially those facing peril in Afghanistan this winter. Our signs said "Food is a right not a privilege." FNB has been salvaging good food discarded by grocery stores and cooking free vegetarian meals for the hungry for several years. The chant made up by our youngest helper, a five-year-old, showed wisdom the men in power seem to lack: "Food Not Bombs, because bombs hurt people." The money spent on weapons in one week around the world is enough to feed all the people on earth for a year. How can we afford to spend another dollar on war when so many people are starving?

**Andrea Bouardee
Memphis**

Katie Sierra is a 15-year-old student who tried to start an anarchy club in her

high school in West Virginia and lost her case in court. She also lost the right to wear a T-shirt that opposed the bombing in Afghanistan, as well as one that protested racism, sexism and homophobia. The judge who ruled against her said, "I don't think anybody disagrees that in America the right of free speech is sacred. Sierra has the right to believe anything she wants to believe and to express those beliefs. However, in a school educational setting, those rights are not absolute." Sierra's lawyer plans to appeal the ruling to the state Supreme Court.

**Angry Katie supporter
North Carolina**

ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL FRONT

All of a sudden, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention are talking only about bioterrorism. They only care about something when it starts affecting white America. People of color have been terrorized by the U.S. government and industry all our lives. The terrorism is in our communities where we've been exposed to toxic chemicals, but they want to put pollution on the back burner. I recommend that they put environmental justice, community health and community clinics in every bill about terrorism because the industries have terrorized our communities.

**Environmental justice activist
Tennessee**

Big Oil didn't make a grab just for the Arctic Wildlife Refuge. Hoping Michiganders wouldn't notice, on Sept. 14 Republican Governor Engler's Natural Resources Commission lifted a four-year suspension on directional drilling under Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. Fortunately, the federal water and energy bill signed into law in November carries an amendment that halts Great Lakes drilling until 2003. The National Wildlife Federation, opposing "slant drilling," cited ecological concerns such as wellhead leaks, conflicts with recreational use of the shoreline, and insufficient protection of critical fragile biological areas like wetlands and sand dunes.

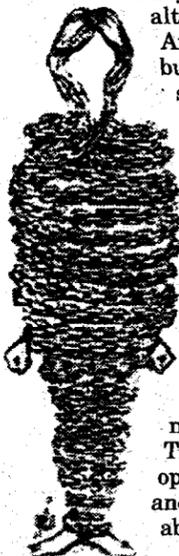
The state's own records revealed 89 oil or gas leaks last year.

**Urban gardener
Michigan**

RAWA AND THE LEFT

I heard Tahmeena Faryal speak at Mills College. She is very courageous. She talked about how much women risked to just have a school for girls.

They represent a genuine alternative for what Afghan society could be but I wondered if she herself saw the tremendous



power of that stance when she focused on appealing to the UN for help. Hundreds and hundreds showed up at her events and hundreds more were turned away. I think people turned out because they wanted to express their solidarity with that alternative she represented. They wanted to hear an opposition to the Taliban and to the war that was about humanity, a viable response beyond bin Laden and Bush.

**Women's Liberationist
Oakland, Cal.**

What was shocking was how totally the organized Left groups were missing from all the RAWA events held in the Berkeley area. It must be that they are so defined as being against this war that they didn't want to discolor the purity of their opposition by being for someone who is opposed to Bush's enemy. It is a warning that we have to be careful not to get locked into opposites that aren't opposite.

**Student of Marx and Hegel
California**

RAWA's historic existence contrasts dramatically in important respects with that of Marxist-Humanism, the philosophy of the organization that sponsored their tour in New York. The philosophy of

N&L is presented, argued, contended with among virtually all other philosophies and further developed on these bases in numerous books, pamphlets, journals and articles collected wherever people struggle for freedom throughout the world. It is a philosophy that has emerged in an ongoing global battle of ideas since the 1950s. It might be argued that it is only this mode of existence that permits the fullest appreciation of the historic, global significance of a group like RAWA.

**Marxist-Humanist
New York**

Editor's note: We are proud to present a voice of RAWA, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, speaking for themselves on page one of this issue.

COVERING THE CONGO WAR

I can't forget the column John Alan wrote on the war in the Congo from 1998 to 2001, where it is claimed that three million people lost their lives (N&L June 2001). Compared to the coverage today on Afghanistan, Israel/Palestine, or in the past on Serbia/Kosova/NATO or even the Gulf War of 1991, there was virtually no coverage of the Congo events. Thus a major world event went unreported and the public, including N&L readers, are unaware of it. I see this as institutional racism promoted by the State Dept. and media censorship. Each African who lost a life should be as worthy of being recorded as each Afghanistan or Sept. 11 victim. The problem is the separation of the African victims from ourselves.

**Basho
Los Angeles**

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AFTER SEPT. 11—WARS AT HOME AND ABROAD

For all those "anti-imperialists" who don't seem to understand what is going on today, let me pass along this wonderful story about what former heavyweight boxing champion, Muhammad Ali, said when he visited the ruins of the World Trade Center and CNN reporters came running up to ask him how he felt about the suspects sharing his Islamic faith. Ali responded pleasantly, "How do you feel about Hitler sharing yours?" I would say the Champ never lost his punch.

