

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 48 — No. 1

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 2003

50¢

WORKSHOP TALKS

Walls surround ER

by Htun Lin

If you build it, they will come. That was the memorable line in the movie about baseball called "Field of Dreams." Now, after more than a decade of the nightmare of healthcare restructuring it is clear that our capitalist rulers have been driven by the motto, "If you don't build it, they won't come."

"If you build walls, they can't come" describes many seniors who are abandoned altogether by their health providers because of the Bush administration's deliberate under funding of Medicare. In this same vein, if huge health chains swallow existing hospitals and clinics in order to eliminate them, their slogan could be "If you destroy it, they can't come."

GIFT TO HMO'S

With "Doctor" Frist as Bush's new majority leader in the Senate to replace the openly racist Trent Lott, a slash and burn program for our healthcare system is exactly the aim of the Bush regime for the next several years. Frist has had plenty of experience doing exactly that. After all, his family owns major investments in the HMO industry. Frist is Bush's point man to finally end health care as we know it.

Even as Frist had barely started his reign as majority leader, Bush issued the first salvo in his war against healthcare with an attack on those least able to fight back. The Bush administration had ruled that managed care organizations could limit coverage of emergency services for poor people on Medicaid. This openly flouted the Congressional mandate for Medicaid, which specifically makes normal emergency care open to

(Continued on page 3)

BLACK/RED VIEW

Bush's political racism

by John Alan

Recently, the Bush administration called upon the Supreme Court to replace race-based affirmative action in college and university admissions with a "race neutral" policy which would admit only the top 10% of students regardless of their race or ethnic origin. According to President Bush, this "race neutral" admission would end the quota system that "unfairly rewards or penalizes prospective students."

What is ironic about Bush's desire to make affirmative action "race neutral" is that affirmative action at its beginning was considered by many whites a form of reverse discrimination, with less qualified Blacks taking jobs away from them. Many Republican candidates exploited that misleading concept to win elections, promising to look into affirmative action abuses.

There was never any example of widespread abuses caused by affirmative action. Nor did affirmative action put an end to racism and poverty in this country.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FROM BELOW

Affirmative action was adopted by the Johnson and Nixon administrations in response to the urban revolts of the 1960s. Those revolts made it clear that political freedom was not enough, as long as thousands of African Americans were unemployed, lived in permanent poverty in the slum areas of the great cities and were brutalized by police. Thus, Martin Luther King Jr. called for a "Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged." Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph proposed a \$100 billion freedom budget to be used over a ten year period to create jobs and urban development.

Those proposals were never realized. However, they did recognize the limits of political freedom. This means

(Continued on page 8)

ON THE INSIDE

FROM THE WRITINGS OF RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA—
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES
The Black dimension and dialectics Page 4
REVIEW • A German scholar's view of
Dunayevskaya's Rosa Luxemburg Page 2
Venezuela's oil strikes Page 9

Iraq, North Korea crises test anti-war movement

by Gerard Emmett

The anti-war movement has come to a significant crossroads. Some 83% of Americans oppose unilateral U.S. military action against Iraq, a number which has increased in poll after poll. That number, as well as the large and small demonstrations around the country, have forced President George W. Bush to work through the United Nations arms inspections, against his will, and have seemingly weakened his support among the U.S. and European rulers.

Bush is nevertheless pushing forward with his war plans, which are driven by ideology as much as by pragmatic concerns. In the face of all opposition Bush is assembling a massive U.S. military machine in the Persian Gulf. He is sending over 200,000 troops, along with 1,000 tanks, and hundreds of missiles. He has sent five U.S. Navy aircraft carriers in anticipation of an overwhelming air attack that would presumably minimize U.S. troop casualties.

Bush's ally, Tony Blair of Britain, is also sending over 30,000 troops—one fourth of the entire British Army. The ongoing air strikes carried out by U.S. and British forces are already destroying Iraqi command and control installations making the war's "beginning" a somewhat moot point.

