

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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50¢

WORKSHOP TALKS

Targeting daily life

by Htun Lin

Bush and Ashcroft want all of us American citizens to be in a perpetual "state of alert," meaning a state of fear, and to be on the lookout for "suspicious activities." On Sept. 10, on the eve of the first anniversary of September 11, Ashcroft issued yet another "terrorist alert." Obeying her Commander-in-Chief's orders, a Georgia woman in a cafe called the Sheriff's department to inform on three "Arab-looking men" when she overheard a fragment of their conversation about "bringing it down."

The three, all medical students, were pulled over by Florida state troopers and detained and questioned for the next 17 hours. All of this is now allowed under Bush's "Patriot Act": on accusation alone, anyone can disappear indefinitely without charge or due process. It has now come out that they were U.S. citizens, talking about bringing down a car from Kansas.

My family fled in the 1960s as political refugees from Burma, ruled by military dictatorship, which detained people based on racial profiling. Their version of "Homeland Security" was called "State Law and Order Restoration Council," responsible not only for detaining political candidates from opposing parties, but also the murder of thousands of political dissidents, ethnic minorities and student activists who mysteriously "disappeared."

Those old enough to have lived through the McCarthy era also can remember how many were detained for having "strange" political discussions, or reading "suspicious" books. Today's computers have greatly amplified the ability to monitor routine daily life. Now Ashcroft and Bush's Homeland Security czar

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BLACK/RED VIEW

Fanon and terrorism

by John Alan

After the tragedy of September 11, the French general Paul Aussaresses published his memoir *The Battle of the Casbah*, recounting the way the French conducted their war to "combat terrorism" in Algeria in 1954-62. The French committed atrocities trying to maintain their colony in Africa against the Algerian nationalists.

The memoir asks when is it acceptable to use torture or abrogate legal norms. He said: "Once you have seen with your own eyes as I did, civilians, men, women, and children quartered, disarmed, and nailed to doors, you are changed for life. What feelings can anyone have towards those who perpetrated such barbaric acts and their accomplices?"

It should be noted that no United States president has ever strongly opposed or actively intervened to stop atrocities committed by Europeans in Africa. President Kennedy made some anti-colonialist remarks, but Fanon thought that Kennedy's position on the war in Algeria was hardly different from that of France.

Frantz Fanon is undoubtedly the most outstanding thinker and activist in de-colonization of Algeria. He recognized at once that violence was embedded in the very structure of colonial society, in other words, in its geographical layout, which "implies a line of force." Fanon points out, "The colonial world is a world cut in two. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations. In the colonies it is the policeman and the soldier who are the official, instituted go-betweens, the spokesmen of the settlers and his role of oppression.... The policeman and the soldier, by their immediate presence and their frequent and direct action maintain contact with the native and

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ON THE INSIDE

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Bush's war against Iraq threatens global disaster

by Peter Hudis

The relative ease with which George W. Bush browbeat world leaders and the UN into accepting his plans for an invasion of Iraq threatens not only the existence of the despotic regime of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad. It also risks setting into motion one of the most dangerous schemes ever to be projected by a world leader, namely that the U.S. has the "right" to launch preemptive wars whenever and wherever it likes, even if that should involve the use of nuclear weapons.

The green light for a U.S. invasion of Iraq was provided by Bush's speech to the UN on Sept. 12. The anniversary of the September 11 disaster was barely over when Bush moved to shift the focus from Al Qaeda to Saddam Hussein.

In the face of mounting criticism of his "unilateralism," Bush called on Iraq to fulfill all UN resolutions passed over the last 11 years or face military attack. Knowing full well that Iraq would never agree to such conditions, his speech provided the UN with a way to capitulate to U.S. war plans while maintaining the illusion of engaging in "multilateral consultation."

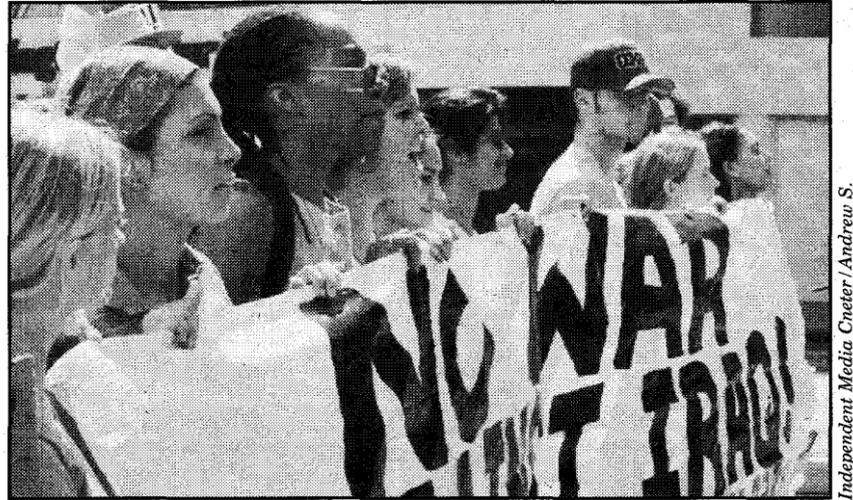
Bush's speech also silenced his critics in the Republican and Democratic parties who had expressed concern at his "go-it-alone" approach. By lining up the support of world leaders at the UN and portraying any criticism of his Iraq policy as a sign of a lack of patriotic fervor, Bush silenced his critics in Congress—a sign of how threadbare was their opposition in the first place.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

None of this means that Bush has become a "multilateralist." He is determined to invade Iraq, even if Iraq allows UN weapons inspectors back into the country. His drive for war is part of a new military doctrine that involves nothing short of the propagation of permanent, preemptive war against any real or imagined adversary. In many respects the war against Iraq has already

begun. In March, U.S. forces entered the Kurdish areas of northern Iraq with the aim of training local Kurdish militias to battle against Baghdad.

More recently, on Aug. 6, U.S. and British bombers



Los Angeles march Sept. 14 to protest Bush's drive to invade Iraq.

destroyed an Iraqi air command and control center at al-Nukhaib between Iraq and Saudi Arabia. The center contained advanced fiber-optic networks recently installed by Chinese companies.

A few days later, on Aug. 8, Turkey executed its first major military assault inside Iraq. Accompanied by U.S. and British military forces, the Turkish army seized the critical Bamerni airport in the northern part of the country. Possession of the airbase will allow the U.S. to control much of northern Iraq.

Though its existence has barely been reported on, the Turkish expeditionary force in Iraq now numbers 5,000. U.S. and allied Turkish special forces already control 15% of Iraq, mostly in the northern region.

Most recently, the U.S. and Britain launched a massive air raid over Western Iraq on Sept. 6, with the aim of destroying the first line of Iraq's air force and air defense systems. Similar U.S. operations are occurring

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Letter from Africa: struggles continue

by Ba Karang

Gambia—There are many new developments in the struggles of the African people against both their local dictators and international capital. In a word, Africa is in a serious situation. It has been so for many decades, but now it faces war, internal crisis, famine, and AIDS.

Famine in the whole of Southern Africa is happening at a time when world leaders are gathering in South Africa to discuss problems they themselves have created (see page 9)—hunger, environmental disaster, poverty, unfair trade relationships, and political instability. Many other African countries are facing the same situation, like Zimbabwe and Gambia.

The problem leading to this situation is not just the poor rainy season; there is food to buy in most of these countries including Gambia. The fact is that the purchasing power of the people has seriously declined and stands among other reasons why hunger in Africa is no longer just a village phenomenon but appears also right in the heart of the towns.

Agriculture is still being encouraged as an export-oriented activity, affecting the continent as well. Ecological disaster is occurring as forests are cleared for more and bigger farm lands. Without a change in this attitude, the problem with hunger will not be solved easily.

There are still many wars in the continent, just and unjust. The war in Congo ceased to be a just war the very day Mobutu was defeated. We insisted from the start that the defeat of Mobutu was revolutionary but that it will not lead to the liberation of the people of Congo. Even after the signing of a regional peace treaty, the war still continues as if nothing had happened.

Mugabe of Zimbabwe says he is prepared to withdraw his forces under the pretext of the so-called peace treaty. But it is very clear that the internal crisis in Zimbabwe will not allow Mugabe to concentrate on an outside crisis. It is no accident that he declared his new cabinet to be a "War Cabinet."

Mugabe, who promised to give Black farmers land during his election campaign, knew very well that fanning the fire of nationalism will be the only way to hold on to power. Some of us have been questioning why it has taken so long a time to address the land question since it was very fundamental in the liberation struggle. In light of his promises to return the land without any economic possibilities to help Black farmers to take over the big farms and run them, if Mugabe uses the courts to maintain ownership by some of the white farmers, we should not be surprised.

The formation of the African Union (AU) is not surprising at this stage of both the political and economic development of the continent. The warring in the continent, the poverty, and the hunger had been used as a pretext for the formation of the AU, but the very day this union was born, it refused to recognise the struggle and victory of the people of Madagascar. We might better see such dictatorial behaviour as one of the central reasons for the formation of the AU.

Comrades, in the struggles of the African continent there have been small victories that are very important in moving the struggle to new levels. They must continue to be defended. There are still nations fighting for their independence. The struggles of these nations and peoples must not be dismissed as mere power struggles or having the desire to split Africa into small entities.

Perhaps this dismissiveness is why the struggle of the people of the Western Sahara is not recognised and supported by many of the African Left. We have the Black Sudanese and Mauritians fighting against their Arab racist leaders. They are humiliated, enslaved, and denied the most basic of human rights.

No one is demanding sanctions against these regimes. It is perhaps among the issues that makes many Africans see the reaction of the West against Mugabe to be nothing other than hypocrisy. It is the duty of the Left to defend the struggles of these peoples.

Independent Media Center/Andrew S.

WOMAN AS REASON After 9/11: what kind of future for women?

by Maya Jhansi

Business thrives in the ruins. Cities become piles of ruins; villages become cemeteries; countries, deserts; populations are beggared; churches, horse stalls. International law, treaties and alliances, the most sacred words and the highest authority have been torn in shreds. Violated, dishonored, wading in blood, dripping filth—there stands bourgeois society. This is it. Not all spic and span and moral, with pretense to culture, philosophy, ethics, order, peace, and the rule of law—but the ravaging beast, the witches' sabbath of anarchy, a plague to culture and humanity. Thus it reveals itself in its true, its naked form.

—Rosa Luxemburg, *Junius pamphlet*, 1915

Since the September 11 attacks, the world has become a more dangerous place. Bush's so-called "war on terror" has made the devil's prophecy of permanent war the permanent condition of life in our new century.

As the U.S. military gears up the war machine for another foray into Iraq, it has raised what should have long ago been buried, the specter of nuclear war. The scrapping of the Anti-Ballistic Missiles treaty by the U.S.; two nuclear armed countries, India and Pakistan, poised for months on the brink of war; China's potential nuclear build-up, and the U.S.'s refusal to rule out the use of nuclear weapons against Iraq—all reveal that we have not left behind the legacies of the bipolar world, even as the U.S. consolidates unprecedented hegemony over the globe.

For women this ominous militarization goes hand-in-hand with a resurgence of fundamentalist violence and repression in multifarious forms. Nothing reveals the lie of Bush's "war on terror" better than the fact that women are no less at risk of death, mutilation, repression and violence at the hands of fundamentalist terrorists or states than they were before Bush launched his war. The continuing struggles of Afghan women in the face of warlordism is evidence of this.

While there has been some freedom of movement for Afghan women in places like Kabul since the fall of the Taliban, for the most part, they remain afraid to venture out of their houses, and still face serious obstacles to obtaining even the most basic levels of education and health care. The Sept. 11 issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* reports that Afghan women are 50% more likely than American women to die in childbirth. A survey conducted in Herat province found that less than 1% of pregnant women received attention from a trained healthcare worker, such as a nurse, physician, midwife or traditional birth attendant, and that only 35 physicians were available to treat 793,214 people in the area.

Bush's opposition to the Taliban and to Al Qaeda is inspired by geopolitical power games, in which women's lives are of little or no concern. In its efforts to work out an oil deal with Nigeria, the U.S. has ignored the case of Amina Lawal, the young woman whose appeal against a sharia court ruling that condemned her to death by stoning was denied. The National Organization for Women and others are bringing world attention to Lawal's case (See "Women World Wide" on this page).

Some have gone so far as to argue that there is a covert global war against women being conducted by the U.S. and the forces of religious fundamentalism, working together. In the UN, at convention after convention, the U.S. has allied with countries like Libya, Algeria, Sudan and even Iran and Iraq to replace the right to "reproductive health services" with the phrase "basic health services." The president of the Interna-

tional Women's Health Coalition, Adrienne Germain, put it this way: "When [Bush] is doing a war on terrorism, they're the 'axis of evil.' When he's waging a war on women, they're his allies."

This is hardly new or surprising, since the U.S. remains the only industrialized nation that has not ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). CEDAW came out of a 1975 international women's conference, and since Jimmy Carter signed it in 1980, it has been held up and ignored by the U.S. Congress for over 20 years. It was passed this summer by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and now is awaiting a Senate vote...again.

However, not much has changed for women even in countries that have ratified CEDAW. The women's movement needs to move beyond the UN. September 11 has brought to light the necessity of imagining a deeper and more profound alternative to the destruction, war

and havoc that the rulers promise for us as our future.

The militarization of our reality, over the past year especially, has assumed a certain philosophical stance, a cynicism about the inability of human beings to conceive of a natural state as other than a state of war. It seemed "natural" to most that the U.S. would retaliate for September 11 by launching a permanent war. It seemed "natural" to the Left that the angry and dispossessed would execute the diabolical attacks on New York. The U.S. patriot asked "Why do they hate us?" and the Left answered back that it was only "natural."

Calling upon the best traditions of women's anti-war activism, the women's movement must take back the concept of the "natural" from the warmongering male leaders, and offer up for discussion, in Virginia Woolf's words, "the recurring dream that has haunted the human mind since the beginning of time; the dream of peace, the dream of freedom."

U.C. Berkeley clerical workers strike

Berkeley, Cal.—In the first major labor action in 30 years, the Coalition of Union Employees (CUE), the union of clerical employees, representing 2,300 mostly women workers at the University of California, staged a three day strike at the Berkeley campus at the beginning of the Fall semester Aug. 26-28.

Many others, like myself, expressed their solidarity by staying out and joining the picket lines. Classrooms were empty because the graduate student instructors, represented by the UAW, joined the strike. Clinics were closed because practically all of the nurses, represented by California Nurses Association (CNA), came out. Day care providers stayed out. Many trades honored the picket lines. U.C. management's practices have angered so many that a new level of solidarity was forged.

A young Asian woman told me: "The only thing they see us as is an expense. They don't appreciate the skills we bring. I am a graduate of this institution. I have worked here as administrative assistant for two years. During that time I have gotten no raises, no cost of living or merit raises. Now U.C. has declared an impasse and walked away from the negotiations."

An older Black woman said: "I have been working here for 12 years. I have seen the conditions decline.

For me, the issue is the safety and working conditions. I have been out for surgery to correct carpal tunnel syndrome. I was supposed to come back in March, but I still can't work full time because they can't get my workstation set up right."