Muhammad Ali fan
Chicago

Lower Manhattan continues to be extremely depressing. Eleven weeks after the World Trade Center attack, we still smell the fires most days, see a cloud of smoke and dust, and feel the irritants, which no one believes are harmless despite government assurances. Immigrant vendors hawk T-shirts with images of the twin towers, and tourists with cameras crowd the streets. Subway service is disrupted indefinitely and security measures slow walking and driving and entering buildings. Unemployment is staggering, with 80,000 laid off in October alone and food kitchens keeping thousands alive.

Some capitalist pigs try to turn the tragedy to their advantage. I know a group of tenants who have been on rent strike for several months over serious conditions in their building who recently came home to find a sign in their lobby from management, stating: "In light of the recent events throughout the country, we are asking residents when entering or leaving to make sure all exit doors are securely closed behind you." In other words, if there is another terrorist attack, it will be the tenants' fault? That is a logical development of the landlord view that every problem is the tenants' fault.

Renter
New York

Thousands were killed on Sept. 11, more thousands injured and millions emotionally damaged, and the damage to the economy and the Constitution continues. Opportunists of every kind are capitalizing on the moment to further their agendas. The 19 terrorists are dead but these Americans have picked up the torch and seem determined to burn away our hard-fought and well-earned freedoms while they mouth the world's "safety." Those who would prefer to be "safe" rather than free are doing what the 19 terrorists never could—destroy our Bill of Rights.

Imprisoned citizen
Nebraska

Fundamentalism is much worse than the regime in the U.S. Here we can talk openly and write what we want. What happens in Iran is that a paper like *N&L* would have to be underground. Even finding a book can be difficult. When I talk about fundamentalism with other leftists here they say they are

MUMIA NEEDS OUR SUPPORT IN PHILADELPHIA ON DECEMBER 8!

Despite all the new evidence of Mumia's innocence, Pennsylvania State Court judge Pamela Dembe refused to hear it, claiming she had "no jurisdiction" in the case. She chose 3 p.m. the day before Thanksgiving, to announce her ruling, hoping we would be unable to mobilize an emergency demonstration to demand that Philadelphia Federal Judge William Yohn now hear the new evidence. Dec. 9 marks the 20th stolen year Mumia has spent incarcerated and on death row for a crime he did not commit. His life now hangs by a thread. We are asking everyone who cares about Mumia and about justice to SHOW UP AT 12 NOON IN PHILADELPHIA ON SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8!



International concerned family and friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal

anti-imperialist and forget about important issues in the Middle East. I'm anti-imperialist, too, but want to know what ideas those leftists have to offer to the people in the Middle East who are struggling against their own rulers.

Iranian revolutionary
California

Bush's war against terrorism and bin Laden is very unusual. When has the U.S. ever carried on a war against an individual? Bush does not want to upset relations in the Middle East. It is an extremely reactionary war. World War II had a slogan projecting it as a war for liberation. Bush doesn't try to do that. In seeing the kind of "collective" government he wants in Afghanistan, you can see he wants the old conservative forces back in power. He is for counter-revolution in permanence.

Black writer
California

We will never forget that Bush & Co. stole the election and our democracy a year ago. We will not accept an illegitimate administration pursuing immoral policies.

JB and DB
San Francisco

FDR said the only thing to fear is fear and now Bush is telling us to just go on with our lives as if everything were normal. Those of us who belong to the "other America" have never lived a normal life except under fear. Bush needs permanent fear to keep up his permanent war.

Asian-American
Oakland, Cal.

We heard a lot about anthrax threats since early October, but it wasn't until Thanksgiving weekend that I first heard a single report about the 500 Planned Parenthood and other abortion providers which had been sent threatening letters about anthrax, all of which have been hoaxes. Talk about a conspiracy of silence! Does anyone have ideas on how we can mobilize to stop this kind of terror, and its support by a silent media?

Women's Liberationist

Detroit

Seattle did seem to change the world two years ago. While everyone else was talking about the movement being dead, people were emboldened by Seattle. It looked as though the Left was gathering momentum. Then came Sept. 11. All that confidence in numbers evaporated. The Left had to come up with a new laundry list to rally around as a united front. We were supposed to shut up for the sake of unity. All that does is keep ideas out of the discussion.

Activist
California

Nowhere were the "two worlds" of capitalist America that *N&L* talks about more evident than in the drumbeat to

After Judge Pamela Dembe gave her ruling on Nov. 21, we have to speak up. I am not an attorney or a paralegal but I can see there is an old-fashioned lynching, a premeditated murder, an assassination coming from Uncle Sam through the state of Pennsylvania, courtesy of the city of Philadelphia. The fact that Pamela Dembe is of African descent bothers me. What is going on in that part of the United States could set four white male officers free from the Amadou Diallo case after 19 shots hit him and 22 missed him! Now we see Pamela Dembe literally trying to seal Mumia's death. As an African American of Haitian descent, born in Chicago, the most racist city in the U.S., according to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., I want to tell brother Mumia that whether or not he will be with our ancestors soon, courtesy of the system and a sister, he should know that among his family and supporters, he will live as long as one of us can utter his name.

Nouveau Toussaint
Chicago

READERS' VIEWS

reopen the Wall Street stock exchange in the immediate aftermath of the terrorist attacks. It was also seen in Giuliani's order to defend his policy of giving up on locating the remains of the thousands still missing before they began scooping up and dumping them in a landfill. He even had his police attack firefighters who were demonstrating opposition to that plan. Those rescue workers opposed not only Giuliani but their own department head. The firefighters had a different agenda entirely from Giuliani's, which was to wrap up the "rescue effort" that he had sucked clean of all its political benefit and get on with re-establishing the business potential of the devastated sites.