These forces have the potential to wreak tremendous damage upon the Iraqi people, who have suffered the most from Saddam Hussein's brutal rule as well as a decade of UN sanctions that have already devastated the country.

This massive employment of firepower has nothing to do



San Francisco mass demonstration against Bush's drive to war, Jan. 18. For reports on protests around the country, see page 11.

with "bringing democracy" to Iraq. Rather the administration sees the overthrow of the hated Iraqi regime as a relatively easy demonstration of how the use of American military power can remake the world in the image of the bourgeoisie. He has so far deeply embarrassed the bourgeoisie.

The 12,000-page weapons declaration Iraq issued as part of the UN weapons inspection regimen listed 24 major U.S. corporations which gave substantial support to Iraq's biological and nuclear weapon and missile-building programs. The Bush administration tried to keep this aspect of the report secret even from the members of the UN Security Council. In the case of nuclear and biological weapons this kind of support was illegal since the 1970s.

The companies named in the report include Hewlett Packard, DuPont, Honeywell, Rockwell, Tectronics, Bechtel, Unisys and Sperry, among others, along with the U.S. Departments of Energy, Defense, Commerce, and Agriculture. The Los Alamos, Livermore and San-

(Continued on page 10)

New from Lexington Press!

Philosophy and Revolution

From Hegel to Sartre
and from Marx to Mao

30th
Anniversary
Edition

Raya Dunayevskaya

"There are few better guides to grasping Marx's philosophy and his theory of revolution (and the internal relation between the two) than Raya Dunayevskaya. And when one adds the impressive insights on how to apply both in the present period, it is evident that this is a work that no serious radical-scholar or layman/woman-can afford to miss."

—Bertell Ollman, New York University

"For everyone who is seriously interested in the forces which form and deform the present and the future, this book is to be most warmly recommended."

—Erich Fromm,

from the Foreword to the German edition

Order your copy now...

Special offer

\$20

After March 2003, \$24.95

To order, see page 7.

Read excerpts from
Philosophy & Revolution, Page 4.

Review: German scholar's view of Dunayevskaya's Luxemburg

by Annelies Laschitza



Rosa Luxemburg, Frauenbefreiung und Marx' Philosophie der Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya. German translation from the English by Thomas Laugstien. Preface by Frigga Haug. Hamburg: Argument Verlag, 1998. 215 pp.

The author wrote this critical philosophical work mainly with regard to the unexplored feminist dimension of Rosa Luxemburg. She also puts special emphasis on the connection with and the conflicts between the women's movement, the workers' movement, and worldwide immigration. In addition, she wants to clarify aspects of Marx's late work that have not been considered with regard to the role of women.

LEARNING FOR FEMINISTS

Frigga Haug read the entire book [*Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*] at one sitting when it appeared in the USA in 1982. In her preface, she explains her enthusiasm:

1. There is the significance of the author herself. Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87) was born a Jew in Ukraine, emigrated as a child with her family to the U.S., where she lived first in the Jewish and later in the African-American ghetto. At age 13 she joined a revolutionary group. In the following years, she became a strong supporter of the American Negro Labor Congress.

Expelled by the Communist Party in 1928 due to "deviation," she turned to the Trotskyists. In 1937-38, she was Trotsky's Russian-language secretary. In 1939, she broke with him at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. She is the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

2. Rosa Luxemburg is very strongly connected to the women's movement and the dynamic thought of Marx. 3. Haug urges feminists to learn—from Luxemburg's stance, from her way of analyzing problems, from her politics—for their own politics: "To continue Luxemburg's legacy—this is the message of the greater part of the book, in which she works out and presents very carefully the problematics of masses and leadership, of direct democracy, as well as of the relationship between rationality and intuition, and between reason and spontaneity." (p. 5).

4. Also of importance were the author's anti-economic approach to Marx, questions from the women's movement, and the ongoing struggles of the Third World.

LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION, MARX

The book is divided into three parts: 1. Rosa Luxemburg as a theorist, activist, and internationalist; 2. the women's liberation movement as revolutionary force and reason; 3. Karl Marx, from a critic of Hegel, to the author of *Capital*, to the theorist of permanent revolution. This third part became somewhat independent inasmuch as it directs the reader's interest to the devel-

opment of Dunayevskaya's own school of thought, Marxist-Humanism.

There is an active group, which is still working around Dunayevskaya's archive in Chicago, publishes a newspaper, appears at conventions, and maintains contacts all over the world. Thus, for example, the participants in the [1998] International Rosa Luxemburg Society meeting in Chicago were guests and interlocutors of the colleagues of the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Foundation on Wabash Avenue.



Drawing by Narhiko Ito

The translation into German was made from the new edition of the book published in 1991. It appeared, with the additions made by the author in 1983,

WOMEN WORLDWIDE

by Mary Jo Grey

Over 2,000 foreign maids marched through downtown Hong Kong, Dec. 15, protesting a proposed tax on their wages, which many use to support families in their home countries. Many wearing aprons and brightly colored hats, the women workers from the Philippines, Indonesia and Sri Lanka chanted and disrupted traffic along the five-mile march. The planned tax would take from \$50-100 from their approximately \$470 a month wages.

Continued attacks on women's rights globally by the Bush administration stalemated the 5th Asia and Pacific Population Conference in Bangkok in December, preventing discussion of issues such as development of health services for sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS prevention. U.S. representatives stood alone in threatening to withdraw their support for the landmark family-planning agreement reached in Cairo in 1994, contending that it promoted abortion.

—Information from
Women's Human Rights Online Bulletin

The Feminist Peace Network will observe the second annual International Women's Day Global Peace Vigil, March 8, by joining hands around the world for peace. Women in more than 100 cities internationally participated last year. Women everywhere are invited to participate with their own events "saying no to the domination of violence and yes to peaceful partnership."

Roe v. Wade at 30 — keep it safe and legal

New York—Jan. 22 marked the 30th anniversary of the legalization of abortion in the U.S. with the Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade*. In celebration, and in fear that the Bush Administration's war on women will destroy women's reproductive rights, 300 people of all ages rallied at Judson Memorial Church on Jan. 21 for a program titled "Securing Justice for a New Generation: Choice—the Religious Imperative." The event was sponsored by Planned Parenthood and Judson Church.

That church was the scene of early abortion-rights activity in the 1960s and '70s. Speakers at the anniversary event included several former members of the Clergy Consultation Service, a group that had helped women obtain illegal abortions. They and many younger Protestant and Jewish clergy are still fighting for women's rights today.

Keynote speaker Katha Pollitt emphasized the danger that Bush appointees to the Supreme Court may reverse *Roe*. Even if abortion remains legal, she said, it may be inaccessible to most women due to increasing state restrictions and lack of public funding, as well as campaigns of intimidation by the anti-choice Right.

Already, some states have only one abortion provider. She warned of the danger of complacency about Bush's agenda, and pointed out that the Right no longer talks about an anti-abortion constitutional amendment; rather, it is succeeding in paring down women's rights bit by bit, and has widespread support for increased restrictions on abortions.

The audience was urged to get involved in the fight for reproductive rights, but there was no discussion about the current situation other than that "we" must fight "them." I found this pep-rally approach disheartening. How could this fundamentally right be so endangered again? Can we develop a movement that can actually secure women's rights? None of this was addressed.

Perhaps the religious and middle-class presenters cannot fathom the depth of change demanded by the present reality. In any event, they did not see the need to discuss the problems or the theoretical aspects of winning women's rights.

—Anne Jaclard

Chicago—I attended two events celebrating the Jan. 22, 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Roe v. Wade* which made abortion legal. First was a noon rally at the Federal Plaza. We held banners, signs and posters for choice. On the ground were placed papers with statistics and the history of reproductive rights.

The first speaker, Jennifer Koehler, president of the sponsors, the Chicago Chapter of the National Organization for Women, said, "There is a crisis for our right to choose." Congresswoman Jan Schakowsky said, "Bush is a liar. When he campaigned for president he said the overthrow of *Roe v. Wade* was not the aim of his campaign. He said he wanted to present a compassionate conservatism. Where is his compassion?"