A picket captain was proud that "this strike raised the bar on union solidarity. A couple of years ago, when University Professional and Technical Employees (UPE) struck, they didn't even ask CUE to honor their picket lines. They did not feel strong enough for that to make sense. In May the nurses were going to strike. U.C. came up with a better proposal, so the nurses didn't go out. But then U.C. kept saying "we didn't mean this" and "we didn't mean that" so the nurses are very upset. At the medical center, of the four clinics three are closed completely and management is trying to keep one open with nursing supervisors.

"The graduate student instructors have had their beef with the university for years. U.C. does not want to recognize them as employees. The lecturers are mad, too. U.C. treats them as temporary help though some have been here for years or decades.

"From now on, when any union strikes, we will all support it. This strike has made such a difference."

—Urszula Wislanka



Teachers, nurses and others demonstrate in support of clerical workers

News & Letters / Urszula Wislanka

Women in Black outwit the Right

Jerusalem—For years, right-wing extremists have harassed Women in Black at vigils throughout Israel, shouting racist and fascist slogans. Jerusalem Women in Black have far out-numbered the right wing, but the Right is particularly violent and therefore the Jerusalem police caved in to them and proposed a Solomonic course of action: that we each demonstrate at Hagar Square on alternate Fridays. Women in Black immediately rejected this proposal. The Right—represented by a man who has frequently been arrested for assault of Arabs and us—accepted it at once.

The following week, thanks to an amazing response from supporters in Jerusalem, we were 160 women and men at the Jerusalem Women in Black. As a result, the police declared that Women in Black could have the vigil that Friday, but that the Right would have it the following week.

Jerusalem Women in Black met a few days later and decided the following: We will continue to hold our vigil at Hagar Square every Friday. Until further notice, however, the Jerusalem vigil would be held at 12:00 noon—one hour earlier than usual—thereby leaving the Right without a reason for demonstrating.

On Sept. 6, we held the vigil at noon, one hour earlier than usual. Despite the change of hour and the fact that it was the eve of Rosh Hashana, almost 100 people showed up. Several policemen asked us if we had changed the hour. We said that we had not, but that we were demonstrating at noon that day to show the police that we do not want confrontation with the Right. Nevertheless, we demand to continue at Hagar Square every Friday at 1 p.m., as we have for over 14 years.

The vigil dispersed early, as planned, just as carloads of police arrived to handle the anticipated battle between Women in Black and the Right. The patrolmen looked surprised to see us leaving. I sat in my car and watched as seven right-wing demonstrators showed up at 1:00; I counted more police than demonstrators. I don't know how long the Right remained, but they must have felt bereft without us.

The coming vigil is planned for Friday at 12:00, even though the police "allow" us to use the square at 1 p.m. A small group of Women in Black will meet with the police this week to demand our rights. If the right shows up at noon, that will strengthen our case that their only *raison d'être* is our presence, and the police should protect our right to demonstrate at 1 p.m.

—Gila Svirsky

Memphis peace vigil

Memphis, Tenn.—On the evening of Sept. 10, about a dozen activists and community people held a candlelight vigil. It was in commemoration of all the people who had died since Sept. 11, 2001. We wanted our vigil not only to be for those who died from the destruction of the World Trade Center and the other terrorist attacks that day, but also for the innocent people of Afghanistan who were bombed out of existence by the U.S.

We sat in a circle on the lawn of a local church, and we listened to each other's thoughts. I chose to wear a t-shirt that night commemorating the Montreal Massacre of 1989 when women engineering students were separated from the men and gunned down by a man who called them "a bunch of f----- feminists."

I said that I wore that shirt because I wanted us to remember the women who have died, be that in Canada, the U.S. or the women in Afghanistan who were killed first by the Russians, then by the Northern Alliance, then by the Taliban, then by the U.S., and now by the Northern Alliance again. I said that the proof that Bush cares nothing for these women was his denial of \$34 million to the UN Population Fund, a move that would cause the death of thousands of women and children, including in Afghanistan.

Others spoke about the dangers of Bush's planned war against Iraq. We also used this occasion to begin planning action against the next war to come.

—Terry Moon

WOMEN WORLDWIDE

by Mary Jo Grey

At a time of overwhelming government hostility toward just maintaining, much less improving, abortion rights, the state of California, in September, passed four bills expanding women's right to abortion. The new legislation would: 1) ensure that abortion would continue in California even if *Roe v. Wade* was overturned; 2) require that all medical residency programs for obstetricians and gynecologists give abortion training (although there are loopholes on the basis of religion or "conscience"); 3) mandate that emergency room staff tell victims of sexual abuse about emergency contraception and provide it free if they ask for it, as well as allow nurses and midwives to prescribe abortion drugs like RU-486, and 4) shield abortion clinics, their employees and patients from harassment by blocking public access to all names and addresses.

* * *

Contestants in the upcoming Miss World pageant, scheduled to take place in Nigeria on Nov. 30, are threatening to boycott the event to protest a single mother's sentence to be stoned to death for having sex outside of marriage. Amina Lawal was sentenced by an Islamic Court in August after giving birth to a daughter more than nine months after divorcing her husband. Pageant organizers were forced by angry contestants and international pressure to ask the government not to carry out the death sentence. The European Parliament's committee on women's rights unanimously called for a boycott of the pageant. Participants from France and Belgium have already withdrawn.

Fred's stonewalls union workers

Memphis, Tenn.—We workers at Fred's distribution center here wanted a union because of things like favoritism and pay. We voted in May to join UNITE!, but Fred's refuses to bargain. Since we voted in the union, there has been harassment. There is no air conditioning at Fred's. To work in the warehouse is like being in hell. When it's 80 degrees outside, it's like 120 degrees inside. We have fans, but yesterday I noticed they had the heater on, retaliating for the union vote. They're constantly monitoring your work, standing around your desk. We never had that before.

We didn't get a cost of living increase this year. It's not all about money. It's about respect and being treated right, and fair work. All of a sudden, we've had work piled on us. We understand it's peak season, but it's getting ridiculous. I've been there several years and Fred's is the worst place I've worked.

CHILDREN COME LAST

They expect your children to come last in your life. They tell you when they hire you that the job goes from 6:00 to 2:45, or whatever. But when you get there, you work until you've finished. Therefore, if your child has to be picked up at daycare at a certain time and you can't make it, you have to pay late charges. They don't



News & Letters/Herry Moon

Fred's workers voted in UNITE!, but are still rallying to win union rights and recognition.

care. If you leave "early," they give you an occurrence—that's like points, a penalty.

One woman got home and her son was sitting there crying with his eye patched up. The school nurse had tried several times to reach her, needing her approval to take him to the hospital. She couldn't get through because Fred's told her we couldn't receive phone calls. But a bill collector can call and get straight through.

They closed one of the women's bathrooms and one of the men's too, welding the doors shut without giving us notice. Now we have to go a pretty good distance to use the bathroom. They took out the women's sanitary supplies when we got the union in. The bathrooms are dirty, with a smell that makes you not want to use them. It's being really low-down.

FRED'S BREAKS LAWS

They don't have scheduled breaks. We had people coming in at 5:00 a.m. who didn't get a break until 9:45. It's illegal. Fred's breaks a lot of laws. The order people, the loaders, the stockers—those are the majority of the people that never know what time they're getting off. Those are majority Black and Latina workers. You have people working 40 hours and overtime that aren't getting benefits—they're considered part-time.

It's prejudiced against the Blacks. They promote some Black to management by experience it would be a better warehouse because a lot of the people they promote don't know their job.

They have fired people for working on the union organizing drive. They fired a young lady because she asked them why they changed her job. They told her the question was insubordination and sent her out the door.

They gave the office people a \$2 raise, but said we did not deserve a raise because we tried to get the union in. We're not allowed to come into the main employee gate anymore, but have to come off the alley at an industrial gate.

I would like to see people being treated fair and given respect. I would like Fred's to listen to people. We believe in standing up for what we think is right. I'll stand up and fight until the end, regardless of what the outcome may be, because I think it's right. We need representation.

—Black women warehouse workers

Immokalee worker speaks

Memphis, Tenn.—I came here to the U.S. because Guatemala is a country where the people live in extreme poverty. There wasn't a better way to survive. I arrived with a mindset of going to a developed country, where there wouldn't be suffering like in Guatemala, and I could find some work for myself.

But when I got to Florida to work in the tomato fields, I saw that this is a country with a lot of exploitation and discrimination. While I was there I found out about the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), an organization to help workers fight the companies and ranchers. (See p. 11 on CIW's boycott campaign against Taco Bell.)

What the group makes is given out equally. If there are comrades that for some reason can't go to work because they're sick, or something has happened with their family they are paid half of what is earned. If we earn \$80, we give the worker who couldn't come because of sickness or family reasons \$40. If we earn \$100, we give the worker \$50.

Taco Bell is acting like they won't respond to us. But they're going to answer, we are sure of that. We're not going to stop fighting until we have the benefits that we want. We have to keep growing; there are lots of students, people in solidarity. Maybe I myself won't be here the day these benefits are given. But many comrades that are here now will be here in the future and take advantage of that.

To all the people that are reading what we're talking about, I would wish that they don't only think about themselves. Many people have a good life. But they don't know about their fathers and mothers in the past that suffered the same way that we are suffering now.

I wish for them to think of the many people here in this country that are totally screwed over, discriminated against, and living in inhuman conditions—people that are pennied up somewhere, and can't even leave or communicate with their family. I would wish that people reading this think about all these things, and keep fighting with us against Taco Bell. That they help us to be able to carry on this fight.

—Edwin, CIW

For more information about the CIW and the Taco Bell boycott, visit their website at: www.ciw-online.org

Chicago hotel victory

Chicago—Hotel workers here made a great collective stride forward recently with success in winning a new contract from management. The workers—over 7,000 strong represented by Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 1—gained an offer from hotel managers on Sept. 3 after a campaign of organizing and community outreach to lay the groundwork for a strike.

Chicago's predominantly minority and immigrant hotel workers emerged only recently from a dormancy maintained by a corrupt and bureaucratic leadership. The local was placed under the trusteeship of the international union in the mid-1990s to avoid government intervention into its affairs.

The new spirit of the rank and file was plainly visible at a huge rush hour march and rally down Michigan Avenue on Aug. 23. On-duty workers at hotels along the route waved in support to the thousands of union members and supporters who paraded down the busy street to rally at a park across from the luxurious Drake Hotel. One got the feeling that the determination of the rank and file was so strong that neither the hotel managers nor the union leadership could control it.

The four-year contract the workers voted to approve didn't contain the parity with New York hotel industry wages that the organizing campaign had aimed for, but it did feature a substantial boost, along with a significant decrease in health insurance costs.

—Kevin Michaels

British labor action

London—Trades Union Congress delegates representing Britain's 6.8 million union members came close to passing a motion expressing outright opposition to the impending invasion of Iraq. However, after a show of hands indicated a majority for the anti-war argument, the big right-wing controlled unions called for a card vote and voted for "military action only with UN approval." This made it easier for Tony Blair, in his address the following day, to put over the Blair-Bush line on action against Iraq.

Blair told delegates their choice was "partnership" with his government through the Private Finance Initiative or "self-indulgent" militancy. The TU Lefts are by no means ready for a showdown with New Labour, but with an unmistakable leftward shift amongst union activists, they think time is on their side.

Unease over Blairite partnership deals with private firms running public services has resulted in the election of left-wingers at unions previously dominated by the Right. There have been repeated calls for repeal of Thatcherite anti-union legislation, such as bans on solidarity actions.

Workers at steel works in Wrexham, Tredegar and Scunthorpe have been striking one day a week since a decision in July by steelmaker Caparo to close its final salary pension scheme. The first-ever strike for pension rights has just been won and the firm has had to reinstate the scheme. This is a serious challenge to the increasing number of firms attempting to close down final salary schemes and switch to money-purchase schemes where the employee bears most of the risk.

FIRE BRIGADES

The Fire Brigades Union is balloting members on strike action over pay. The wages of fire fighters have fallen behind other sectors by as much as 20%, but employers have only offered a 4% raise and an "independent enquiry." A national fire fighters' strike seems likely during the next few months, the first in 25 years.

In 1978, when the Callaghan Labour Government was in power, the strike was broken by deployment of army firefighting units. The FBU believes that because of the advance in technology, army intervention will not be a viable option this time around.

Bob Crow, left-wing leader of the Rail, Maritime and Transport union, declared at the Congress that if the fire fighters do strike, rail workers would refuse to work without the safety cover provided by the fire brigades. This would effectively bring London, at the very least, to a standstill.

In mid-July, 750,000 council workers struck in a one-day protest over the local authority employers' rejection of their claim for a 6% wage increase. The strike affected ferry services, benefits offices, parking patrols, schools and what remains of non-privatised garbage collection. In August a pay deal brokered by the government's arbitration body, ACAS, resulted in calling off a badly-timed one-day follow-up strike (in the middle of August) by the union leaders. The unions, having extracted a slightly increased offer from the employers of 3.5%, have since been "consulting" members in local government and are recommending acceptance.

In London, however, a 24-hour strike over the employers' failure to increase the London Weighting Allowance is set for Oct. 1, coinciding with a speech by Blair to the Labour Party conference. Council workers in London want a flat rate rise of £4,000 a year from the current £1,400-2,600 to help their members meet the cost of living in the capital.

Refuse collectors, teaching assistants, social workers and street cleaners will be among those workers expected to take part. This action is likely to be followed up with industrial action aimed at council revenues such as parking attendants, who extract huge sums from offending motorists throughout London.

—David Black

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from page 1)

want a national identity card for everybody. This intrusive attitude has also permeated our working lives.

When I started my job at a hospital, we didn't have computers. We did everything on typewriters. Our original mission as frontline healthcare workers used to be to get the patient the medical treatment he needed as soon as possible. We even sent handwritten reminders each year so patients wouldn't forget their annual physical exams. Now that we do everything on computers, we do not send out invitations for checkups anymore. Even when patients show up in a crisis, we are told by the computers to be on "alert," while managers tell us to "cut costs."

HMO COPS

The computer profiles alert us to all sorts of things, from how much co-payment the patient owes to whether the patient has "drug-seeking behavior." They have turned us health workers into HMO cops. We're on constant lookout for "suspicious activity" like unemployed people who have no insurance trying to use our clinics by using someone else's identity. We're told to demand a picture ID or drivers' license. Trying to obtain desperately needed healthcare has been transformed into a crime.

A nation of over 40 million without health insurance creates a large pool of potential criminals. They have nothing to say about the ever-increasing threat of "John-Q" type crisis situations from desperate patients at the end of their rope. Each year thousands of health workers are injured on the job by angry and distraught patients.

We health workers are between a rock and a hard place, as the economic downturn is expected to throw more people into the ranks of the uninsured. Resentment and desperation, as well as fear and suspicion, pervades everyday life in a world under Bush's permanent war.

WHEN HEALTH CARE IS OUTLAWED

While managed care is busy erecting barriers, one group, Doctors Without Borders, is engaged on the ground in the struggle to make health care not a commodity but a universal right as it is stated at least on paper in the UN Charter. I recently heard Dr. Paul Farmer from DWB speak about how healthcare is denied in places like Haiti and Africa because it is not cost effective for the pharmaceutical industry. This is the same problem writ large that we are experiencing among the poor in this country.

Many grassroots organizations have to behave as "outlaws" when they try to provide medicines desperately needed by poor people. While it is against the law to dispense medicine outside capital's restrictions, it is not against the law to continue to produce and sell millions of landmines around the world.