Counselor
New York

What happened in New York reminded me of the earthquake in Mexico a few years ago when new unions, new organizations, new communities grew in the solidarity of the struggle to save lives in the aftermath of that disaster, as the state stood by idly. In New York we saw Giuliani self-destructing in his fight with the firefighters.

Radical lawyer
New York

In recalling the 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts, John Alan's column in the November *N&L* showed how to bring those two words together. The Sedition Act is Ashcroft's posture exactly. A lot of what he is doing is to go on TV and reiterate that if you fit the profile of this alien and seditious person we will do whatever we can to hunt you down. This kind of state harassment is reminiscent of what Black and Latino Americans go through in this country every day. As Alan wrote, the African-American press constantly pointed out during World War II that they couldn't be fighting for democracy abroad if there was no equality at home. It shows how far back we've gone.

Hospital worker
California

IDEALISM, MATERIALISM, AND MARX

The piece by Raya Dunayevskaya on "Marx's concept of praxis" in the November issue made me see for the first time that Marx's concept of praxis comes out of his first thesis on Feuerbach, where Marx wrote that abstract materialism fails to grasp that

"human activity is itself objective." Dunayevskaya argues that for Marx, "praxis" was not a matter of intellectuals handing down a line for workers to follow, but the expression of "revolutionary, critical-practical activity." That is, when workers break through the rigidity and false sense of reality which surrounds everyday life, the idea of freedom which idealism first developed, "albeit abstractly," comes to life as praxis.

Student of dialectics
New York

Gramsci once wrote that the distinction between idealism and materialism belongs to "past societies" — that is, societies preceding the transcendence of capitalism. I believe that implies that transcending the separation of idealism and materialism calls for a philosophy of a new type. Those who reject philosophy in the name of "Marxism" always end up as either one-sided abstract idealists or equally one-sided "materialists."

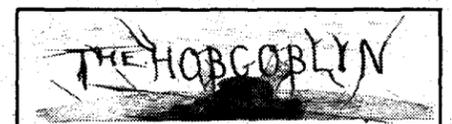
Peter Wermuth
Chicago

CHARLESTON 5 VICTORY

The demonstrations and possible worldwide port shutdowns that were to

take place on Nov. 14 were cancelled to celebrate the victory of the Charleston 5 instead. Their battle with the state of South Carolina had been going on ever since Jan. 20. That was when 600 riot-equipped police had been unleashed against dockworkers who were picketing against the use of scab labor in Charleston, and five of the workers were charged with "inciting to riot." Their case won the support of unionists around the world as well as organizations like the Black Radical Congress, since it was clear that the state of South Carolina was really aiming to cripple ILA Local 1422 which was known for helping to develop Black working-class power in the port city of Charleston. After almost a year living under the threat of severe jail sentences, the five were allowed to plead no contest to a magistrate-level offense and walk away with \$100 fines. Considering what they were stacked up against, they considered it a tremendous victory.

Union supporter
Illinois



I read the new issue of *Hobgoblin* (issue No.4) with much interest. The articles in these 48 pages on current world events along with the searing critiques of such radical tendencies as Situationism, Anarchism and Leninism were well done. It's rare to come across such a combination.

New subscriber
Illinois

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ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS

The situation continues to be grave in the Palestinian Occupied Territories. This is the worst Ramadan in many years. Prime Minister Sharon demands "seven days of quiet" before entering into negotiations, while making sure that these seven days never happen. His policies towards Palestinians constitute a string of provocations and brutal oppression. While the rest of the world was looking and acting elsewhere after Sept. 11, the violence in this region escalated. In parallel, peace activism reached intense levels. Women in Black vigils have sprouted in new locations in Israel and throughout the world as well. A major international event is being planned for Dec. 28 by the Coalition of Women for Peace. In Jerusalem, we will hold a silent and solemn march of Women (and men) in Black, followed by a concert for peace. People from all over the world are invited to join us in any way they like—to be with us here or to organize or attend a vigil in your own city. For more information see www.coalitionofwomen4peace.org. Shalom/Salaam.

Gila Svirsky
Jerusalem

DON'T FORGET TO PUT NEWS & LETTERS ON YOUR HOLIDAY GIFT LIST

War, terror, and humanism in Afghanistan

(Continued from page 1)

NIHILIST BLOODBATH

In contrast to the masses' humanism, the recent actions of Al Qaeda present the starkest vision of utter nihilism that can be imagined short of nuclear war. In besieged Kunduz, the hardcore followers of Osama bin Laden apparently didn't hesitate to murder many of their Afghan Muslim brothers-in-arms who were less thirsty for martyrdom than themselves. With the fall of Kunduz and defection of the Afghan Taliban fighters there, the Al Qaeda members taken prisoner resorted to a suicidal uprising in their prison at Mazar-i-Sharif in which hundreds more may have been slaughtered by the Northern Alliance forces and U.S. bombs.

With the Taliban's last refuge at Kandahar now being surrounded and hundreds of U.S. troops occupying the nearby area searching for Osama bin Laden, the military outcome of this phase of the war seems to be pretty well settled.