State Representative Sara Feigenholtz stated, "As commander-in-chief Bush has made women in the military second-class citizens by denying their right to abortions even when using their own money. With his call to war in Iraq he is asking these brave women to not only risk their lives but to also give up their constitutional right to choose."

The last speaker from Refuse & Resist! called for mass demonstrations on March 10, the anniversary of the murder of abortion provider Dr. David Gunn.

The second event was the Planned Parenthood/Chicago Area (PPCA) awards celebration. It was moving listening to June Rosner, widow of Dr. Marvin Rosner, who provided abortion services in 1971, a day after a federal court struck down the Illinois ban on first trimester abortion prior to *Roe*. He believed safe, legal abortions were a health issue. PPCA named its Lifetime Achievement Award in his honor.

The highlight was the Richard J. Phelan Profile in Courage Award given to its namesake. Phelan recalled how he restored abortions at Cook County Hospital under threats of death and excommunication. Anti-Semitism or the denial of health services to the poor must be confronted, he said. "When I was elected as Cook County Board President in 1990 I was committed to bringing back the rights George Dunne had decided on his own to eliminate. There must be a level playing field between the poor and uninsured and the affluent and insured."

—Sue S.

as a "challenge to the post-Marx Marxists." Unfortunately the preface by Adrienne Rich, an active figure in the new women's movement, was not included in the present publication.

"How would it feel to be free and truly human?" (p. 7) It is this question, asked by Adrienne Rich, Raya Dunayevskaya, and Rosa Luxemburg, that makes the book worth reading even decades after its appearance.

As far as the biographical aspects and the history of Social Democracy are concerned, it is based on the literature of the 1950s and 1960s (Peter Nettle and Carl E. Schorske). In her preface, Frigga Haug makes the somewhat misleading remark that Rosa Luxemburg was covered under a cloak of silence in Germany in 1982.

(Translated by Heinz D. Osterle)

This review was published in the journal *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* [Contributions to the History of the Workers' Movement], Vol. 42:3 (2000). A noted Luxemburg scholar, Laschitza was an editor of Luxemburg's collected writings and letters in the former East Germany. In 1996, her book *Im Lebensrausch, trotz alledem Rosa Luxemburg: Eine Biographie* [In the Ecstasy of Life, Rosa Luxemburg Despite Everything: A Biography] appeared. An English translation of Frigga Haug's preface was published in *News & Letters*, December 1998.

Hands off Title IX!

The latest civil rights law to face attack by the Bush administration is Title IX, passed by Congress in 1972. Most people think it relates only to sports. Nothing could be further from the truth. It reads: "No person in the U.S. shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, or denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving federal aid."

By 1994 women received 38% of medical degrees, compared with 9% in 1972; earned 43% of law degrees, up from 7% in 1972; and 44% of all doctoral degrees to U.S. citizens went to women, up from 25% in 1977.

EQUALITY FOR WOMEN

The most controversial area of Title IX has been ensuring that women have equality in sports—get athletic scholarships, equipment, coaching and facilities. Since Title IX's passage, the number of female athletes has increased from 31,852 to 150,916. Revealing what girls can do when given the chance, high school women athletes have risen from 300,000 to 2.78 million today.

Now, in an administration that opposes affirmative action, President Bush in June 2002 created a 15-member Commission on Opportunities in Athletics to "study" Title IX. The Commission plans to present its recommendations in February.

Women's fears of this commission are well-founded. Many witnesses and most of the commission discussion have focused on the law's effect on male athletes, not on the significant problems still remaining for women. Christine Grant, former women's athletic director at the University of Iowa, expressed the frustration of many women activists: "Thirty years (after Title IX), despite the fact that men commandeer the majority of participation slots and financial resources, the commission seems to be focusing on the complaints of male coaches and male student athletes and also on the subtle questioning on how to help institutions continue their discriminatory practices in sport."