Is it any wonder that in a world which has created so many laws to keep "law and order," we have neither. What we have is the law of the jungle, of "might makes right." The order of the day is to "stay alert" and fearful in a world of chaos and perpetual disorder. We will never have the kind of real democracy which places a prime necessity human life's self-development unless we overcome the prime necessity of capital's self-expansion.

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Editor's Note

We publish here the concluding installment of an excerpt from Raya Dunayevskaya's June 5, 1951 "The Revolt of the Workers and the Plan of the Intellectuals." (For the first installment, see our August-September 2002 issue.) "The Revolt" was a defense of *State Capitalism and World Revolution*, (SC&WR) a major statement of the Johnson-Forest Tendency, and marked its complete break with the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). SC&WR had been jointly written by C. L. R. James (whose party name was J. R. Johnson), Dunayevskaya (Freddie Forest), and Grace Lee Boggs. "The Revolt" was a response to a critique of SC&WR published in April 1951 by George Novack (William F. Warde) and John G. Wright, both representing the SWP majority. "MCK" refers to the Kerr edition of Marx's *Capital* and "MCF" to the more recent translation by Ben Fowkes. Footnotes are the editor's except where noted. The original document can be found in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 1424.

Part II

...Comrades Novack and Wright accuse "Johnson-Forest" of shifting the whole axis from the class struggle to the question of productivity. But what is the class struggle if it is not the never-ending struggle in the factory against what Marx called "the strictly regulating authority of the social mechanism of the labor process graduated into a complete hierarchy" [MCIHK, p. 1027; MCIIF, p. 1021].

How far removed is that from the academic play of words, "agents and principals!" The agent Marx has in mind is the agent of capital, that third force that stands in the way of labor united with means of production in a natural way, and not by the intervention of an outside force, the hierarchy capital creates, a relation of class. The hierarchy built up in the factory has little to do with the "ownership" of a "principal." It is something a great deal more basic, with a more solid foundation and deeper roots.

The "agent" that Marx is analyzing is that tough bureaucracy which he compares always to a military hierarchy which has a stranglehold on the workers as they work cooperatively. This hierarchy is no simple "agent of a principal." It is the division of labor which makes of the workers mere automatons who must not move from their niche in the assembly line, while everyone from the "principal" to the "agent," that whole gang of foremen, disciplines the worker.

This discipline forces from him ever-greater amounts of surplus value through more machines and through the greater intensity with which they are operated. Marx's point was that so long as there is a group of "special agents" in opposition to the direct producer, that is how long that "social mechanism," C/V [dominance of constant over variable capital], will continue to dominate. That is why Marx, from the very first draft of *Capital*, never tired of reiterating that "The mastery of the capitalist over the worker is in reality the mastery of dead over living labor" [MCIIF, p. 990].(1)

Marx says the same thing in a thousand different ways throughout the three volumes of *Capital* and *Theories of Surplus Value*, because it is this which sums up the whole essence of capitalism.

It is for this reason that Marx had not divided, as Comrades Novack and Wright had divided, the class struggle from the question of productivity. Far from being anything abstract, productivity is the most concrete, the most oppressive way of making workers sweat the more. That is precisely what Marx was saying with his formula C/V. Comrades Novack and Wright, however, who theoretically had stripped these categories of their class content, and practically spoke of some abstract "Soviet economy" instead of the specific class relations in the factory, saw, and can see, "nothing in common" between the Russian economy and capitalism.

FETISHISMS AND FREELY ASSOCIATED MEN

Comrades Novack and Wright stand everything on its head. Where Marx says the property relationship is nothing but a legal expression for the production relationship, they make the productive relationship nothing but an expression of the property form or relationship.

Where Marx says that outside the production relationship, property is nothing but a juristic illusion, Comrades Novack and Wright say: "Productive relations of the economy transitional to socialism is contained in collectivized property" [p. 6].

Where Marx says that if you understand bourgeois private property to be but a legal expression for class antagonisms, then "In this sense" (my emphasis—RD) "the theory of Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property," there Comrades Novack and Wright leave out the phrase, "In this sense," altogether, and, with a century of capitalist development behind them, equate the abolition of class antagonisms with the abolition of private property.

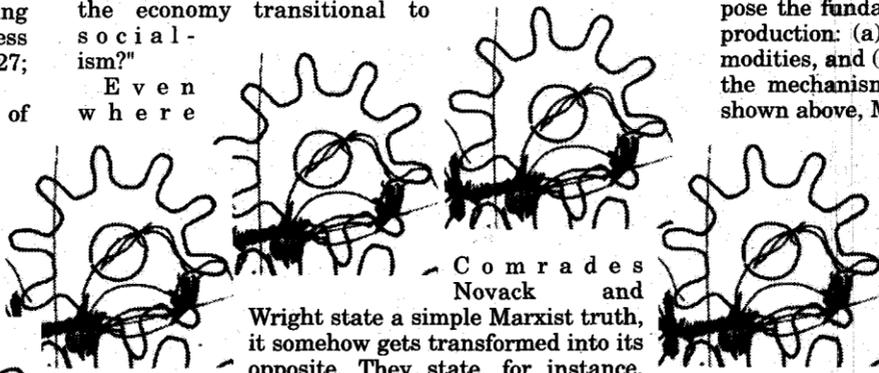
The revolt of the workers and the plan of the intellectuals

Marx, on the other hand, found, with less than two decades of development separating the writing of the *Communist Manifesto* from the writing of the *Rules* of the First International, that he had more reason to emphasize the word, "monopolizer" than the word, "private."

Thus the *Rules* proclaimed "the economical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor, that is, the source of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence" [MECW 23, p. 3]. And when a few years later the Paris Commune came out of the revolutionary activity of the proletariat, Marx, far from shouting, private property, private property, private property, warned against even "cooperative production" becoming a mere "sham and snare" [MECW 22, p. 335].

The only way to prevent that, wrote Marx, in *The Civil War In France*, is to see that all control remains in the hands of "free and associated labor" [MECW 22, p. 335]. All the emphasis now shifts to "free and associated labor" for the state is being smashed up and in its stead is to be a Commune. And, on the eve of October, Lenin puts his stress on the fact that the [Paris] Commune was "not a state at all." Is Stalinist Russia with its ubiquitous army, with its ever-expanding prisons, forced labor camps "not a state at all"? Or in transition to that? Does its property form really contain "the productive relations of the economy transitional to socialism?"

Even where



Comrades Novack and

Wright state a simple Marxist truth, it somehow gets transformed into its opposite. They state, for instance,

that the real contradiction is between productive forces and production relations. Absolutely true. But where Marx includes the revolutionary proletariat as the greatest productive force, the productive forces with them are only the simple material means of production.

No wonder that the "quest for universality" [MECW 6, p. 190] is to them "an ideological, not a material force." No wonder that, though they quote from Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* so often, they failed to grasp its essence: "But from the moment that all special development ceases, the need for universality, the tendency towards an integral development of the individual begins to make itself felt" [MECW 6, p. 190].

This was not "just" the young Marx of the early *Philosophic Essays*, nor "only" the Marx of *Poverty of Philosophy*. Nor is it absent from the *Communist Manifesto* which Comrades Novack and Wright see as a manifesto for the abolition of private property in order to institute state property. The aim is better stated by Marx who writes that the abolition of class antagonisms means to have "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" [MECW6 p. 506].

I put it bluntly. "Johnson-Forest" say that this free association is the new material force, the greatest of all productive forces. "Johnson-Forest" have asked the question often enough, and I ask it again: Do Comrades Novack and Wright accept this or is it for them idealism?

It is the mature Marx of *Capital* who says that even for the simple task of getting rid of the fetishism of commodities, it is not enough to see labor as the source of value and "know" that class relations are involved. Thus we see that Marx from the first chapter of *Capital* poses the question of the plan of freely associated laborers. This time it is posed in opposition to the fetishism of the commodity-form.

What is needed is clear: it is to see labor not as sub-

stance, that is to say, thing, but as subject (2) that is to say, an active, developing human being. Hence, where the political economists began their analysis of capitalism with labor as the source of value, Marx began *Capital* with the concept of labor-power, the worker as creative subject. With this new concept of the worker as a human being, he could see what the political economists could not see—that under capitalism human relations assumed the form of material relations, social relations assumed the form of relations between things. Marx says that such relations between men must assume "the fantastic form of a relation between things" because that is, in truth, what they are. Under the perverse relationship of dead to living labor characteristic of capitalism, social relations, writes Marx, "really are material relations between persons and social relations between things" [MCIK, pp. 83-84; MCIIF, pp. 165-166]. Indeed, the product of labor under capitalism can have no other form but that of the commodity. Tens of millions of workers in Russia, in their own way, know this. That is why the Stalinists are so anxious to have Chapter I of Volume I omitted from the study of *Capital*.

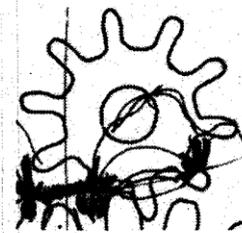
The fetishism of commodities expresses on the market level what the C/V relationship expresses at the level of production—that the human being does not control the thing, but the thing controls the human being. It was only by beginning with this new universal concept of the worker as creative subject that Marx could pose the fundamental negations inherent in capitalist production: (a) the negation of the fetishism of commodities, and (b) the negation of the workers as part of the mechanism of capital. That is why, as has been shown above, Marx called the worker variable capital.

For Marx the negation of both of these could take place only by the workers becoming freely associated. To substitute for this, nationalized property and "planned economy," is to turn Marx into nothing more than the vulgar materialist the bourgeoisie say he is.

It was because Marx had this general concept of the worker that he could have the more concrete concept of the socialized workers—freely associated men.

Marx's whole point is that the commodity-form only became general when it extended to the particular commodity, labor itself or rather the capacity to labor. To this end Marx created his third original economic category: labor power. In Volume II he reiterates once again:

"The peculiar characteristic is not that the commodity, labor power, is saleable, but that labor power appears in the shape of a commodity" [MCIHK, p. 37; MCIIF, p. 114].



Now read this: "An economic system is first of all determined by its

class structure...And capitalist society—by the sale of labor power to the capitalist class which owns the means of production."

It is by Comrade Weiss(3) in his report to the National Convention.(4)

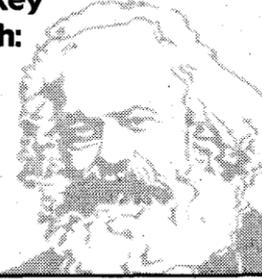
Where Marx made the commodity-form appearance of living labor the quintessence of capitalism, Comrade Weiss made the saleability that quintessence. Marx's point is that the form of appearance of living labor as mere labor power reveals the class structure of society and thus belies the equality of exchange. Comrade Weiss's point seems to be that the ownership determines the class structure. Comrade Weiss thus leaves the fetishism inherent in commodities where classical political economy had left it. Marx was most categorical on the matter. The only way that the fetishism can be stripped off is through the workers' revolt against the conditions which have produced it and thenceforward as freely-associated men planning their own lives. Should an intellectual ever lose sight of this type of plan in strict relationship to this revolt and this self-activity of the workers, Marx concluded, it would be impossible to advance from the position of the classical economists who, despite their discovery of labor as the source of value, "remained more or less prisoners of the world of illusion which they had dissolved critically..." [MCIHK, p. 967; MCIIF, p. 969].

Theoretically there is no other road. That is why Comrade Weiss could not help but fall into the trap that always lies waiting for the Marxist theoretician who leaves out this central point of *Capital*.

NOTES

1. This is from "Results of the Immediate Process of Production," the so-called "Sixth Chapter" of *Capital*, an 1860s text that was not incorporated into published versions of *Capital*. Then unavailable in English, Dunayevskaya translated it from the Russian text that had been published in *Archives of Marx-Engels*, Vol. II (VII).
2. Probably an allusion to Hegel's "Preface" to the *Phenomenology of Mind*, where he wrote, "everything turns on grasping the True, not only as Substance, but equally as Subject" (PhGB, p. 80; PhGM, p. 10.)
3. Murray Weiss, a member of the SWP majority.

"Because Marx thought first and foremost of how the workers feel, he could anticipate the key question of our epoch: is productivity to be increased by the expansion of machinery or by the expansion of human capacities?"



From
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis
 by Raya Dunayevskaya
 To order, see page 7.

PHILOSOPHIC DIALOGUE *The theory and politics of regression*

by Tom More

In the worlds colliding today, to which the Bush administration's answer is the drive towards permanent war, the thought is in motion of a new crusade, a "holy cause." The President's rhetoric of a nearly cosmic clash between the forces of light and darkness, his projection of an "axis of evil," discloses the essentially religious character of his own idea of history, evident from his "born again" Christianity.

Islamic fundamentalist terrorists are thus not alone in issuing *fatwas* and declaring *jihad*. Standing on the brink of this new war, it is imperative for the anti-war movement to confront and unmask religious fundamentalism. My proposal, at this stage only a conjecture, to which I welcome your critique, is that Hegel can help us understand what we are up against with his discussion of the "third attitude of thought toward objectivity" in his *Smaller Logic* (para. 61-78).*

HEGEL'S CRITIQUE OF INTUITIONISM

Raya Dunayevskaya placed much emphasis on Hegel's "Third Attitude of Thought Toward Objectivity" (see *The Power of Negativity [PON]*, pp. 82-84). Hegel represented the standard-bearer of this attitude in the intuitionist philosophy of F.H. Jacobi (1743-1819), a philosopher Hegel considered in 1812 to be "perhaps forgotten," but whose resurgent popularity after the post-Napoleonic Restoration of 1814-15 compelled Hegel, in 1827, to develop a category devoted to the attitude that intuitionism—the immediacy of feeling—reflected.

For Hegel, the first attitude toward objectivity is emblematically premodern—faith and scholasticism. The second attitude is modern, i.e., Empiricism and Kantian rationalism. The third attitude presupposes the second attitude and is a regressive movement in relation to it, inasmuch as it "rejects all methods" and "abandons itself to the control of a wild, capricious and fantastic dogmatism—which is loudest against philosophy" (para. 77).

Hegel characterized this third attitude as a "backward movement" (para. 76), revealing to Dunayevskaya how "the Hegelian dialectic lets retrogression appear as translucent as progression and indeed makes it very nearly inevitable if one ever tries to escape regression by mere faith" (*PON*, p. 332). The cult of immediate feeling or intuition unmediated by critical thought lacks "the seriousness, suffering, patience, and labor of the negative" (Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, p. 10).

In short, Hegelian dialectics makes no claims about the inevitability of historical progress; it is quite possible to go backwards historically as well as forward. Which direction we actually go is intimately related to what attitudes we adopt, theoretically and practically, to the objective world in which we find ourselves situated. And since thinking is prima facie free, we are not necessarily fated to an attitude that happens to prevail at some particular moment, which is why the "battle of ideas," or theoretical struggle, has a practical and political significance.

Dunayevskaya recognized that the Hegelian "cunning of Reason" does not belong to a philosophy of guarantees. Hegelianism is not a grand narrative of the inevitability of historical progress. In the precarious world situation we inhabit today, there is the real and palpable possibility that we will not go forward into the future charted by the idea of freedom. While virtually everyone on the Left adopts the rhetoric of the "liberation struggle," there is no assurance that an authentic philosophy of liberation is the project of that rhetoric.