Despite the isolation, collapse and discrediting of the Taliban and Al Qaeda, the Bush administration will carry on with its logic of permanent war. It is true that Bush and bin Laden, in their efforts to polarize the world between themselves and leave no openings for freedom, have been mirror images that strengthened each other's position. It is equally true that their weaknesses mirror each other.

For bin Laden, the masses were to be polarized behind his terrorist atrocities; he genuinely believes that the whole "Islamic nation" would cast aside all mercy and humanity in the name of his impoverished vision of a "holy" society. This vision is rooted in a hatred of the masses themselves, which makes them expendable as cannon fodder, as starving and silenced, as 360 degrees of collateral damage. It reflects what Marx once called "the infinite degradation in which humanity exists for itself."

The disposability of the Third World masses has always been gospel for the U.S. ruling class as well.

Afghan women speak

(Continued from page 1)

The people of Afghanistan have been going through the poorest times in their history. If during the other invasions they fought with empty hands, today they fight with empty stomachs. Afghanistan is now a country without any social, political or economic structure. There are no banks. There is no education system. The facts and frustrations that have been imposed on the people, and especially on women, have degraded much of the population. Ninety percent of Afghan women suffer from psychological problems.

We believe that if tomorrow we have a peaceful and stable government, it would not take Afghanistan long to rebuild. Of course, we will not be able to get back the heritage lost during the internal fighting, for example the Buddhist statues destroyed by the Taliban. But it will take a long time to rebuild the people mentally, as they have been destroyed in an incredible way.

Still, there has been resistance by women, even under the Taliban. In many parts of the country individuals run home-based classes for girls. When these classes were discovered the teachers were put into prison or were beaten up in front of their students. But the women did not give up. Today, in different cities and even in villages in rural areas, classes are still being run by women.

There is no "moderate" Taliban. It's not possible to change their mentality, given the way they were raised and brainwashed. But the resistance of people and women especially have changed the situation.

Even though no woman is allowed to go outside alone, you'll find women walking in the streets alone, because many do not have a living male relative. In Kabul alone there are more than 70,000 widows. They have to go out, even if it's to beg, in order to find something to feed their children.

The most mobilized and organized form of resistance is the work of our organization. RAWA is a 24-year-old organization, established by Meena, who was assassinated in 1987 by Russian KGB agents with the help of

Those who supported a fundamentalist Christian mass murderer like Gen. Efrain Rios Montt in Guatemala have no right to judge bin Laden as being uniquely a monster. And only last year the administration was still providing aid to the Taliban despite the ascendancy of bin Laden and Al Qaeda.

Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz is one who has formulated the aims of Bush's war. He was a student and disciple of Albert Wohlstetter, who believed in the "rational" study of nuclear war, as well as of Allan Bloom, the elitist author of *The Closing of the American Mind*. The "logic" of nuclear war and the presence of this kind of thinking in the bourgeois world feeds the apocalyptic fantasies of bin Laden and many other death cult leaders. Wolfowitz said on Sept. 14: "It's going to require, as the president has said, removing the support for those terrorist networks, removing the harbors that they find sanctuary in, and preventing these kinds of things from happening in the future, and especially preventing them from acquiring the kinds of weapons that could be available in the future."

As early as the 1970s Wolfowitz advocated the overthrow of the regime in Iraq, and now is advocating an attack on Saddam Hussein's regime as the next step in Bush's permanent war. A more pragmatic wing of the ruling class, represented by Secretary of State Colin Powell, may settle for more peripheral strikes against bin Laden-linked groups in the Philippines or elsewhere.

IMPERIALISM'S HUMAN DILEMMA

The U.S. was taken by surprise by the collapse of the Taliban. The plan had been for a much more tightly managed political transition in Afghanistan, with a protracted military campaign that presumed an enemy with a more solid grip on power. But with the Taliban's fall it becomes clear what a lie that was. In fact the relation of the Taliban and Al Qaeda to the

one of the fundamentalist groups in Pakistan. She was assassinated because her powerful voice, dedication, and commitment was not tolerable to the Soviets, the puppet regime and the fundamentalists. They plotted the assassination thinking they would stop RAWA and the women's movement in Afghanistan. They were wrong.

RAWA decided that because we do not have our national emancipation, we cannot talk just about women's emancipation. That was the point where RAWA turned into a more political organization. RAWA took part in the resistance war.

It had to transfer part of its activities to Pakistan because the situation was so difficult in the country. There were so many refugees in Pakistan that there was a need of establishing schools and hospitals for women and children there.

RAWA in fact anticipated Sept. 11. It warned the countries supporting the Taliban that it does not care about those who once support-

ed it. Unfortunately, it is only now that the world has learned that fundamentalism is terrorism.

RAWA has many humanitarian projects in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In both countries we operate underground. Our demonstrations have been attacked by puppets of the Taliban. We cannot have an office in Pakistan. If today we were to open one, our members would be killed.

In Pakistan there are thousands of children age six or seven who are the only breadwinners in the family. They never had access to education. So RAWA provides these children with free education. They are called "children of the garbage" as from early in the morning most of them go and look in the garbage heap for pieces of paper. If they earn a dollar, they are lucky.

We also run home-based classes for girls which serve more than 1,000 across Afghanistan. RAWA has always had its concentration on educating women because barely 5% of women can read and write. We believe it is crucial to develop women's awareness about themselves, their humanity, their human potential, about what they can do in society, the world, in their families.