Some of the most vocal opponents of Title IX are in less well-funded sports like wrestling. J. Robinson, men's wrestling coach at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, says to all who will listen that "feminist radicals" are calling for the number of male and female athletes to be closely proportional to the number of men and women in the student body—as if this is a bad thing! He whines that women's sports is an artificially created market that would collapse without financial support. At the same time, he blames Title IX for taking money from his sport to give to women's sports, thereby threatening its existence. All these arguments have been disproved numerous times.

BACK TO THE DARK AGES

The contention that women must prove interest in a sport before it will exist for them is dangerous and absurd. Donna Lopiano, Hall of Fame softball player, said, "That would take us back to the dark ages. It's like saying we should survey how interested women are in math—then limit their opportunities according to the survey." Men have never had to prove such an interest, sports opportunities have always been offered to them.

As Olympic medal winner Donna DeVerona asserted: "There has always been a move to undermine Title IX. We've always heard 'women aren't interested' and those voices are growing in the current climate."

If Bush is allowed to impose a burden of interest for women in sports, it will set a dangerous precedent. Will women have to prove we want equal pay; will we have to prove interest in computer science or be accused of taking away scarce resources from men; will Blacks have to prove they want equal housing, and education?

We demand that the Commission disregard such sexist voices and consider the view of Myles Brand, the newly-inaugurated president of the National Collegiate Athletic Association: "We should move forward in fully implementing Title IX in a timely and aggressive manner, despite the discomfort of some individuals and institutions." There is no turning back!

—Mary Jo Grey

Boycott Fred's to gain union contract

Memphis, Tenn.—On the weekend of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, Fred's workers and supporters held a rally and prayer vigil. When it comes to unfair treatment, the Fred's workers are pretty much like the workers at the time Dr. King got deeply involved—fighting for their rights. He would want us to keep his dream alive. We can't just sit down and take what he fought and died to stop.

As usual, Mike Hayes, the head of Fred's Warehouse, is bragging about the billion dollar sales he's reached. But instead of offering us raises or bonuses, or even bargaining in good faith with us after we voted to unionize last year, he spent money on sub sandwiches and cook-

ies. The office workers got treated all week to prizes to show how much they appreciated them. The warehouse workers only got the sandwiches.

Hayes said he won't give in to us. We are determined that we'll fight until the end. He's making it look like it's the labor board and the union that are prolonging the conflict, but he's not telling people that it's up to him to call off the dogs. He's trying to look like he's treating us so well. But all the time he treats us like crap, but we are the ones making him the money.

NEED HEAT

If we can just get to people and let them know to stop spending for a lifetime, it will help us a lot. We're not saying for a lifetime, but until he starts treating us like people. If we can get more of the warehouse workers to join us, it will help too; but most are afraid of losing their jobs, and they won't stand up for themselves.

We don't have sufficient heat. It's not much warmer than outside. In the warehouse, we're dressed in coats, scarves, hats and gloves, and we're still shivering. We are so bundled up we can't move comfortably. With the money he's boasting about and paying for sub sandwiches, he could have gotten the heaters fixed. The roof still leaks too.

The warehouse management has started correcting a lot of OSHA violations but after the inspection it's back to normal. They only look good for OSHA when they come to inspect. They came once last year. We hope it's a surprise visit, but most of the time they let them know in advance.