NEW CHALLENGES FACING THE LEFT

Let's begin by considering just what world circumstances the Left is up against today. First, there is the shared leftist consensus that the momentum of the world-historical stage presently belongs to a movement of "globalization from above." Second, the counter-movement from below and from within the globalizing centers of the U.S. and Europe had begun to gather enormous momentum with the Seattle protests in the fall of 1999.

Third, however, came September 11, 2001, and the subsequent U.S.-led drive to permanent war, and the scenes of mass protest on the streets of U.S. cities have for the moment visibly diminished.

What *News & Letters* has consistently observed is the troubling silence of many on the Left about the very real world-historical threat of the Islamic fundamentalism that carried out the September 11 attacks. And so we could have predicted what *N&L* has also consistently observed, the erosion in the U.S. of the momentum represented by Seattle in the immediate aftermath of September 11, as Bush's popularity has soared.

Also *N&L* has not failed to point out the link between Islamic fundamentalism (the September 11 terrorist attack, bin Laden and Al Qaeda, the Taliban, and so forth) and the third attitude towards objectivity.

This logical category of Hegelian dialectics has enormous explanatory power in directing everyone's attention to the critique of fundamentalism, regarding which too many on the Left have been equivocal. This reticence is easy enough to explain by a binary logic that takes U.S.-led imperialism to be the enemy, and which therefore concludes that any force opposed to U.S.-led imperialism is, if not precisely a friend, then a tendency that at least merits sympathy and understanding.

To the dumbed-down question, "Why do they hate

us?" there has come from some quarters the dumbed-down answer, "We made them do it." There are a great many problems with this Manichean thinking, but at least two are immediately relevant here: first, it imagines that "Empire" is so overawing that spontaneous political movements around the world could not emerge of their own accord; second, it seriously underestimates just how vicious and reactionary fundamentalism really is.

At first blush, the focus might seem to be merely on Islamic fundamentalism as the object of critique, but it would be a dialectical mistake to fix on the adjective and more fundamentally fail to incorporate the noun into the third attitude toward objectivity.

N&L's support of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan's tour in the U.S. after September 11 bespeaks both the universality of its feminist commitments and also its recognition that "women as Reason" all over the world are capable of responding as women to their own oppression, true even when the U.S. was backing the forces that swept the Taliban into power.

But there is a mistaken, particularist way to tell the story that might go something like this: The Islamic world was subject to imperial conquest and colonial domination from without; it did not ask for the modernity that was imposed upon it. If not for conquest and domination, a non-European development of Islamic civilization (the heterogeneity of which I do not intend to oversimplify, extending as it does from Nigeria to Indonesia) might have proceeded on its own course.

CONFRONTING ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

The "anti-western" sentiments that pervade the Islamic world are therefore a function of its struggle to maintain its own cultural identity and otherness in the face of "western" imposition. But focusing the issue on the identity politics of Islam not only reduces something called "Islam" itself to a monolith, but runs the risk of obscuring a vital global kinship among fundamentalisms, the obscurity of which would also prevent theorists from developing a more comprehensive dialectical perspective.

The better place to begin is with the notion that fundamentalists are not "traditional" in the sense of wanting to take people back to the past. Numerous feminists and other writers have pointed out the ways in which the fundamentalist utopia is a modern invention. The modern reassertion by means of dogmatism and authoritarianism a tradition that has already been historically eclipsed is what makes "fundamentalism" a modern, and not a premodern, non-western phenomenon.

Fundamentalist dogmatism and authoritarianism are reactionary, and they fall under the third attitude toward objectivity because they assert a privileged immediate knowledge of a putative truth immunized from critical scrutiny and therefore stepping back from dialectical mediation.

Since nothing can be true this way, however, the only way such self-assertion of privilege can be maintained is through terror, already implicit in bringing the charge of heresy (whether the terrorism in question is an individual act, or "state-sponsored," or straightforwardly statist).

Once this understanding of fundamentalism according to the third attitude toward objectivity comes into play, a more comprehensive dialectical perspective opens up that discloses the essential link between Bush and Bin Laden, and between Ariel Sharon and the suicide-bomber. That is, it is fundamentalism per se that fosters terrorism, whether the shape of terror is the September 11 attack, or the indiscriminate killing of Palestinian and Israeli citizens, or the Taliban's reign of terror inflicted on Afghan women, or the "collateral damages" that will continue to mount on the drive toward permanent war.

BUSH'S FUNDAMENTALISM

The cogency of this analysis presupposes that Bush is a fundamentalist, but that goes without saying. His administration should be analyzed within the framework of the Christian Right's successful reversal of the emancipatory forward ground that was gained in what seems like another age, the 1960s.

Since both Christian and Islamic fundamentalism are thoroughly patriarchal and racist (remember Bob

Jones University?), since Christian fundamentalists now occupy the U.S. administration without apology, and since the Left in the U.S. has at least been knocked off balance by September 11 and its aftermath, an unequivocal critique of fundamentalism must become a crucial element in left opposition. Many voices on the Left seem momentarily paralyzed, having stopped short at first negation.

Many working people in the U.S. are understandably put off by a left opposition that cannot bring itself to oppose Islamic fundamentalist terrorism as straightforwardly as the homegrown variety represented, for example, by Timothy McVeigh. But as always in U.S. history, the vanguard of opposition domestically can be

found in the Black dimension and in the ongoing struggle of women's liberation, where the critiques of racism and patriarchy are most vital when it comes to fundamentalism, and where the visionary transcendence of both is still most alive.

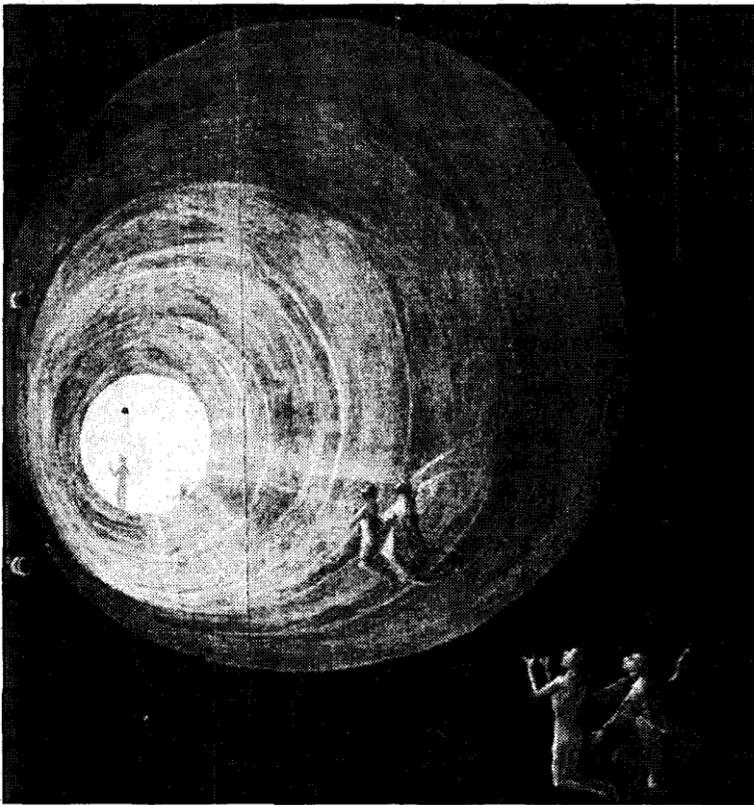
Having mentioned "first negation," it is worthwhile noticing that a politics that stops short here is also an undialectical politics, bereft of dialectical mediation. But the thoughtful rejection of dialectical mediation is tantamount to the third attitude towards objectivity.

In a recent letter, a friend wrote that the point in Hegel's critique of Jacobi was that Jacobi's doctrine of immedi-

ate knowledge or faith that takes whatever is found in immediate consciousness for the truth offered a shortcut, whereas there is no shortcut. The strategy of the shortcut, also when it is a strategy of opposition, is bound to be reactionary rather than progressive.

And so we cannot conceptualize the triumph of the Christian Right in U.S. politics without also conceptualizing the defeat of the "New Left" of what seems like an age ago. That Left's fascination with spontaneity, with making it up as it went along, its activism for activism's sake, and its deeply anti-theoretical posture (already betokening "postmodernism") must today also be confessed to be integral parts of its defeat a generation ago, as they will be again if the third attitude toward objectivity is not thematized and its implications forthrightly stated for our dangerous and precarious time.

*All paragraph references are to Hegel's *Logic*, Part 1 of his *Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).



THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY

The Power of Negativity

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by Raya Dunayevskaya

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"We always speak of how, under the impact of the French Revolution, Hegel put to method the actual activity of masses in motion, the sans culottes in France, and so forth, and called it the dialectic. But in this period there was not only revolution, but counter-revolution, and we had not the millenium, but Napoleon. So why do we only talk about the dialectical method in Hegel, and not speak about what happened on the question of counter-revolution, on the question of what Hegel himself called reactionary moves?" (p. 194)

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AFRICAN REVOLUTIONS 50 YEARS AFTER

The front page article by Bakary Tandia and Pauline Muchina, "Africans struggle to overcome slavery, AIDS, neo-colonialism," (August-September *N&L*) was very important. It is now 50 years since the African revolutions, yet conditions seem worse than ever. The English and French withdrew from Africa but that was only a "first negation." In her writings on the Afro-Asian revolutions as they were ongoing, Raya Dunayevskaya was asking "what happens after?" There has been retrogression. 50 years after we have AIDS, Islamic fundamentalism, and in Mauritania there is slavery. I was very moved by this article.

**African-American writer
California**

The August-September issue showed a lot about how unique *N&L* is. It would be hard to find a paper that turned over its Lead to an article written by others, such as was done for the article on Africa in that issue. That a paper has the way to morph into someone's dreams and not be stuck in old ways is really great.

**Young Black activist
Memphis**

The Lead on Africa showed a whole new context for fighting against Bush and globalized capitalism. Reading it, I could see the immediate global context for Marx's *Capital*, whether we are looking at the U.S. or Africa. It seemed to me

FROM WITHIN THE PRISON WALLS: VOICES AS REASON

It seems as if all the problems throughout the world today ultimately end in violence. Religion, politics, laws — all rely on violence if their influence fails. What's the point of being right if those in the wrong have the superior might to ultimately impose their will? Please keep producing the thought-provoking information you give us. I'm thankful for the insight I've gained over the years as a result of reading *N&L*. My thanks to all the donors who provide access to these ideas to prisoners like me. The mind is a terrible thing to waste.

**Prisoner
Texas**

I and the comrades with whom I share your paper think it is great, but I have a few suggestions. 1) We have a hard time pronouncing some of the foreign names and places. Could you break down a pronunciation in brackets next to those words for us? 2) We would also like to learn more about the great minds of Raya Dunayevskaya and Marx and some of the other thinkers discussed throughout your paper. Could you add a one sheet flyer on their writings or an insert from books directly from their minds.

**Prisoner
Corcoran, Cal.**

In a recent issue you ran an article called "Letter from a woman in a California prison" who described the poor medical care they received. From what I can see, most prisons have little or no medical help for inmates. In the last dozen years I have not seen a doctor that knows the difference between arthritis and an ingrown toenail. I have had arthritis for 40 years. You start to worry whether a doctor knows anything when he asks you what medicine you want or when you are told there is nothing wrong with you. Once I was sent to a large VA hospital not far from the prison, where they gave the vets 90 days worth of all the medication we needed. We found out the free medication was why we were allowed to go when it ran out in 25 or 30 days and they kept asking the VA for more. The VA finally got tired of sending more since we weren't getting it. There are a lot of battered and abused women, but there are also a lot of battered and abused men.

**Prisoner
Maine**

Rights for prisoners is all about control. To women in prison our hopes and

to have a striking connection to the Archives column in the same issue, where Dunayevskaya is saying there is no compromise between the despotic plan of capital and the plan of freely associated workers. She was arguing with people who didn't see the nature of Stalinism and who said that the expansion of constant capital (dead machinery) over variable capital (living labor) was true of all societies. Dunayevskaya showed it was the hallmark of capitalism alone. The rest of the issue, including that Lead, shows how this domination of "constant" over "variable" is the question confronting us all over the world.

**RB
Oakland, Cal.**

I like the way you can read about philosophers' ideas and people's struggles in the same journal. If you have one paper for the intellectuals and another for others, it reproduces the split between mental and manual labor in this society. *N&L* has both together.

**Ex-anarchist youth
Tennessee**

RACISM U.S. STYLE

I see a forgetting of the situation Black people face ever since September 11. All the focus now seems to be on how rough it is for the Islamic community. What long ago drew me to *N&L* was the level approach Marxist-Humanism has always had to all human suffering. Is that still true?

**Black civil rights activist
Detroit**

When I saw the national news reports of the Black farmers demonstrating in Washington, D.C. weeks after I had read their

dreams are in seeing and being with our families once again. Family visits mean strengthening the ties that were broken by our substance abuse. Once in prison, drug offenders are mandated to attend substance abuse programs. Those programs can help us regain an understanding of who we are and how to repair the broken relationships. But it is the visiting privileges with our families that give us the opportunity to practice what we are told in those programs.

**Prisoner
California**

What makes *N&L* unique is that it speaks the truth on all issues no matter what the subject is, but most of all about the struggle of all oppressed people, no matter what their gender, ethnicity or creed. I thank *N&L* for making its readers aware of the unjust, tax-gouging, human warehouses called prisons that are being built one after another with the concept of lock 'em up and throw away the key. If they continue locking people up without providing any new direction, trade or education, nine out of ten will be back through a revolving door. What is needed is a totally new direction.

**Prisoner
Tamms, Illinois**

There are voices all over the globe that call out to be heard. Yet the world continues to spin, and the voices still wait for someone who will listen. The voices cost nothing, even whispers are free. The cost comes when no one listens, because the voices will never go away. So I say continue to speak with your voice because even words on paper will be heard by someone, someone like me. I share my copies of the paper with others and I can tell you they hear you too. We are listening, even to the whispers.

**Prisoner
California**

I served my country in Vietnam attached to the Navy as a paramedic. What I saw frightened me. What is scraps to us here in the U.S. could feed an entire family in other countries. In every country I saw the predominant problem was starvation and the U.S. is

READERS' VIEWS

stories in *N&L* (August-September 2002), I wanted to congratulate you for your "scoop." *N&L* is on top of a story like this, and was able to tell it in the farmers' own words, because it is always listening to hear what it calls those "voices from below." It goes without saying that the Black dimension speaks especially forcefully in *N&L*'s pages.

**Marxist-Humanist
Pennsylvania**

There is no question that September 11 changed the world we live in. For instance, even though the bill to allow religious organizations to obtain Federal funding has not passed, public radio reported that agencies have been given directives to ignore that fact and loosen the regulations against this. The Black dimension has the greatest awareness of the ramifications of this new "patriotism." I saw it in the way one of my Black co-workers "joked" that the anti-Muslim fervor since September 11 took a little heat off them—for a while.

**Susan Van Gelder
Detroit**

YOUTH VS. AGEISM

At a recent demonstration in Anniston, Ala. against the army's proposed burning of toxic weapons of mass destruction, the youth were the last people on the platform. By that time all the other speakers had walked away, which I thought was very disrespectful. Not only that, the youth were not given a voice in

no different. I returned with a purple heart. The government called me a hero and citizens called me a baby-killer. I hated the Navy, the U.S., Vietnam, people, but most of all my own self. In my bitterness I took another human life; not for my country but in pure unadulterated hate. I've spent 27 years paying for that and doing a lot of soul-searching. When I started looking for a better way to live I came upon Marxist-Humanism. I am not stupid enough to believe this is the total answer but it is an avenue worth exploring. The change must be in all of us. I will soon be released with \$50 in my pocket and a good luck wish, looking for something to believe in. I think Marx had the right idea.