Afghan people was much more like that of any colonial or neocolonial regime; in some ways it was a regime like that supported by the Russians, and similar to what the U.S. has installed in many countries.

One former Afghan member of the Taliban secret police described it this way: "Basically any form of pleasure was outlawed and if we found people doing any of these things we would beat them with staves soaked in water, like a knife cutting through meat, until the room ran with their blood or their spines snapped. Then we would leave them with no food or water in rooms filled with insects until they died."

Other Afghans have described the distance between themselves and the foreign members of Al Qaeda, who they viewed as a wealthy elite and interacted with only as cooks or servants.

The measure of the regime's inhumanity was its treatment of women, and the conditions of women's lives will also measure the new situation. When Northern Alliance forces who have their own history of rape and massacre entered Kabul against the wishes of the U.S., they put the Bush administration in the awkward position, for them, of having to pose as defenders of women's rights or stand exposed as hypocrites.

This is one source of tension which will increase in the coming period. The revolutionary self-determination of women was also seen in the recent seizure of food by masses of women who have spent years having to take handouts from armed factions, as if this was a normal condition of life, and now saw the opening to fight back and provide for their families with dignity. This kind of mass action demonstrates the depth of the challenge to all the oppressive conditions of life that will emerge with the return of women to public activity. Their demands which begin with calls for political democracy will surely take on an even deeper revolutionary content.

This moment can prove to be an opening for revolutionaries if we can transcend the kind of narrow either/or that has been offered by Bush and bin Laden. The outpouring of solidarity with Afghan women seen in the recent tour of the U.S. by RAWA representatives was a beginning. This will have to continue and become much more profound.

Unlike 1979, when the Iranian women's struggle was sacrificed to Khomeini's counter-revolutionary anti-imperialism, serious revolutionaries in the West need to take this opportunity to build new ties with those Third World revolutionaries who are face to face with the fundamentalist threat. This is a dialogue that is long overdue. There are currently some positive initiatives in this direction, like the announcement of an Afghan Workers Solidarity Campaign to aid those who have suffered from "The suppression by the religious fundamentalists of all the democratic and human rights in Afghanistan...Many of them are spending their lives underground even in exile."

It was no accident that RAWA was not invited to participate in the talks on Afghanistan's future in Germany. It was pressure from the international women's movement that got them there. The Bush administration would perhaps prefer to focus on the strategic concerns raised by the ethnic makeup of the Northern Alliance and the patronage of its various factions by Russia, Iran, and so forth, as well as Pakistan's historic support for the Taliban as a Pashtun force. But for revolutionaries it will be the human struggle that challenges the entire logic of this old Afghan equation. That challenge calls for the strongest support to the freedom struggles of women, workers, and other forces of revolution within Afghanistan as they develop.

...And Silence

Silence sits heavily on my mind
casting out all fears
but bringing tears
to my eyes when I think about
what silence has accomplished over the years
...and silence never freed a human soul
...and silence never saved a Jew
nor could it save me or you
...and silence never freed a slave
nor found a cure for AIDS

Only those who had the guts to speak
made sure that history did not repeat.

—Akili

NEWS & LETTERS

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759-C

Whatever happened to the anti-war movement?

Chicago—As the U.S. war in Afghanistan enters its third month, disfundamentalism and activity around the war and Islamic fundamentalism continues in the Chicago area. At the same time, there has been a marked decline in the size and number of anti-war demonstrations. The reasons for this are worth considering.

Anti-war activism seemed to get off to a promising start in September and early October, when several rallies were held, involving as many as 500 at a time. However, the protests were hobbled by a tendency to focus exclusively on opposing the U.S.'s war on Afghanistan, without making any serious effort to speak to the threat posed by the Sept. 11 attacks. The main anti-war coalition decided not to condemn Sept. 11 or extend solidarity with its victims, on the grounds that this would detract from the need to oppose U.S. imperialist actions.

This view was promoted by members of left "vanguard" parties (like the International Socialist Organization [ISO]), who dominated the coalition after it was formed by activists from the anti-globalization movement. However, the narrow focus of the protests cannot be blamed on the ISO alone, since a number of independent and anti-vanguardist activists agreed to limit them to opposing U.S. actions in Afghanistan and at home.

Real solidarity eludes British Left

London—Against predictions that the fall of Kabul had taken the wind from the sails of the anti-war movement, Sunday Nov. 18 saw a massive demonstration here with estimates ranging from 50,000 to 100,000 participants. Called by the Stop The War Coalition, it brought together a wide range of support from the traditional Left, anti-racists, trade unionists, Asian youth and Islamic organizations. Significantly many coaches came from outside London, with 40 from Birmingham alone.

Sections of the bourgeois media have not adopted the warming tone that government spin doctors desire; instead there has been a split. The traditional ally of Blair, *The Guardian*, has been less than lukewarm, whilst the tabloid pro-New Labour *Daily Mirror* went so far as to declare, "This war is a fraud." Attempts by more loyal sections of the media, like Rupert Murdoch's *The Sun*, to denounce critics of the war as "traitors" has failed to squeeze out the dissenting voices.