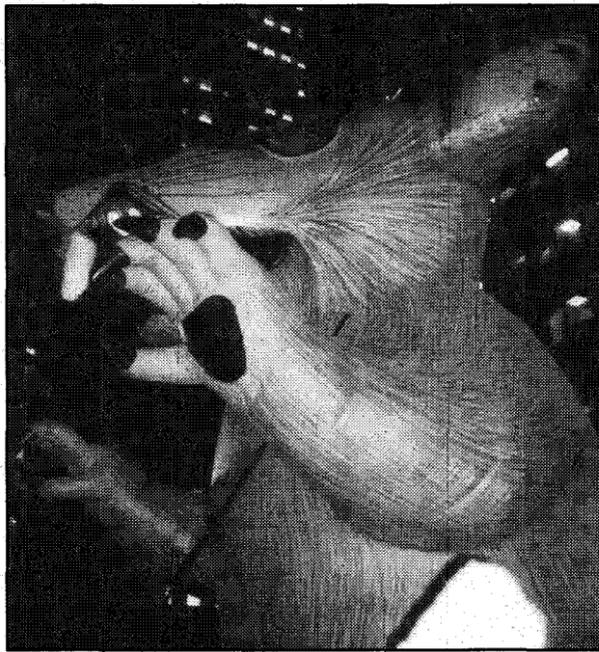
GATHERING SUPPORT

From our churches and the public, we are getting a good response to the Fred's boycott. A lot of people don't understand because they have never been in a union and don't know what the unions are about. We're getting a good response from people that understand. Some of them jump in 100% and help us out and they don't even work with us.

One of the attorneys that Hayes hired made a remark that as big as the company is, we can't hurt it. We want the people to know that we can. Goliath was a big guy, a giant. David was just a little guy with a stone. David brought Goliath down. I feel like we can bring him to his knees. We need the understanding of people to help us.

—Black woman warehouse worker

NYC transit workers rally ready to strike



Anne Jacard

A rally by transit workers, with their giant rat, was soon followed by winning new contract from the vermin in City Hall.

New York—Tens of thousands of transit workers and other municipal workers held a militant rally last Dec. 16, the day after the contract of the Transit Workers Union expired. The power of labor was felt by everyone that day when the bus and subway workers almost went out on strike.

Transit workers had to threaten a strike just to get a little respect in their contract—less harsh enforcement of disciplinary rules and improved safety. Transit Authority cheating on safety rules had killed two workers on the tracks on the week before the contract deadline. Another conductor was killed in January.

—New York labor supporter

Adrienne Rich has this to say about the *The Power of Negativity*:

"It should be accessible to a range of people—students, or people recently returned from the nature of capitalism and the requirements of a different society, as well as longtime socialists who need the 'placing' of Raya's thought as it's provided here."

To order... *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx*; by Raya Dunayevskaya ...see page 7

Community tees off against CTA cutbacks

Chicago—The Chicago Transit Authority is catching heat from several Chicago activist groups such as the Tri-Taylor group, Citizens Taking Action, and Citizens Against Terrible Transit Service. The *Near West/South Gazette* newspaper featured John Vespo of the Tri-Taylor group who became active around CTA issues when the mid-day bus that runs to the east side of Taylor street was cut.

Bill of Citizens Taking Action said the CTA had way too much money and was spending it foolishly. He said that CTA should be audited for the savings from service cuts in the past 10 years. Cuts are in the off-peak hours, in which case they are not really saving that much.

Reduced fares, reliable service, courteous drivers, and restored transit to service areas that were cut during the CTA's 1997 purge were also concerns. The Citizens Taking Action group has been around for 10 years and is responsible for CTA's decision to keep the monthly pass, according to Kevin Peterson of Citizens Against Terrible Transit Services.

Peterson said that CTA lifts for those in wheelchairs hard work, so handicapped riders cannot ride the bus. Many stations do not have elevators for those in wheelchairs. Peterson said the PACE suburban bus services are set up to fail. He used the example of a last bus that runs in the suburbs at 4:25 p.m. He said that one would have to leave from Chicago at about 1:00 p.m. to catch that bus. So many people could not meet that time schedule, it would appear that many people do not need the last bus and services would be further cut.

Bill said, "Neighborhoods need CTA, not just downtown." He said that CTA receives a 1% sales tax from shoppers in expanded service areas and should do more for those who go outside their communities to shop.

"The goal of Citizens Taking Action is to encourage people to use public transportation," Charles Paidock said. Pissing them off isn't the goal of the organization. Paidock can be reached by e-mail at cpaidock@hotmail.com or the website at www.CTAriders.org for further information.