**Prisoner
New Mexico**

My conception on life is change. I see life as a struggle for freedom. I'm a wrongfully convicted prisoner that is going to fight for his freedom, not only my own but everyone that is oppressed by the system. I see it as a struggle for freedom and a new society where people will treat each other with dignity and respect. Without that we will never experience real freedom.

**Prisoner
Kentucky**

I've been studying *American Civilization on Trial* and see the way times have changed and yet in some ways are the same but more modernized. I see that slavery hasn't stopped, because they have me locked up behind a razor barbed wire fence, with people who have guns and dogs to hunt a person down.

**Prisoner
Florida**

When I entered the bowels of Amerika I did not have a clue. I didn't know my butt from a hole in the ground and I wore my enormous ignorance like a badge of honor and called it slick. What little education I had I picked up in the ghetto streets on the South Side of Chicago. I couldn't read or write and hated books and anyone with an education. In the 26 odious year I've spent for crimes I absolutely did not commit I've tried to rid myself of my enormous ignorance. Paramount to all else, I have turned the criminal mentality into a revolutionary mentality.

**Prisoner
Florence, Colorado**

terms of speaking on the panels with the so-called "important people." There were whole high schools there, and none of the students were allowed to speak on how this would affect their health.

When I asked a newscaster to get some youths' views he said "Well, I talked to an older lady from the community already and got her point of view." When we talk about discrimination, we have to deal with ageism, too. It was so disappointing to see this in any movement. It was like saying "children should be seen but not heard." We need to give youth room so they can make the changes we need.

**Marquita Bradshaw
Memphis**



FEMINISM, ANTIGONE AND HEGEL

What I liked about the "Woman as Reason" column on Antigone (August-September *N&L*) is that it makes a distinction between political and philosophical thought in Hegel. This is tricky to write about because of the attacks from other feminist writers against Hegel for being sexist. Maya Jhansi asks "is his philosophy limited by his gender politics?" Very few revolutionary thinkers would even entertain such a question. The relation between politics and philosophy is not limited by the originator of that philosophy. There is something objective about philosophy, and others besides the originator may be able to move it forward. Articles like this one are what distinguish *N&L*.

**David Mizuno 'Oto
Oakland, Cal.**

In her article on Antigone, Maya Jhansi makes a distinction between Hegel's politics and his philosophy, but doesn't make a good case for why Hegel's philosophy is relevant to feminism. She depends on Marx. Marx wasn't directly a feminist either. The case can be made, however, that even though Hegel was limited by the sexism and racism of his time, his philosophy is rooted in humanity overcoming its limitations. In our age, Women's Liberation arose as force and reason explicitly against the sexism in the Left. Having a philosophy that lets you figure out how to think through the contradictions of your situation is what is important about Hegel. That is what makes Hegel's philosophy relevant to feminism.

**Woman's Liberationist
California**

It is great to see "Woman as Reason" as a column heading. For too long, reason has been appropriated as a male-only category.

**Librarian
Berkeley, Cal.**

FREE RICHARD FLOOD

On Sept. 9 Judge Rozak imposed the maximum possible sentence for Richard Flood—a former political prisoner who was falsely accused of committing aggravated battery. (See August-September 2002 *N&L*). Despite an extensive letter writing campaign that exposed the injustice of Flood's conviction, the Judge refused to even discuss the circumstances which could have been considered extenuating, like self-defense.

Despite this setback, Richard remains undeterred in his fight for the right of all prisoners. He recently wrote, "We must not allow the level of support which we have achieved via all our struggles to waver or wane." Richard encourages all readers of *N&L* to attend a rally against the frenzy to incarcerate, on Sunday, Oct. 20 at 3 p.m. at the Cook County Jail at 26th and California in Chicago. The struggle continues!

**Solidarity activist
Chicago**

WELFARE REFORM = WAR ON THE POOR



The federal welfare law will expire by the end of September, but there is so little news about welfare these days in the media that few are aware of what is happening. It is only now that more than half the Senate sent a request asking for a debate on reauthorizing the welfare program created by the 1996 law. The House passed a Bush bill that would impose a stricter work requirement on recipients. The urgency is that if no law is passed, the government can't make welfare payments to the states after Sept. 30.

**Worried activist
New York**

The Welfare "Reform" which the government calls TANF (Temporary Assistance to Needy Families) has been a terrible failure. It removed nearly one million mothers from college classes. It forced millions of single moms to take any job anywhere for any pay — forcing families into permanent poverty and even homelessness. It has increased infant mortality in the African-American communities. And women of color are sanctioned, terminated, and denied time extensions at a greater rate than white women.

Now Congress must reauthorize the bill by the end of September. We are asking everyone to let their U.S. Senators know that we need a bill that: 1. Ends racial profiling and all discrimination; 2. Values all families, regardless of marital status; 3. Counts education and caregiving as work; 4. Ends time limits and sanctions.

**Welfare Warriors
Milwaukee, Wis.**

PLAN VS. REVOLT

At a recent discussion of longshoremen here, the Archives column in the August-September issue on "The revolt of the workers and the plan of the intellectuals," came to life. One radical said the

problem is that the union officials have already given up many jobs through the introduction of computers. Now the union is fighting under the threat of Bush's intention to take over the docks. They are bargaining over the number of jobs, but the rank-and-file workers are concerned over the speedup in the jobs, which comes through the overwhelming use of technology. Workers charge that this caused nine fatalities in the last contract period. Automation has always caused a great divide between the union leaders and the rank and file. But the leftists still go on talking about a program or plan, not about workers freely associated labor.

**Marxist-Humanist
Oakland, Cal.**

FORUM ON AIDS

As one of the longtime AIDS activists mentioned in Gerard Emmett's article on the Video Machete forum this summer (August-September *N&L*), I want to call attention to something it failed to mention — namely, the point I had made in the discussion about the need for queer people of color to initiate the next AIDS activist movement. The movement of the '80s and early '90s was organized mostly by white, middle-class gays and lesbians, with the exception of ACT UP New York, which was more multiracial. We also need to challenge communities of color in addressing and confronting issues of human sexuality, queer and straight.

**Darrell Gordon
Chicago**

FORTRESS EUROPE

War Resisters International is a pacifist network aiming to link peace groups all over the world. More than 300 such people were registered to take part in a Triennial conference in Dublin in August, but one third of the invited participants from non-EU countries were confronted with Fortress Europe, the infamous immigration policy of the European Union, when they were denied an entry visa from the Irish authorities. People coming from Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Ghana, Nigeria, Congo, Cameroon, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Togo, Gambia, Kenya, Bangladesh and Pakistan were kept from attending the

conference. It is an example of the racist policy that wants to close the EU to people coming from the Third World. Among those denied access were 16 members of a Congolese study group on non-violent solutions for their country. The astonishing reason given by the Ministry of Justice was that they couldn't enter Europe because they had no visa history. Of course you can't get a visa without having traveled and you can't travel without a visa. Fortress Europe is a new Catch 22.

**Andreas Speck
War Resisters' International**

INDONESIA TARGETS ACEH

Indonesian police arrested a U.S. nurse, a British academic, and their translator in the province of Aceh on Sept. 11 on charges of "suspicious activities" in the area. They are alleged to have visited the Free Aceh Movement, which has been fighting for independence since 1976. It is a conflict that has claimed thousands of innocent lives. As of Sept. 24, all three women were reported to be ill and unable to receive medical assistance or lawyers. The Aceh Commission for Disappearances and Victims of Violence is campaigning for their release.

Following the arrest, ten villages in the area they are said to have visited were targeted by 400 Indonesian military and police and a brutal offensive forced villagers to flee their homes. The arrest of foreigners and increasing murder and pillage reflect the green light given by the U.S. when it recently restored military aid to Indonesia in spite of horrendous human right abuses throughout that nation.

**Anne Jaclard
New York**

HELP SAVE AMINA LAWAL!

A Nigerian court has convicted Amina Lawal to death because she had a child fathered by a man to whom she was not married. As soon as the child is weaned, she will be buried up to her chest and stoned to death. Amnesty International has started a world wide campaign to reverse this decision. If you click on the following link, you can sign your name in opposition to this sentence.

<http://www.mertinai.org/amina/OpenLetter.htm>

This is not a futile action. A few months ago the sentence of another Nigerian woman was reversed due to a similar action. Please sign your name and notify your friends about this action.

**LaRuby May
Washington, D.C.**

CLOSING DOWN THE SOA



Protests to close the School of the Americas in Fort Benning, Georgia have been effective, forcing the U.S. Military to change the school's name. As a School of Assassins, the SOA trained death squad leaders and military dictators while undermining democracy throughout the Western Hemisphere. Now it is continuing its murderous business under a new name: Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation — and every year the protests have continued. More than 50 women and men have served a total of 30 years in federal prison for these protests. At last year's action, two women managed to get inside Fort Benning's enclosure and were arrested. At trial they were sentenced to six months. We gave them a prison send-off on September 10 and are asking for letters to be sent to them during their imprisonment to show support for their courageous stand on this issue. Here are the addresses that must be spelled out exactly:

Federal Prison Camp Greenville, Mary Dean #90965-020, PO Box 6000, Greenville, IL 62246.

Federal Prison Camp Greenville, Kathleen Desautels #90966-020, PO Box 6000, Greenville, IL 62246.

**Anti SOA activist
Chicago**

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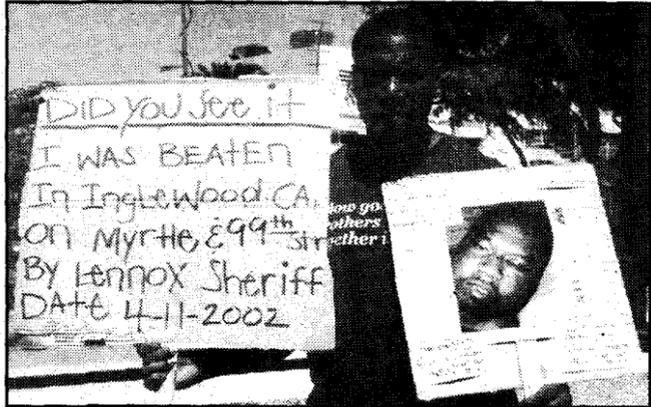
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Nationwide movement against police brutality continues

New York—Police brutality did not die on September 11 "proclaims a striking poster containing some of the names and faces of the more than 44 people murdered by law enforcement officials since that date. Issued by the Oct. 22 Coalition to Stop Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation, the poster urges participation in the seventh annual protests against police brutality that will take place around the country this Oct. 22. (For information: 1-888-NO BRUTALITY; www.october22.org)

In the aftermath of September 11, with the ensuing glorification of the police and with many white youth's concentration on anti-war activities, the police brutality movement has all but disappeared from view. Law enforcement officers' murders of civilians, especially Black and Latino youth, continue unabated, however, and the official investigations engendered by the last few years' police brutality campaigns seem to have come to a halt.

The Oct. 22 Coalition sponsored a showing of a new film, "Justifiable Homicide" Sept. 13, that should help bring attention to the problem. Made by Jon Osman and Jonathan Stack, it was a big hit at this year's Human Rights Watch Film Festival. The documentary exposes the execution of two young Puerto Ricans by the NYPD in January 1995, and the subsequent cover-up that appears to have included former Mayor Giuliani.



Inglewood, Cal.—Demonstrators protested the police beating of Donovan Jackson (shown) and others. Video-tapes of the beating were televised worldwide.

The film features Margarita Rosario, the mother of Anthony Rosario and aunt of Hilton Vega, the two men executed while lying face down on the floor. It documents the authorities insisting that they died in a shoot out, so the killings were justified, in spite of the fact that Anthony's 14 bullet holes and Hilton's eight are all in their backs and sides, and in spite of the accounts of two eyewitnesses. As Ms. Rosario uncovers the truth, she is transformed before our eyes from a Giuliani supporter into a radical activist and the founder of "Parents Against Police Brutality."

We see her reminisce about her son, comfort the grieving father of another murdered youth, leaflet her Bronx neighborhood, and attend endless meetings and protests. The highlight of the film is her confrontation with Giuliani on a radio call-in show. She tries to ask him why he is covering up the fact that Anthony and Hilton were shot in the back, but he cuts her off and then excoriates her as being responsible for her son's death.

Ms. Rosario and several other parents of murdered youth attended the screenings. Ms. Rosario said, "I am fighting because as long as we remain silent, more people will be killed. If we make people aware of police brutality, we may be able to slow it down." Hilton Vega's mother added, "The day our sons were killed, we also died. But we were killed a second time when Mary Jo White (the

federal prosecutor) told us the killings were justified. And this goes on all over the country."

The father of Malcolm Ferguson, a young Black man killed by cops after he attended protests over the Diallo killing, spoke as well. "What goes on locally comes from higher up. The Bush administration wants to repeal the Posse Comitatus Law so it can call the military into our communities. Each of us has suffered, but we must always struggle against the forces that want to brutalize us and take away our civil liberties."

—Anne Jaclard

Chicago—Yesterday, September 11, made one year since the attack on the United States (365 days)! But for Timia Williams it made 527 days since her attack occurred!

I Can't Hold it Against You!

Timia Williams, if you do not sing "God Bless America," I can't hold it against you! For why would you want God to bless a land like this where three white male Chicago police officers can walk free after what they did to you!

Timia Williams, if you do not say the "Pledge of Allegiance" to the flag, I can't hold it against you! For you to pledge to a flag that these officers wear on their uniform is like asking a Jewish child to pledge allegiance to a Nazi swastika flag.

Timia Williams, if you do not sing "America the Beautiful," I can't hold it against you! Since they, the officers, left a mark on your face which will be there forever, which took from your parents' beauty that they gave you!

But I will hold the Superintendent Terry Hillard, Police Board members, and OPS responsible until you, Timia Williams, receive justice!

—George Wilfrid Smith Jr.

This statement was delivered at the Sept. 12 meeting of the Chicago Police Board. Timia Williams, 11 years old, was attacked by three white Chicago police officers. They received 15-day suspensions. —Ed.

BLACK/RED VIEW

(Continued from page 1)

advise him by means of rifle-butts and napalm not to budge. It is obvious here that the agents of government speak the language of pure force" (Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Grove Press, 1963, p. 31).

As the head of the psychiatric department of the Blida-Joinville hospital in Algeria, Fanon treated both victims of torture and torturers. His experience caused him to have a personal horror of violence. While he didn't rule out the use of violence by the national liberation struggles, he didn't treat the Algerian victims of violence as heroes, nor the torturers as the enemies. Both were people to him, broken by their experience and in need of treatment.

Fanon recognized that psychiatric treatment was not a solution. He resigned his post and became active in the struggle for liberation of Algeria. For Fanon, the form his own activism took was not armed struggle but being a spokesperson for the idea of freedom.