Marvellous though the November protest was, it could have been even larger if we had a movement that was founded on principled opposition to both the Anglo-American warmongers and Islamic fundamentalist terrorism. But the Stop The War Coalition was formed top-down in an undemocratic stitch-up predominantly under the influence of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP, equivalent of the U.S. ISO), who have used their influence to ally with Islamic fundamentalism and sink to even newer depths of retrogression.

The British Left overwhelmingly adheres to a tunnel vision of anti-Americanism. In SWP theory, Islamic fundamentalism is an anti-imperialist force alongside whom socialists should stand shoulder to shoulder. At the foundation of the Stop The War Coalition or the atrocity in New York, preventing its inclusion within the campaigns principles. Despite all the words of "sympathy" this remains their practice. What is in fact British chauvinism wrapped in the red flag is revealed in the attitude to socialists from Islamic countries. The British Left can afford itself the luxury of defending fundamentalism whilst living in an imperialist country; those Iranian and Iraqi revolutionaries in the UK are in no position to ally with their murderers. The SWP, and company refused to listen to such voices, preferring the voice of fundamentalist bigots on the anti-war platform.

The consequences of this opportunist accommodation to reactionary ideas is exemplified in events at an anti-war meeting in Birmingham where the organisers

Japanese peace activists visit the U.S.

Oakland, Cal.—The U.S.-Japan NoWar Network held a forum on peace movements in Japan and the United States at the Asian Resource Center in Oakland on Nov. 5. Speaking for the Kansai district chapter of the All Japan Postal Workers Union (Zentei), secretary Hideaki Natsukawa told the audience that the horrifying images of Sept. 11 reminded him of the 1995 Kansai earthquake which levelled large areas of Kobe and Osaka. Most of the 6,000 who died in the quake had been forced to live in wooden shacks under highway and railway overpasses. Like those who lay under the rubble at the World Trade Center they were hardworking people.

Natsukawa reported that no labor union has yet officially opposed the U.S. "war on terrorism," and that Japan's biggest labor union confederation, Rengou, has come out in support of it. Rengou also backs the Diet's plan to change the constitution to allow Japan's Self-Defense Forces offshore to participate in U.S./British military operations.

Grassroots anti-war mobilization has only managed to muster up to a thousand for demonstrations. Nat-

The basic argument went as follows: To build a large and broad-based movement we need to unite around a few issues as possible, centering on a critique of U.S. government policies. Just as the anti-Vietnam War movement succeeded by uniting around simple demands like "Out Now," it was argued, so we can win today if we avoid getting dragged into "contentious" debates about the nature of Islamic fundamentalism or the Taliban.

In fact, armed with this political perspective the anti-war rallies have become progressively smaller. They have reached the point where only 50 came out to the most recent one. The main anti-war coalition is now in tatters and on the verge of falling apart.

The problems facing the protests in Chicago are hardly the fault of misrepresentation by the media. *The Chicago Tribune* and *Sun-Times*, as well as local TV news, have given considerable coverage to the anti-war rallies, often overstating the numbers present in them. Nor is the problem due to the fact that the war has just begun and it takes time to build a movement. After all, far more attended the protests at the beginning of the war than today.

The real problem was reflected in a recent rally sponsored by another anti-war coalition, consisting mainly of pacifist and religious-based organizations. To its credit, this coalition has included a condemnation of Sept. 11 in its statement of principles. However, it has

stood back as fundamentalists forcibly excluded an Iranian Marxist for distributing anti-fundamentalist leaflets and segregated Asian women from men in the hall. At a subsequent meeting of the Birmingham Socialist Party a motion condemning the events was opposed by the SWP.

This practice by self-styled Marxists stands in contrast to leading theorists of our movement such as Lenin who argued "the need to combat Pan-Islamism and similar trends, which seek to combine the liberation movements against European and American imperialism with an attempt to strengthen the position of the khans, landowners and mullahs, etc."

The war is not over and there is a necessity of an anti-war movement to exist, but to truly become an influence on events it must project principles of universal freedom from war, oppression and terrorism. On its present basis, the movement may mobilise significant numbers but relative to even the seven and half million trade union members in the UK, never mind the working class as a whole, it will not shape events.

—Christopher Ford

'Voices for Peace'



Memphis, Tenn.—The day after Thanksgiving, the year's biggest shopping day, about 30 members of Voices for Peace stood at parking lot entrances at the biggest shopping mall in Memphis. We got a lot of support. One man saw us there and bought us a case of bottled water. There was also hostility. We were threatened by a Memphis police officer who didn't seem to realize that his job is actually to protect our right to protest. Some assumed that because we opposed the war, we supported the terrorists. Both are a threat to freedom and the new world some of us are trying to create.

—Terry Moon

not gone further than that in terms of integrating anti-war activism with opposition to Islamic fundamentalism. At one rally the main chant heard was "one, two, three, four, we don't want your racist war!" Several Black workers who were passing by came over, with a puzzled look on their faces, and asked if the demonstrators were supporters of the Taliban.

The experiences in Chicago indicate that the crisis afflicting the anti-war movement goes deeper than the dominance of one or another "vanguard" party, though they have done plenty of damage. Rather, the problem is **political and conceptual**: a failure to recognize that the present moment calls for a **total** view, in which opposition to U.S. imperialism is made absolutely inseparable from a critique of reactionary Islamic fundamentalism and a projection of the kind of new, human society we are for.