—Samantha "Akili" Mattox

London welfare workers threatened

London—The Public and Commercial Services Union in Britain is mobilizing to defend a member and activist being harassed by management at a London welfare office. Chris Ford, Discharge and West London Branch Secretary, is facing decharge from supervisors strictly because of his union work.

Tactics involved in the campaign against Ford and other union activists include the surveillance of e-mails sent to its members saying that management was "not prepared to give 'a guarantee' that e-mails of a legitimate nature between union members and their reps would be kept confidential from management."

Chris has the support of his fellow workers, 850 of whom undertook a two-day strike in November of last year to protest attacks on their union. Work in his defense is ongoing.

—Union supporter

| How to contact | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES | |
| CHICAGO | FLINT, MI |
| 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440 Chicago, IL 60603 Phone 312 236 0799 Fax 312 236 0725 | P.O. Box 3384, Flint, MI 48502 |
| MEETINGS | NEW YORK |
| Call for information | P.O. Box 250657 Columbia University Station New York, NY 10025 212 663 3631 |
| DETROIT | MEETINGS |
| P.O. Box 27205 Detroit MI 48227 | Sundays, 7:00 p.m. 39 West 14th St., Room 205 (Identity House, Manhattan) |
| MEETINGS | OAKLAND |
| Sundays, 2 p.m. Write for information | P.O. Box 3345 Oakland, CA 94609 510 658 1448 banandl@yahoo.com |
| LOS ANGELES | MEETINGS |
| 4475 Sunset Drive-Box 181 Los Angeles, CA 90027 | Contact for information |
| MEETINGS | MEMPHIS & MISSISSIPPI |
| Mondays, 5:00 p.m. Echo Park United Methodist Church 1226 N. Alvarado (North of Sunset, side door) | 1910 Memphis, TN 38104 |
| INTERNET | |
| Email | WORLD WIDE WEB |
| nandl@igc.org banandl@yahoo.com (Oakland) | www.newsandletters.org |
| INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-HUMANISTS | |
| BRITISH | |
| BCM Box 351, London, England WC1N 3XX http://members.aol.com/THEHOBGOBL/masthead | |
| IRANIAN | |
| Anjoman Azadi, 36 S. Wabash #1440, Chicago IL 60603 anjomanazadi@aol.com, www.anjomanazadi.org | |

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from page 1)

everyone.

The administration had to rescind this ruling after massive pressure—from Senators who had written the original bill, and from their constituents. Bush also does not want anything to distract from his effort to make even more drastic cutbacks to medicare in coming weeks.

States are facing the worst fiscal crisis in more than 50 years, in part because of federal cutbacks, and are desperately looking for ways to reduce health costs by cutting benefits or restricting eligibility. These draconian measures are happening on top of cutbacks that have already occurred in the private sector.

DIGITAL MAZE

For example, in the shop where I work, there are already many types of barriers erected in order to discourage the patient from accessing our services. Patients who telephone the "call center" enter a maze—the electronic voice-mail system—and are put on hold interminably. When the patient finally reaches a person at the other end of the line, she is speaking not to a nurse, but to a clerical employee who is answering questions based on a script in a manual, like a recipe book.

The call center clerk is also looking at a computer screen with the patient's profile, containing not just medical information, but how much co-payment the patient owes or whether the patient is a "drug seeker." Many patients get frustrated trying to obtain an appointment and may end up in an emergency room.

The very first person the patient encounters there is not a nurse or a clerk, but a security guard, who tells you where to stand in line. The guard has the authority to throw you out if you misbehave. Emergency waiting rooms have been deliberately downsized, to make waiting hours for your turn as unpleasant as possible in a crowded room.

While right-wing officials bemoan health care cost overruns due to "inappropriate" emergency room use, the emergency room has become the health care of last resort for a huge army of uninsured. In the hospital where I work, even though nurses are trained to triage to sort out the less urgent cases, patients with severe emergencies will still have to wait intolerably long hours (up to 24 hours as sanctioned by the state) in the emergency room, because the system has spent the last 15 years dismantling hospital wards and closing down and reducing the number of available hospital beds.