David Macey, in his biography of Fanon, says, "Fanon and violence" is now such a spontaneous association in France that it trivializes what he is actually describing.... Critics like [Jean] Daniel and [Jean-Marie] Domenach suggest that Fanon's thesis on violence are an attempt to justify the unjustifiable. Hannah Arendt makes the same point and quite erro-

Fanon and terrorism

neously claims that he glorifies 'violence for its own sake.' Fanon does not 'glorify' violence and in fact rarely describes it in any detail.... It is absurd to criticize Fanon for his advocacy of violence. He did not need to advocate it" (pp. 474-75).

Fanon represented the idea that violence in a world pervaded by violence and dominance should not be "instrumental." There had to be an absolute break with the world of the colonizers and the colonized, creating what he called "a new man." The terror of fundamentalism and Osama bin Laden is an anti-humanism and a calcification of a modern man's thinking as he creates in his mind visions of pure closed forms from the past.

Fanon was looking for a way to break completely from the past. He was seeking a new humanity. "Let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction. Let us try to create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth" (*Wretched of the Earth*, p. 253).

It is Fanon's concept of a creation of a new human being that we have to find for today if we hope to break the never-ending cycle of war and terror in which Bush's own simplistic moralism as well as any other fundamentalism mires us.

Who owns water in 'new' South Africa?

New York—A protest at the South African consulate here in August coincided with a court date for 87 people arrested in Johannesburg in April in a demonstration against electricity and water privatization. The "Kensington 87" were protesting electricity and water cut-offs and evictions from houses due to the failure of working class people to keep up with their bills. Their court date was postponed, but in New York, we let the South African government know that we support their cause.

The "87" were arrested while demonstrating at the mayor's house in the wealthy South Kensington section of Johannesburg, as part of a campaign that began in the poor suburbs of Soweto in 2000 to resist rising prices of public utilities and the ANC government's plans to privatize them, which is sure to raise prices even more.

New water fees were also levied by the public authority in northern Kwazulu-Natal, and many families were similarly cut off and started taking water from the river. The result was a cholera epidemic with thousands ill and hundreds dead.

According to the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC), the April 6 arrests of the "Kensington 87" occurred when a busload of Soweto residents—pensioners, unemployed, and youth—marched onto the residence of Johannesburg mayor Amos Maseondo.

They attempted to give the mayor a taste of his own medicine by turning off the electricity to his house. Mayhem followed as the mayor's bodyguard started firing live ammunition into the protesting crowd and wounded two people. The protesters retaliated with stones and windows were broken. The police came and arrested 87 people. The guard was not arrested, but the 87 face jail sentences of up to five years or huge fines.

The SECC was formed in May 2000, at a time when the electric company (ESKOM) was cutting off electricity at the rate of 20,000 households a month in Soweto. The government's response was to blame the victim and

claim that there was a "culture of non-payment," that is, people were not overcoming the past habit of boycotting payments used as a weapon against the old apartheid regime. The government began plans to privatize electricity at that time.

The SECC, after some months of research and education activities, was transformed into a movement. When ESKOM cut people off, the SECC sent its struggle-trained technicians, called Operation Khanyisa, to reconnect the power. This was done under the slogans, "Electricity is a right, not a privilege" and "It is better to break the law than to break the poor." Many of Soweto's townships soon had Operation Khanyisa teams.

The ANC promised during the 2000 local elections to provide free basic water and electricity for all, but the promise never really materialized. Today it is the SECC that states it has adopted socialism as its vision for the future and is mobilizing behind the demand for free basic services for all. The SECC is an affiliate of the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF), a coalition of mainly community-based organizations fighting against the effects of privatization and trying to unite labor and community struggles.

Our meeting, during the demonstration, with the South African consul revealed that the ANC government sincerely believes privatization is the best and only way to develop their country. But little free water is supplied to the poor, and the new policy of full cost recovery for electricity and water means great hardship for millions.

The situation illustrates how far to the Right the ANC has moved. It seems the only discussion of socialism today remains within that poor Black majority.

Activist author Barbara Garson was prominent in organizing the protest which was sponsored by NY Direct Action Network, NY Green Party, and the NY News and Letters Committee.

—Anne Jaclard

Over 500 protest Army's toxic weapons

Anniston, Ala.—A crowd of over 500 marched in protest here in September against the Army's plan to burn chemical weapons. A third of them were African American. Over 30 groups participated. Many of us came from out of town, such as Defense Depot Memphis Tennessee—Concerned Citizens Committee, and Pine Bluff Citizens for Safe Disposal. Food Not Bombs made food for the whole group. We heard Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and Martin Luther King III, who spoke out against burning chemical weapons in that small town and asked why the federal government had chosen to put the incinerator in the midst of the Black community.

The protest was organized by the Berea, Kentucky, Chemical Weapons Working Group and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Kentucky group fights against the unsafe disposal of military chemical weapons. They believe in neutralizing the weapons rather than incineration. There is technology that can break down lethal gasses, making them less toxic, instead of burning these chemical weapons in toxic incinerators that have been proven unsafe.

Any accident with a toxic waste incinerator can kill or endanger all those in the area of exposure. Over 35,000 mostly Black people live in the six-mile radius of the incinerator and could receive lethal doses of nerve gas if there was an accident at the Anniston Army depot where the weapons to be burned are stored.

The technology used to burn weapons is dangerous, there's always a chance of a leak and exposure. The reason we're so upset about Anniston is that neutralization technology is proven and the kind of incinerator they want to use at Anniston has failed over and over again—as in Utah and Hawaii. The first facility is built and has failed the first three tests. The second facility is built and they don't even want to test it, just start burning. It's racist that they want to put these toxic sites in the Black communities in Pine Bluff, Ark., and Anniston, Ala.

Employees from Utah, where the incinerator was shut down, were at Anniston because the Utah incinerator failed and exposed the workers to toxins that made them sick. An Anniston activist said he got a FedEx package from the Federal Emergency Management Agency—a big roll of plastic and duct tape. He was told if there was a release he should put plastic over their windows and seal it with the tape. That was in the white community. In Memphis they told us the same thing, but for our Black community, they didn't send us the plastic or tape. It just shows the little bitty ways they discriminate.

One thing that Rev. Shuttlesworth said is that instead of Bush worrying about the chemical weapons in Iraq, he should worry about them right here in Anniston. I thought he was brave to say this. He said if the army didn't do what they were supposed to do in Anniston, they were going to come back. But marching can only do so much. It's fine, but without a boycott, or some kind of muscle behind it, it only goes so far.

—Doris Bradshaw

EDITORIAL World in disarray after 9/11

New York—One year after the largest terrorist attack in history, the world's solemn attention was on Ground Zero in New York. On that tragic day, a sense of unity was expressed with family members of the victims and those who risked and sometimes lost their own lives to rescue and comfort others. In reaching across the race, sex and class boundaries of capitalism they showed a dimension of the new human relations we need to go beyond capitalism.

But the "unity" many Americans still feel in commemorating those who died, as well as the heroic actions of 9/11, is increasingly separated from the call for multiple wars emanating from the Bush administration. Although many will still line up behind Bush's call for war in Iraq, fear and mistrust of his bellicose plans are evident in the U.S. and around the world.

This is seen not only in rank-and-file U.S. soldiers who openly question the need for a war in already devastated Iraq, but serious misgivings have even appeared within the U.S. rulers and their allies. There are two worlds, rulers and ruled, in every country. The rulers are using 9/11 to project "kill or be killed" with their policy of "pre-emptive" strikes in the service of capitalism everywhere.

'WE POSE NEW SOCIETY'

One year ago, the title of our editorial said it all: "To the barbarism of terrorism and war, we pose the new society." As we developed our response to the human tragedy of 9/11, we made clear that the anti-war movement would fail to give a direction that would inspire further mass opposition because a total view was needed. We believed anti-imperialism couldn't be one-sided; it had to critique both Bush's militarism and Islamic fundamentalism. We analyzed how Hindu and Islamic fundamentalism in India and Pakistan threatened each other with nuclear weapons and made other countries consider developing and using their own nuclear arms.

Over the following year, News and Letters Committees supported the work of RAWA against fundamentalism, helping with fund-raisers, opening the pages of *News & Letters* to let them speak in their own voices. We analyzed the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism, recognizing that with respect to the oppression of women "Afghanistan is everywhere" and called for critical support for the Berber movement in Algeria, the Egyptian feminists, the reformers in Iran, and the Labor Party in Pakistan.

We noted that U.S. support for dictatorial regimes in Southwest Asia like Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan may "instead of undermining Islamic fundamentalism...actually strengthen it...Radical Islamic fervor

has become inseparably interwoven with growing popular discontent against corrupt brutal regimes."

A CHANGE IN THINKING

We pointed out that for a revolution to succeed and not to succumb to counterrevolution from within, an ongoing working out of dialectical philosophy—a change in our thinking—is needed. We said that the unique category of "absolute negativity as new beginning" must be inseparable from our organization's response to Bush, Islamic fundamentalism and the failure of the anti-Stalinist left to pose an alternative revolutionary vision for the anti-capitalist movement.

We said our political response must be grounded in second negation, what we are for—"positive humanism beginning from itself"—rather than concentrating all our opposition on the first negation by criticizing Bush but leaving the "lesser evil" from our critique.

With the publication of the edited collection *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx* by Raya Dunayevskaya, we have a specific text that can help us project the philosophic principles of freedom in the struggle to overcome the fragmentation of human beings under capitalist domination.

In fact, without realizing it, George Bush's undialectical thinking, his absolute opposition of "either you are with us or you are against us" has challenged us to grapple with the dialectic "in and for itself" in order to project a total view of opposition to both war and terrorism. Despite his rhetoric about a "culture" of freedom and the sacredness of individual lives versus terrorism, Bush's philosophy is interpreted on the street to mean "either kill or be killed."

'LOGIC' OF CAPITAL

Bush, whose "logic" always represents the needs of capital in his choice of targets, uses the deaths caused by terrorist attacks to justify "pre-emptive" strikes against Iraq, a state with no demonstrable connection to 9/11. The Bush Administration extends this to other countries of the "axis of evil," and whomever else they, as the "universal will" of capitalist global expansion, deem to be terrorists.

We absolutely oppose the inhuman philosophy of dead capital that presents itself as the war on terrorism. In the coming year, we invite all we can reach to help us project second negation as the method needed in the ongoing revolutionary movement for new human relations. We aim to create a space for the self-development of each to be inseparable from the self-development of all.

Discontent at UN economy summit

"Our world is not for sale!" "Another world is possible!" "Water for the thirsty! Light for the people! Homes for the homeless!"

The slogans of over 20,000 protesters outside of the World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD) cut through the rhetoric infesting the official meetings. Dozens of other protests were held on every continent.

The summit, held in August and September in Johannesburg, South Africa, was supposedly dedicated to fighting poverty and illness and putting humanity on an environmentally sustainable path of development. But the protesters understood that the 65,000 delegates from the world's governments had other agendas.

In another of the many protests, women's groups, supported by trade unionists, successfully demanded an amendment to the summit program's language, which said that health care services should be "consistent with national laws and cultural and religious values." The women demanded that it also be consistent with "human rights and fundamental freedoms." The U.S., the Vatican and Egypt opposed the women, on the grounds that if human rights and freedoms are included, the text could be interpreted to include abortion.

With substantial participation from international activists—and in the face of heavy repression that some activists compared to the apartheid era—the marchers in Johannesburg were mainly poor South Africans who attacked both the Summit and the South African government's neoliberal policies. Nor did they spare the Global Forum, the UN-sanctioned "civil society alternative forum" dominated by recognized non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

A protester wrote for Indymedia South Africa that the Global Forum included the ANC (the ruling party) and its allies, the national council of trade unions and the Communist Party: "People facing water and electricity cutoffs, evictions, lack of health care, education and land came together to say that the Global Forum...was a sham in that the very people it brought together to discuss 'sustainable development' are the ones implementing the policies that hurt us most. [Marchers] lashed out at...the unsustainability of capitalism. [The movement asserts] the power of collective, democratic action in the creation of another world outside of capitalism."

The snake oil the capitalists are selling this year is "stakeholder partnership initiatives"—deals for specific projects, hatched between corporations, governments, foundations and NGOs. Some groups like the World Resources Institute fell into the trap, hailing this "new way of governing the global commons."

Others like Friends of the Earth have warned for months that this is a "privatization of implementation"—that is, private parties acting in their own interests as a substitute for binding rules on states and companies. It is also seen as a spur to privatization of essentials like water.

"Hijacked" is the word being used for the summit by the movements against global capital and the more



Hundreds marched to protest police repression of dissent during the summit.

radical environmental groups. For the original idea of the 1992 Earth Summit was to view economic growth in the context of environmental protection, but that has been turned into opposite: the 2002 meeting subsumed ecology and human development under capitalist globalization.

This result was implicit as soon as the first Earth Summit succeeded in projecting sustainable development as something thoroughly capitalistic, even though capitalism by its very nature develops (sustainably or otherwise) poverty, misery, unemployment—and the revolt against it.

A young Black woman from Memphis who attended the Global Forum told *News & Letters*: "Those people who actually developed the concept of sustainable development years ago were kept out of the decision-making process. The words 'sustainable development' have been changed into dirty words because it's now ruled by the multinational corporations."

"I thought I was going to be part of this history-making process that has been going on all along and I just got invited to the table to participate. Then the whole process changes and gets taken away from the people."

—Franklin Dmitryev

Colombian women lead resistance

An estimated 800,000 workers marched through the streets of Bogota, Colombia on Sep. 16 in opposition to Alvaro Uribe's presidency. This was the largest show of opposition to Uribe since he took power Aug. 7 and began his campaign to carry out the total militarization of the country, in concert with George W. Bush's assistance. The day's events, which were intended to be a general strike, would have been more massive had thousands of *campesinos* not been prevented from traveling to the capital by military blockades.

The day after taking power, Uribe announced a pilot project to recruit 600 "civilian informants" for the military, part of his stated aim during his campaign to arm a million such spies as one means to end Colombia's 38-year civil war.

The next day Bush gave Uribe authorization to use nearly \$1.7 billion in U.S. military aid to fight the FARC-ELN rebels, money that until then was to have been used only for anti-drug operations. This huge shift in policy towards Colombia, justified as an anti-terrorism measure was followed on August 12 by Uribe signing a Draconian law limiting civil rights.

Then, on Sept. 1, Uribe announced that any war crimes committed by his military over the next seven years will fall outside the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court. Again, this came as a concerted action with Bush, who is insisting that American soldiers be immune to prosecution under the Court anywhere they operate.

What has been missed even in the alternative press is the response of Colombian women to Uribe's electoral victory. On July 25 20,000 women from all over the country held a "National Mobilization of Women Against the War" in the capital. More than 600 women's organizations prepared for the event over a period of several months with the aim of beginning of a "national movement of women against the war, a permanent process..."

This burgeoning movement has arisen in response to the failure of the peace negotiations between the government and the FARC, which in turn led to Uribe's "mano dura" electoral campaign and victory. Patricia Buritica, of Mujeres Colombianas por la Paz (Colombian Women for Peace), spoke about what has been taking place: "Women from various political tendencies have decided to put all our effort into fighting for a new process of negotiation that will include all ethnicities, races, the old and the young, rural and urban...a process that will involve the diverse country that we are."

—Mitch Weerth

Stop Oneida evictions!

Oneida Nation Territory, Central New York—In May 1995, a peaceful March for Democracy was held on Oneida homelands. The participants in the March were exercising their rights to choose their own leadership and government, opposing the federal imposition of Ray Halbritter and treaty violations.