In many respects we are today repeating the mistakes of the anti-Gulf War movement of 1991. Many leftists then argued that the protests should focus on a critique of the U.S., without explicitly condemning Saddam Hussein or solidarizing with the victims of his rule. The anti-war movement of 1991-92 started with large demonstrations, only to quickly peter out. By the time the Kurds revolted against Hussein at the end of the war, and the U.S. allowed him to slaughter them for the sake of "maintaining regional stability," the anti-war movement was left empty-handed, with little to say.

By focusing exclusively on U.S. actions in the aftermath of Sept. 11, today's anti-war movement risks falling into a similar trap. The mantras against "U.S. imperialism" (as if there aren't other forms of oppressive capitalism in the world) has prevented it from either anticipating the refusal of the Afghan people to fight for the Taliban or solidarizing with the women, workers, and national minorities there opposing it. The movement comes off looking insensitive to the victims of fundamentalism, whether in Afghanistan or in the U.S. Ironically or not, the more the protests focus only on opposition to U.S. imperialist policies, the less effective they prove to be in combating them.

Despite this, widespread opposition to Bush's war continues. Community protests against Bush's attacks on civil liberties and the resurgence of racial profiling are being held every week. As the 700 who turned out for a talk by the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan showed, there is widespread support for the anti-war movement, there is widespread support for the U.S. imperialist bombing of Afghanistan. It remains to be seen whether the crisis afflicting the anti-war movement will lead to the kind of rethinking that will enable it to connect up with such forces.

—Peter Hudis

Ukraine protests

Kiev, Ukraine—Powerful anti-war demonstrations have taken place in Kiev and other cities of Ukraine. Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk. The biggest rally in Kiev, Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk. The biggest rally in Kiev, a picket of the U.S. embassy took place in Kiev Oct. 14. More than 5,000 participants from different left, pacifist and environmentalist organizations came out to Kiev streets to protest against U.S. aggression.

This day was quite successful for our organization—the Ukrainian Workers Group (UWG). A large group of youth was permanently near our banner. Mainly it was the students of Kiev Shevchenko University, who we first met at this event. These contacts have developed and we, with the help of our student contacts, organized in their university a permanent scientific-political circle, which is named "The Dialectic."

We also made contacts with the independent trade union of the Kiev Golosiyivskiy Beer Plant. Workers of this enterprise as well as students received information about Marxist-Humanism, the heritage of Raya Dunayevskaya. The leader of the trade union was under a strong Trotskyist influence, but now he is coming closer to our positions. UWG distributed 120 copies of our anti-war leaflet.

Anti-war actions are heavily attended by rank-and-file members of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU)—the largest parliamentary Stalinist party. The serious CPU activists give unconditional support to bin Laden. Some raised bin Laden's portrait at anti-war events. The national Union of youth, who also participated in the campaign, burned U.S. flags. CPU leader Petro Simonenko refused to break from such nationalist and chauvinist actions.

The Socialist Party of Ukraine refused to participate in the anti-war campaign, holding the pro-imperialist policy of President Leonid Kuchma, who opened Ukrainian air space for U.S. military planes. Numerous Trotskyist sects participated in the campaign, but their self-isolation prevents them from using the campaign for mobilizing wide layers of workers and youth to the anti-capitalist movement.

UWG tried to connect the anti-war movement with the workers' strike movement. Our supporters in Donetsk succeeded in joining up the column of anti-war protesters with striking miners from Krasnaya Zvezda (Red Star) mine during the rally Oct. 17. On Oct. 25 the Union of Mine Industry Workers declared the beginning of preparations for an all-Ukrainian miners' strike. We're preparing leaflets for this event with the aim of intervening in the striking miners' movement with Marxist-Humanist ideas.

—Vadym Y.

Our Life and Times

Islamic fundamentalism in Africa

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Since Sept. 11, whether in the alternative or the mainstream media, there has been surprisingly little discussion of the role of Islamic fundamentalism in Africa. Yet it was in East Africa, with the 1998 truck bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, that bin Laden's Al Qaeda network staged its first mass murder. These attacks killed 212 African civilians and 12 U.S. diplomats, while thousands of other African civilians were injured, many of them permanently.

The U.S. bombed Sudan and Afghanistan in retaliation, killing mainly civilians. It also acted in an extremely arrogant manner toward the victims in East Africa. To this day, their Bomb Blast Legal Rights Project is fighting for compensation from the U.S. government. In addition, against the wishes of the local people, the ensuing trial was held in New York, not Africa.

But it is in Sudan that Islamic fundamentalist rule has assumed the form of outright genocide. Over the past two decades, some two million people, almost all

of them non-Muslim southern Sudanese, have been killed or starved to death in an ethno-religious war by the fundamentalist rulers on their own population. These same rulers have also encouraged a massive slave trade whose victims have been almost entirely southern women and children. Additionally, the regime served as international headquarters for Al Qaeda

Mexican rights abuses

Rodolfo Montiel and Teodoro Cabrera were released from prison in Guerrero state by decree of Mexican President Vicente Fox on Nov. 8. The men had been framed by the Mexican army on phony drug and weapons charges after they protested illegal logging operations by corporations with government backing which were destroying the forests of Guerrero.



Demonstration at Mexican embassy in Washington, D.C., Oct. 25, demanded justice for Digna Ochoa.