Halbritter's "leadership" was imposed upon the Oneida people, against their will, by the BIA, the federal Department of the Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs. In retaliation, Halbritter took tribal membership away from over 200 Oneida participants, stripping them of their tribal benefits.

He also closed down our food bank that serviced 280 native people. Halbritter then locked our longhouse (traditional religious building and center of the community) and banned all traditional activity and ceremonies. He threatened that any Oneida found entering any Oneida owned buildings would be arrested.

None of the Halbritter establishments—newly built Nation court, casino, or government buildings—are located on the Oneida indigenous territory, and none of his paramilitants or administration officials reside on the Oneida Indian Territory.

The territory residents learned from the local media that the Halbritter administration had announced a "Beautification Project, 2001" where our homes would now be inspected, condemned, and demolished under the guise of health and safety.

In one year, 11 Iroquois families were evicted and their homes demolished against their will. The only option these displaced families were given was to pay rent to the Halbritter administration for homes outside of this community. The remaining residents rejected the Halbritter-sanctioned inspections because they only lead to eviction.

Halbritter's tribal court ordered the demolition of my home to be executed by no later than Sep. 15th. I was shocked as I was unaware of this decision. I immediately went to Halbritter's legal office to obtain my paperwork on this order. I was denied the demolition order, even though it's publicly accessible.

I ask for anyone who opposes violators of civil, constitutional, religious, and human rights to please aid us in our stand to exercise our right to fight with the truth and save my home as well as the homes of the other remaining residents who all face the same fate. Help us to record inhumane and cruel treatment and actions forced upon Indian people by the hired non-native paramilitants. For more information, visit www.oneidasfordemocracy.org.

—Danielle Schenandoah Patterson

Bush's war against Iraq threatens global disaster

(Continued from page 1)

almost every day.

The number of countries in which the U.S. has troops and active bases in the area around Iraq is truly astounding. It includes Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Krygistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman, Yemen, and Kenya. The U.S. has also built a new military command center in the Eritrean port of Assab. Hardly any nation in the region has been left untouched by this unprecedented display of U.S. imperial might.

WHY IRAQ? WHY NOW?

Given this immense military buildup, the question is why Bush is concentrating so much time and energy on confronting Iraq in the first place.

It isn't simply because Iraq, like 60 other nations, possesses weapons of mass destruction.

Hussein has known ever since the Gulf War of 1991 that any use of weapons of mass destruction on his part will result in his total destruction. The only conceivable scenario in which he would use chemical, biological or nuclear weapons is if he

is totally cornered and has no way out—which is precisely the approach Bush is taking in regard to him.

So why is Bush so determined to overthrow Hussein when it risks bringing so much death and destruction onto the region as a whole?

The answer lies in the U.S.'s effort to project its status as the world's only superpower. No state power can challenge the U.S.; it spends more on the military than the next 20 largest nations and its spending on military research and development alone is larger than the next six-largest powers. The U.S.'s drive for single world domination has given rise to a military machine whose size and power has no precedent in human history.

The fundamentalist terrorists who launched the September 11 attacks played directly into Bush's hands by providing him with an excuse to set this machinery into motion. With its vicious attack against the American populace, Al Qaeda made it easy for Bush to gain support for extending the field of U.S. military operations.

Yet the "war against terrorism" has also run up against some limits. Despite the quick defeat of the Taliban, the "war against terrorism" remains elusive and ill-defined, with no quick and easy victories in sight. War on Iraq, on the other hand, seems to promise something else. Hussein's regime is much weaker today than it was in 1991 when it caved into the U.S. after a 100-hour ground assault. This is not alone because of the inhumane sanctions imposed on Iraq for the past decade by the U.S.-UN, but also because Hussein is so hated by the Iraqi people.

Over 700,000 Iraqis have died in wars or government purges sponsored by Hussein since he took full power in 1979, and the only thing that keeps him in power now

Ukraine opposition

Kiev, Ukraine—Demonstrations by the United Opposition to President Kuchma took place here Sept. 16 and 17. Participating in it were the Communist Party (CP), the Socialist Party (SP), as well as the Tymoshenko and Yushchenko blocks.

All four forces had their own events at their designated meeting places on Sept. 16: the CP at Arsenalna Square, the SP at Poshtova Square, the Tymoshenko block at Khmelnytskogo Square, and the Yushchenko block at Tolstogo Square.

All parts of the opposition marched to the central Independence Square where they held a common political meeting. Despite having expected more than 100,000 participants, only about 25,000 all together attended these events.

After finishing the common meeting, the elements of the opposition conducted some separate actions. The Tymoshenko block organized the picket of the presidential administration; the CP picketed the council of ministers, and the SP picketed the parliament.

In the evening a tent camp was organized near the parliament, but it was removed that night. About 100 people were arrested and about 150 were injured. None of our comrades were arrested, but two comrades were slightly injured. Now they are OK.

Separate actions continued on Sept. 17; however they had a smaller number of participants. Our intervention was quite intensive and successful. Our comrades distributed more than 130 copies of our leaflet with the explanation of our Marxist-Humanist position and we found a lot of promising new contacts, in particular with CP and SP regional rank-and-file members who are quite critical of their leadership. We have to develop at our meetings our plan of work with these contacts.

—Vadym

is the brutality of his security apparatus. Given Iraq's military and political weakness, the Bush administration thinks it can score a relatively easy victory against Hussein and thereby further solidify its drive for permanent military engagement overseas.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Throughout the buildup for war over the past several months, much has been made of the supposed opposition to Bush's war plans from various state powers. It is true that a number of U.S. allies (aside from Blair's Britain) have expressed grave reservations about the unilateral nature of Bush's actions. But the extent of their opposition has also been much exaggerated.

France, for instance, actually provided Bush with the approach taken in his UN speech, by indicating in early September that it would support U.S. military action so long as Bush went to the UN first to demand an immediate return of weapons inspectors.

Other U.S. European allies have also dropped or modified their earlier criticisms. The one exception has been Germany which still says that it opposes a U.S.-British invasion. Russia is a pivotal factor since it has long-standing interests in Iraq. In August Russia and Iraq signed

a ten-year, \$40 billion trade pact, and Putin took a hard line against any effort to topple Hussein. That too, however, seems to have now changed.

Russia announced on Sept. 12 that it planned on taking unilateral military action of its own—against Georgia for its supposed failure to root out Chechnyan "terrorists" hiding near its border. The U.S. at first expressed strong support for Georgia where it has based hundreds of troops. Within days, however, the Bush administration softened its position. It now appears that Putin dropped his objections to an Iraq invasion in exchange for being given a freer hand against Georgia.

Russia and France also have economic motives for caving into Bush. Neither wants to be left out of the contracts to rebuild the Iraqi oil industry once Hussein is removed from power. Iraq has proven oil reserves of 112 billion barrels—second only to Saudi Arabia—and there will be much money to be made after a U.S. invasion.

China has signaled that it will not stand in the way of Bush's effort to go after Iraq. The U.S. recently "rewarded" China by listing some of the groups advocating civil right in Chinese Turkestan as "terrorist." This has given China a green light to repress the entire movement for autonomy by its Uighur minority in the western part of the country.

Israel is banking on the notion that a U.S. attack on Iraq will completely alter the geopolitical situation in the Middle East. Sharon thinks that by taking down Hussein, the stage will be set for the U.S. to go after other states in the region, like Iran and Syria, thereby enabling Israel to strengthen its position without making a single concession to the Palestinians.

Each state power seems willing to go along with Bush's war plans, so long as it can use the cover of the "war against terrorism" to pursue its own repressive policies against national minorities and workers' rights at home.

The one thing that is different from 1991, however, when the elder Bush assembled an international coalition against Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, is that this time the U.S.'s allies aren't willing to foot the bill. During the Gulf War over 80% of the \$65 billion cost of the war was born by Saudi Arabia, Japan, and the U.S.'s European allies. None are interested in financing this one which will cost tens of billions of dollars at a time when the U.S. economy is facing serious problems.

INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS

The economy is not the only unknown factor in Bush's plans for military intervention. There are also innumerable contradictions posed by the question of what will happen in Iraq once Hussein is deposed.

The U.S. military has been actively training several Kurdish groups in northern Iraq, with the aim of having them do the dirty work in the advent of an invasion, much as it used the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. Yet the U.S.'s effort to forge tighter military and political links with Turkey, which will have a critical importance in any war against Hussein, places the U.S. in direct conflict with the insistence of the Kurds that they be guaranteed autonomy in any post-Hussein Iraq.

As Paul Wolfowitz, the administration's point-man for attacking Iraq put it, "There is a lot of agreement with Turkey on what we would like to see after Saddam Hussein. We're both opposed to Kurdish states."

Many Kurds now fear that they will end up losing even the limited autonomy they currently enjoy in the northern region of the country if the U.S. has its way. Many are already whispering that in the aftermath of the overthrow of Hussein the U.S. will be compelled to move against the Kurds.

This is not far-fetched given what happened in 1991. At the end of the Gulf War the Kurds and Shi'ites rose up against Hussein, only to be betrayed by the U.S. Faced with the threat of revolution, the U.S. choose to keep Hussein in power. Thousands of Kurds and Shi'ites were massacred by Hussein while the U.S. watched.

The anti-Gulf War movement which had emerged in this period proved totally unable to deal with the situation. It failed to take a firm stand against Hussein or in defense of the Kurds, Shi'ites, and others. The notion that the crimes of Hussein need not be discussed for the sake of focusing everything on a critique of U.S. rulers left the anti-war movement unprepared to deal with the great betrayal that was visited upon the Iraqi people.

That set the pattern for subsequent responses to U.S. imperialist intervention. When Serbia launched its genocidal war against Bosnia in 1992, which led to the murder of 200,000 Muslims, the anti-war movements in the U.S. remained silent. After all, the U.S. was not directly involved. Many even had illusions about the "socialist" character of Serbia.

The war in the Balkans got the attention of the Left only later, when the U.S. belatedly went to war against Serbia in 1999 over its invasion of Kosova. Once again the idea prevailed that we should focus our attention on a critique of U.S. policy even though a mass movement had emerged in Kosova which was demanding national self-determination from Serbia. As a result, the anti-war movements failed to project a banner of human solidarity with the victims of racism and ethnic cleansing, holding on to a vapid "anti-imperialism" instead.

This set the stage for the response to September 11. As we wrote in our "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 2002-2003,"

What became evident after September 11 is that those in the Left who limited themselves to opposing Bush, while remaining silent about the threat of Islamic fundamentalism, made it easier for the rulers to try to discredit the peace movement. Moreover, by focusing everything on the U.S. as enemy number one, many on the Left have failed to solidarize with the true liberatory forces who have the potential to transform today's realities—such as the women in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and elsewhere who have been fighting the repressive force of Islamic fundamentalism for years....the political situation demands a total view rooted in the projection of a comprehensive opposition to both terrorism and war. Without such a total ground of opposition, the movement will not prove able to project a liberatory alternative.

TOWARDS A NEW MOVEMENT

While we are still in the shadow of September 11, Bush's drive to war against Iraq also places us in a different situation. Many who refrained from joining in anti-war protests when Bush was pursuing the Taliban and Al Qaeda are worried about the implications of his drive to war against Iraq. There is a growing base for building a movement that is totally opposed to both Bush's war against Iraq and his effort to plunge this country into permanent military adventurism.

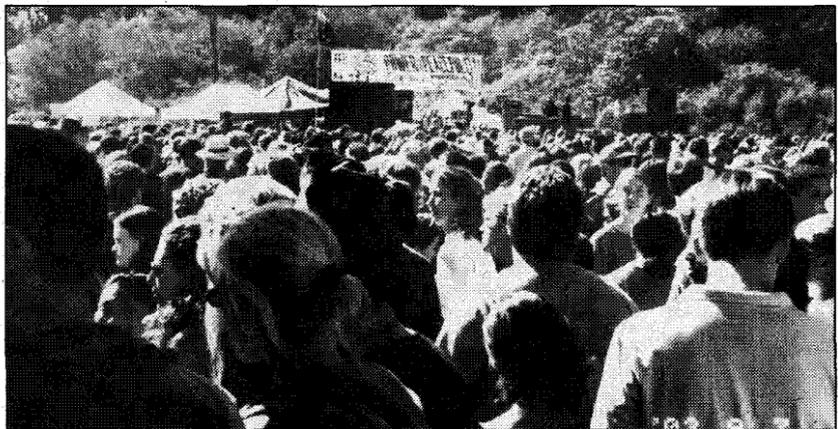
Yet to realize this potential it is essential for anti-war activists not to repeat the mistakes of the past by simply projecting a narrow, knee-jerk reaction to U.S. policies. We cannot afford to ignore the crimes of Hussein just because we oppose Bush. We cannot ignore the suffering of the Kurds just because some of its leaders are being used by the U.S.

We must totally oppose Bush's drive to war and the brutal sanctions that have killed tens of thousands of Iraqis since 1991, but we must do so by standing on the firm ground of the idea of freedom. We do not defend Hussein, but hope for his overthrow. We give our support to the forces of opposition inside Iraq who aspire for a new society. We project a total opposition, as the most immediate task facing the anti-war movement.

The need for a total opposition flows from the totality of the crisis. That U.S. imperialism is about to wage war to impose a "regime change" is not new. That has been done repeatedly, from its countless invasions of Central America and the Caribbean in the early 20th century to the invasion of Panama and Grenada in the 1980s. What is new today is not that the U.S. is willing to unilaterally invade other countries, but that Bush has declared the right to do so against any country, at any time, at any spot on the globe.

This will bring a holocaust of truly unimaginable proportions, unless we mobilize our minds and bodies to oppose the entire nature of the present crisis.

—September 24, 2002



20,000 rally against war in San Francisco, Sept. 7.

News & Letters / Urszula Wislanska

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YOUTH

New anti-war movement?

by Brown Douglas

Now that George W. Bush has made clear to the whole world and the UN that the question of a new war is really a "when" and not an "if," some people are preparing for the logical conclusion of Bush's war drive—a full-scale war on Iraq. It is crucial that the new anti-war movement not fall into some of the pitfalls that the post-September 11 anti-war movement fell into while opposing the rabid drive to war a year ago.

The anti-war movement that came about after September 11 used, by and large, a very narrow critique of the rulers here in the U.S. I experienced some arguments here in Memphis that I think are indicative of these positions. Many groups were too busy trying to oppose only the actions of the U.S., thinking that if only they were critiqued, more people would be brought into the anti-war movement. But really the opposite happened, as we saw in Memphis. Meetings trickled down from about 40 people to a meager four or five.

AN ANARCHIST VIEW

I was told by an anarchist here in a public dialogue regarding U.S. foreign policy and September 11 in particular: "Perhaps the American people are not innocent. They are a part of the equation in the violence that the U.S. government dishes out. Does this mean they deserve to die? No. But they are not innocent and if the chickens come home to roost, then so be it. The world is an ugly place. Much of the violence originates from this country. If it is visited back upon this country, then I can only ask how could we think that it wouldn't?"

The American people being responsible for the government's actions and "the world is an ugly place" arguments are widely used and mirror statements and thoughts by the influential Left theorist/intellectual Noam Chomsky. A few student associations at the University of Memphis on Sept. 10 showed a video of a talk given by Chomsky following the attacks last year. Chomsky's response to September 11 and Bush's war on Afghanistan was to again and again, almost mechanically, recite U.S. government and military atrocities historically. Throughout is a lack of a vision of the future,

of what could be and the forces that could make it happen. In the question and answer period after his talk, he made sure to point out that "we," meaning you and I and himself included, are responsible for everything that the government does and in turn share the blame for anti-U.S. sentiment and actions.