Pressure on Fox came in the wake of the assassination of Digna Ochoa, the two men's lawyer, a month earlier. Ochoa, a prominent human rights activist, had been kidnapped, tortured and threatened in the past for defending peasant activists as well as Zapatistas. Her murderers shot her in the face and left a message threatening other human rights activists, many of whom see a link with Ochoa's killers and the military.

Fox did not speak out against Digna Ochoa's murder for three days, and his record thus far on human rights in Mexico is nonexistent. Despite campaign promises, he has not set up a truth commission to investigate past state abuses, including the 1968 student massacre. More alarming, Fox appointed Rafael Macedo, a former general, as attorney general. This is an appointment which curries favor with U.S. drug war officials rather than focusing on military, police and court abuses within Mexico.

Cabrera and Montiel, a founding member of the Organization of Campesino Environmentalists, were tortured by the army after their arrest in May 1999. Neither man has been declared innocent or pardoned, and their coerced false confessions and phony charges still stand.

before its move to Afghanistan.

Despite its 1998 bombing of Sudan, the U.S. government has actually drawn closer to the regime in recent years. One factor is undoubtedly the beginning of oil production in southern Sudan. Another is the fact that Sudan says it no longer supports Al Qaeda. In the meantime, genocide and the slave trade continue unabated.

While officially committed since its 1999 elections to a multiethnic secular democracy, Nigeria, too, faces a growing fundamentalist threat in the predominantly Muslim North, historically the power base of the army. Twelve of the country's 36 states have adopted Islamic Sharia law, resulting in vicious attacks on women. Recently, the "justice" system under the Sharia gave a teenage girl 100 cane strokes for premarital sex, while another woman has been sentenced to death by stoning for adultery.

Some 5,000 Nigerians have been killed in religious clashes since the end of military rule in 1999, many of them attacks by Muslims on non-Muslims. In the aftermath of Sept. 11, bin Laden posters have been put up on walls in many Muslim neighborhoods. Such a retrogressive ideology has managed to post itself as an alternative to the corrupt civilian regimes that have alternated with corrupt and authoritarian military ones ever since independence. All the while, the conditions of life and labor in this oil-rich country have declined.

Growing Balkan unity?

In November, Kosovo's first democratic election since the end of Serbian rule resulted in another victory for moderate Albanian leader Ibrahim Rugova, whose Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) received 46% of the vote, compared with 26% for the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), which was based in the main wing of the former Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) led by Hashim Thaci. The day after the elections, Rugova annoyed the UN officials running the country with a call for an independent Kosovo.

More remarkable than the vote count was the prominent place of women in the Albanian slates. The PDK ran the women's rights leader Flora Brovina, who had been imprisoned for 18 months in Serbia in 1999-2000, as its presidential candidate. Brovina said her goal was to "humanize politics in Kosovo." While the LDK ran Rugova at the top of its list, it gave a prominent place to another woman, Nekibe Kelmendi, a judge whose husband and two sons were murdered in front of her by Serbian police in March 1999.

The neighboring country of Macedonia seemed also to turn away from ethnic polarization in November. From February to August, members of the Albanian minority had engaged in low-level guerrilla warfare to demand equal rights, before laying down their arms to international peacekeepers in September. After two months of threats and delaying tactics, the Macedonian parliament finally performed its part of the peace agreement by passing a series of measures recognizing the Albanian language and culture as an official part of the nation. They also granted a form of amnesty to many of the former guerrillas and a degree of local autonomy. Enacting these laws is only the first step; implementation is more difficult.

During these same weeks, former Serbian dictator Slobodan Milosevic learned that his indictment before the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague has been expanded to include charges of genocide and crimes against humanity in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Croatia.

Israel, Hamas attacks

In December, Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon got what he had been hoping for since Sept. 11: suicide bombings by the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas movement that killed 25 innocent civilians. With U.S. support, Sharon could now launch a full-scale attack on Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority (PA) for "harboring" terrorists.

Here is how Sharon provoked these attacks: On Nov. 22, an army land mine accidentally killed five young Palestinian children. As demonstrations mounted, rather than apologize, Sharon picked this tense moment to assassinate Mahmoud Abu Hanoud of Hamas.

On Nov. 24, after seven more Palestinian protesters had been killed, a Hamas rally for Hanoud drew 60,000. The anti-Semitic Hamas, which needed no excuse to kill Jews, had desisted from big terror attacks since Sept. 11 under pressure from the PA. But it now had enough popular support to defy the PA. Hamas and Sharon could work in tandem toward the war they both wanted.

WTO protests continue

The World Trade Organization (WTO) held its ministerial level meeting in November, the first since the last one collapsed in Seattle in 1999. The mass, diverse anti-globalization movement that emerged two years ago was absent this time, largely due to the meeting's location in inaccessible Doha, Qatar, which operated in a state of virtual lockdown. Non-governmental "observers" to the 144-nation gathering were limited to 650 organizations and were stacked with capitalist lobbyists. Grassroots organizations representing workers, non-corporate farmers, environmentalists and the poor were shut out.

The U.S. trade representative claimed the Doha meeting had "removed the stain of Seattle," but the anti-globalization movement is still vigorous. A series of worldwide anti-WTO demonstrations were held simultaneously with Doha. Some 20,000 students and workers marched in Seoul, South Korea, and farmers battled police there in a later demonstration. In India, around 15,000 workers, farmers, women and dalits gathered in Delhi to protest the government's policies of appeasing IMF and World Bank economic demands.

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*.