DEAD-END IDEAS

I think that this mentality really impedes the movement from getting somewhere. I saw it in the discussion after the video, when most people took the ground of this society and argued for more conscious consumerism, or the need to make an anti-war movement bigger by including conservatives, liberals, and moderates alike. These are dead-end ideas that won't elicit the creativity and development needed to effectively oppose the situation we are in now.

In light of the drive to war that we are seeing before our very eyes, how can we afford to just put our energy into building something that is bound to fall down? A "permanent war" means that the rulers aren't going to stop, so why should we? We are limiting our effectiveness by creating goals that don't fully challenge the very essence of this society—capitalism and the division between mental and manual labor, what we think and what we do. If what we want is a new society based on totally new and different human relations, spelling out what we are for needs to become far more important. Stating only that "the world is an ugly place" and leaving it at that will get us nowhere. This is surely not what the students and youth have to give to the movement.

As we said in our statement "Confronting Permanent War & Terrorism: Why the Anti-War Movement Needs a Dialectical Perspective," "Our task begins by breaking from modes of thought trapped within the contours of the present, and reaching out instead for a mode of thinking which expresses the new, human society we are for. That mode of thought is dialectics, the dialectics of absolute negativity." We need to be rooted in dialectical second negation, and not to stop at a negative critique of the world so that our anti-war movement will totally and fully oppose the coming war in Iraq.

Anti-war tone in NY's September 11 memorials

New York—Anti-war New Yorkers marked the first anniversary of the September 11 destruction of the World Trade Center with demonstrations and vigils of a different character than those put on by the government. A march and rally of some 2,000 people on Sept. 8, and an all-night vigil of several thousand more on Sept. 10-11, were distinguished from the flag-waving events by their calls that Bush not invade Iraq. As one sign put it, "We need a 'regime change' in Washington." There was also a demonstration for immigrants' rights, Sept. 7, attended by a few hundred people and featuring labor union representatives, as well as various pacifist church services around town.

The Sept. 8 event was a march from Times Square to a rally in Union Square, the site where New Yorkers gathered spontaneously for weeks after September 11. It was sponsored by the Left and youth coalitions that sprang up soon after

the tragedy to oppose the bombing of Afghanistan. In addition to denouncing the planned war against Iraq, the crowd demanded Bush stop aiding Israel in its attacks on Palestinians.

The small turnout contrasted with the 20,000 who demonstrated in Union Square on Oct. 7, 2001—the day the bombing of Afghanistan began—demanding that any U.S. war be "not in our name." The amazing anti-war fervor of that rally, which condemned both fundamentalist and U.S. violence less than a month after the trauma of the attack here, was not built upon by the anti-war movement. The movement narrowed itself to being solely against U.S. imperialism, and by the time the war in Afghanistan ended two months later, it petered out.

From the start, there was little discussion of the movement's principles or goals. Both old and young people alike assumed they knew what an anti-war movement should say and do, and that was simply to oppose U.S. imperialism. So they opposed U.S. war-mongering alone, and said almost nothing about Islamic fundamentalism. Some anti-war coalitions around the country, in their zest to condemn the U.S., even refused to mention the dead of September 11 in their principles. By ignoring the very real victims of another dangerous ideology of unfreedom, the movement cut itself off from sensible people because anyone can see that the U.S. is not the only deadly force on earth, and anyone can see that no one except the leadership of fundamentalist regimes wants to live under the repression they impose on their own people.

The larger anti-war event this month was an overnight vigil in Washington Square Park Sept. 10-11, sponsored by many pacifist organizations. There, signs condemned both Israeli and Palestinian killing, as well as the coming war in Iraq. A speaker from Voices in the Wilderness, a group that defies U.S. law by delivering humanitarian aid to Iraqis, described the deaths imposed on Iraq during the last war and by the embargo and continuous bombing ever since. The War Resisters League, a leading pacifist organization, handed out little "no war" signs to wear.

As News and Letters wrote six months ago in our statement, "Confronting Permanent War & Terrorism: Why the Anti-War Movement Needs a Dialectical Perspective," "Never has it become more important to connect political action with the development of a philosophy of human liberation."

—New York News and Letters Committees

The New and Letters Committees statement on

**"Confronting Permanent War & Terrorism:
Why the Anti-War Movement
Needs a Dialectical Perspective"**

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Boot the Bell!

Memphis, Tenn.—Taco Bell is the biggest buyer of tomato grower Six L's tomatoes, harvested by Florida workers at the dismal rate of 40 cents per 32-pound bucket. The Coalition of Immokalee Workers (<http://www.ciw-online.org>) wants to negotiate with Taco Bell to end the inhumane conditions in the tomato fields of Immokalee, Fla. Taco Bell has not responded, so the CIW has asked consumers to boycott Taco Bell.

One important part of this is the Student Farmworker Alliance (SFA), an organization committed to educating college students about workers' rights and to "booting the Bell" from college campuses. The University of



News & Letters/Terry Moon

Memphis is one such campus—but not much longer!

News and Letters, the Women's Action Coalition, the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center, University of Memphis students, and Memphis-area activists began our campaign to "Boot the Bell" on Friday, Sept. 13. Ten demonstrators protested in front of the cafeteria. We distributed leaflets and engaged in dialogues with students.

Friday also marked the Memphis debut of Taco Sin Miedo, a taco-shaped puppet which is touring the country in support of the Immokalee workers. Our demonstration was wildly successful, and we hope to continue at the rate of one protest per week.

If you are a student at a school with a cafeteria contracted by Aramark and a campus Taco Bell, take the following steps to Boot the Bell:

- Arrange a meeting with an administrator and an Aramark representative. Explain your position, and ask them to remove Taco Bell from your cafeteria.
- Organize a boycott and demonstrations at your Taco Bell. Get administrative clearance—if you attend a public college or university, your school must allow you to demonstrate, but they may have regulations.
- Start a petition drive.
- Have a teach-in. The CIW has a video and other resources that will aid you in this endeavor.

—Amy Garrison

Elections in Kashmir

In the midst of attacks and threats from Pakistan-supported Jehadi terrorists, the first phase of elections in the Indian-controlled territories of Jammu and Kashmir brought out 47% to the polls in September. Pakistan and Pakistan-supported militants in Kashmir are calling the elections a fraud, but according to reporters and foreign observers, the elections appear to be the most democratic in the region since 1947.

The All Party Hurriyat Conference, a conglomeration of various militant separatist factions, planned to boycott the elections, but several members have defected in order to contest the election as independent candidates, even though there have been a series of assassinations of moderate leaders and candidates since the election was called. Over 450 people have been killed in assassinations, bombings and attacks on polling places by foreign-supported Jehadi militants in the last several months. There are confirmed reports of a rise in terrorist infiltration from Pakistan since the election campaign began.

While many refuse to vote because of threats by militants on their lives, there have also been several reports of the Indian military using intimidation to force people to the polls as they did in the 1996 elections. The Hurriyat Conference, for its part, has backed out of an outright boycott of the elections in fear of the seeming popular support for them. It's clear that the Kashmiri people are tired of the bloody war that has gripped their land over the last ten years. Over 60,000 have been killed in the region since 1989, in the cross-fire between militants and Indian security forces.

While the corrupt and Congress-backed National Conference (strongly pro-India) is expected to win, these elections have, for the first time, brought out an actual opposition to contest the Conference. The ruling right-wing government in Delhi has refused an alliance with the Conference on the grounds that their victory is far from assured. The last phase of the four phase election will take place on Oct. 8.

—Maya Jhansi, Sept. 21

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Israel's attack on Palestinian resistance

by Kevin A. Barry

The Israeli army launched a massive attack on Yasir Arafat's compound, Sept. 19, after two suicide bombings within Israel in which six people were killed and 65 were injured. As we go to press, the IDF has demolished Arafat's compound and has surrounded the one remaining building in which Arafat has taken refuge with 200 aides. Mass Palestinian protests are taking place in the West Bank and Gaza. Six Palestinians participating in these protests have been killed by Israeli soldiers.

Sharon, the war criminal, has been clearly emboldened by the Bush administration's announced policy of pre-emptive strikes. Furthermore he aims to obliterate the achievements of the most recent Palestinian national council which took place in the now destroyed compound on Sept. 11.

The Palestinian Legislative Council's rejection of Arafat's cabinet on Sept. 11 represented an important development. In its first full meeting in two years, the

Resistance in Iran

In the face of the Iranian people's exploding expressions of hatred for the Islamic Republic, Iranian President Khatami has called for a referendum to enforce his powers for reform. Khatami's proposal is to convince the religious fundamentalist Council of Guardians to restore his constitutional rights as president. The constitution of the Islamic Republic, however, allows the Council of Guardians to reject any law or candidate deemed to be "unIslamic."

For example, recently a bill that would have raised the legal marriage age for girls from nine to 15 was blocked for months by the Council of Guardians because it was against the Shariah or Islamic law. Eventually the Council approved raising the minimum age to 13!

Women in Parliament had also proposed that Iran join the UN Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. But they were forced to drop this proposal under pressure from fundamentalist clergy. In this act, the Islamic Republic was one with the Bush administration which also prevented the U.S. from joining this UN Convention on women.

In the meantime, Iran's judiciary continues to ban newspapers which are critical of the Supreme Religious leader. Even as newspapers are banned, new newspapers, or banned newspapers which have now adopted new names, begin publication.

Efforts to hold a September 11 commemorative candle light vigil in Tehran were thwarted by heavily armed police. The day before, however, angry residents of the Kurdish city of Mahabad attacked local government offices to protest police killings.

—Sheila Sahar

Italian demonstrations

Hundreds of thousands marched in Rome, on Sept. 14, to protest the fusion of media and state power in the hands of one man, rightist Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. A demand was to stop proposed legislation that would make it easier for Berlusconi to avoid prosecution on corruption charges. Another issue was Berlusconi's simultaneous control of both government TV and the largest private TV network.

In a less-publicized event earlier, more than 100,000 came out in Genoa on July 20, the anniversary of last year's anti-globalization protests, when Berlusconi set up martial law conditions in Genoa and his police brutalized demonstrators, murdering 23-year-old Carlo Giuliani.

This year, youth, union members (including Giuliani's parents), and ecologists joined together, as one young woman put it, to continue Carlo's efforts "to change the world."

council forced Arafat to set a date for new presidential and parliamentary elections on Jan. 20. It also ousted those members of Arafat's cabinet who were associated with corruption and cronyism. One of the current cabinet members who continued to receive strong support however, was Abdel Razak Yehiyeh, the Palestinian interior minister. Yehiyeh had recently made a public statement condemning suicide bombings by Palestinians and had called these acts "murders for no reason." He had lamented that "our children were exploited for these attacks when they could have made a much more positive contribution to a future Palestinian society."

While many council members favor Arafat's advisor,

Dow liable for Bhopal



Students and organizations from Mumbai demonstrated in September outside Dow Chemical headquarters demanding that Dow-Carbide be held liable in criminal cases from the world's worst industrial disaster in Bhopal, India in 1984. The court ruled in favor of the victims later in the month.

German elections hold off the Right

Germany's Social Democrat-Green coalition narrowly survived a challenge from conservatives to win a second term, Sept. 22. This victory by the reformist Left, along with a more decisive one in Sweden a few weeks before, surprised pundits who had predicted that the Right would repeat its earlier wins in France and the Netherlands.

This sense of surprise was deepened by the fact that Germany's Gerhard Schroeder ran to the Left, here taking a different tack from Tony Blair's Labor Party, or the defeated Lionel Jospin in France. Most dramatically, Schroeder stood up against the Bush administration's drive to war in Iraq. This enraged Washington, but as France's leading newspaper commented:

"At the end of August, the prime minister seized the opportunity to put himself forward as the only major European ally to oppose the U.S. In a country traumatized by Nazi warmongering and the tensions of the Cold War period, Gerhard Schroeder knew how to tap the support of more than half the population" (*Le Monde*, Sept. 23, 2002).

In fact, polls show that the vast majority of the German people oppose war over Iraq. This, despite an unemployment rate of 10%, gave Schroeder and his Green allies a narrow victory.

Mahmoud Abbas or Abu Mazen as the inheritor of Arafat's executive powers, others will be contending for the Palestinian presidency. It remains to be seen whether any Palestinian elections will be held given the current siege.

The Israeli peace organization, Gush Shalom, has confirmed that in response to a U.S. invasion of Iraq, Ariel Sharon "intends to exploit the ensuing chaos in the Middle East in order to realize his real plan: to drive out the Palestinians from all of the country. To this end, he is ready to bring disaster on all of us."

The unrelenting Israeli incursions and sieges of the West Bank and Gaza have already led to the migration of some 200,000 Palestinian refugees to Jordan since the year 2000. The Israeli army's endless curfews, army closures, house demolitions, expulsions, bombings and targeted assassinations have become a part of daily life in Palestine.

With the current unemployment rate of 63% in the West Bank and 70% in Gaza a large majority of Palestinians are surviving on less than \$2 per day. Hunger and malnutrition among children is comparable to Chad and Bangladesh.

The Israeli government recently began trial proceedings for Marwan Barghouti, a prominent Palestinian leader of Fatah, on charges of funding and orchestrating terror attacks. He had been influential in peace negotiations in the 1990s, but adopted a different view after the collapse of the peace talks in 2000.

Even at a moment when Israel's sieges and Palestinian suicide bombings have seemingly killed the hope of achieving peaceful co-existence, small but hopeful symbols of resistance continue. Ta'ayush, meaning partnership or living together, is an organization of Israeli and Palestinian youth and young adults which was established in 2000. It gives aid to Palestinian villagers subjected to Israeli army curfews and closures. It is an organization that has a prominent presence in Israeli protests against the treatment of Palestinians.

—Sheila Sahar
Sept. 23, 2002

Afghan war continues

A year after September 11, Afghanistan remains at war. U.S. troops continue to hunt for remnants of Al Qaeda, killing hundreds of innocent civilians in the process. The U.S.-installed government of Hamid Karzai continues to draw strength from the Northern Alliance, a collection of warlords and clerics, many only slightly less fundamentalist than the Taliban.

In Kabul, thousands of women have been able to attend school and work outside the home for the first time since 1996, with some of them also daring to take off their suffocating burkas. However, in the predominantly Pashtun areas of southern Afghanistan, millions of rural women remain trapped under nearly Taliban-type restrictions, with no recourse in sight.

Despite hammering by U.S. and Northern Alliance troops, the Taliban and Al Qaeda retain some organization. On Sept. 5, they were apparently responsible for a terrorist bomb that killed 30 people in the Kabul marketplace. A nearly simultaneous assassination attempt on Karzai took place in Kandahar, some 300 miles away.

Many signs suggest that the Al Qaeda leadership has moved back to Pakistan. One of their leaders, Ramzi bin al-Shibh, gave an interview to Al Jazeera TV on Sept. 11 in which he gloated over the murder of innocent U.S. civilians. Although the foolhardy al-Shibh was arrested only two days later after a shoot-out between his followers and police, his presence in Karachi suggested that this port city, long infested by fundamentalists, was becoming a new center for Al Qaeda. This could not be happening without the complicity of some elements of the military and police.

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 nuclear 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*.