COST SHIFTING

Even those structural barriers set up ten years ago are not enough for private industry. Now they have resorted to many forms of cost shifting. This strategy has gained favor with corporate employers like GE, whose unionized workers went on strike for two days over the increasing burden of co-payments on their insurance premiums. Part of my job is to collect co-payments, especially from Medicare patients who are now charged \$500 for each admission.

One day, I was about to register an elderly man with a possible stroke into a hospital bed. When I brought up the \$500 co-payment, the wife became visibly upset. She said there was no way they could pay that amount, since they were on a fixed income. She then said, "I'll just take him home and take care of him myself."

The nurse called the doctor to inform him of the patient's inability to pay. She requested that he consider downgrading the patient to a "short stay" status, which doesn't have the same co-payment. The Short Stay Unit itself was an accounting gimmick originally created in order to free hospitals from long-term budgetary bed count allocations.

INABILITY TO PAY

The purpose of co-payments is to get patients to discipline themselves according to capital's dictates. In other words, people will weed themselves out of health care services based on their inability to pay. Our Marketing Director said cost shifting was going to be the wave of the future. "If you think our co-payments are high right now," she continued, "wait till next year."

However, workers are not going to take this kind of strikes this year or next as demonstrated by recent strikes. Workers' past battles on the picket line made the modern health care system a reality. It is time to fight to build a health care system for everyone, and they will come.

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

From *Philosophy and Revolution* Dialectics and the Black dimension

Editor's Note

We offer readers a preview of the new 2003 edition of Raya Dunayevskaya's work, *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*, first published in 1973.

These excerpts—from Chapter 9, "New Passions and New Forces"—reflect the book's grounding in dialectics and the revolutionary Black dimension, selected also to celebrate February's Black History Month 2003.

This spring News and Letters Committees will host a series of meetings on both *Philosophy and Revolution* and *The Power of Negativity*.

Black was the color that helped make the 1960s so exciting a decade. We became witness simultaneously to the African Revolutions and the Black Revolution in America. By their self-activity, self-organization, self-development, the Black youth struck out against white supremacy in the quiescent South, and with unparalleled courage took everything that was dished out to them—from beatings, bombings, and prisons to cattle prods, shootings, and even death—and still, unarmed, continued fighting back. They initiated a new epoch of youth revolt, white as well as Black, throughout the land. There was not a single method of struggle, from Sit-ins, teach-ins, dwellings, wade-ins, to Freedom Rides, Freedom Marches, Freedom Schools, and confrontations with the Establishment, Bull Connor's bulldogs and whips in Alabama, or the smartly uniformed soldiers on the steps of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. that did not have its origin in the Black movement. Moreover, this was so not only as strategy and tactic but also as underlying philosophy and perspectives for the future.

By February 1965, when the government's rain of bombs on Hanoi produced the anti-Vietnam War movement here, the students who had gone South and then returned to Berkeley to confront the multiversity talked a very different language than when they had left. As Mario Savio, a leader of the Free Speech Movement, put it:

America may be the most poverty-stricken country in the world. Not materially. But intellectually it is bankrupt. And morally it's poverty-stricken. But in such a way that it's not clear to you that you're poor. It's very hard to know you're poor if you're eating well. . . .

Students are excited about political ideas. They're not yet inured to the apolitical society they're going to enter. But being interested in ideas means you have no use in American society . . . unless they are ideas which are useful to the military-industrial complex. . . .

Factories are run in authoritarian fashion—nonunion factories anyway—and that's the nearest parallel to the university. . . .

In contrast, Savio kept driving home about his fellow students the point that "they are people who have not learned to compromise."

The fact that the first important schism in the movement itself arose at the very moment when it did become a mass anti-Vietnam War movement was not due to any differences over the slogan, which indeed a Black spoke first, "Hell, no, we won't go." There was alienation from the white students who all too quickly migrated back North without so much as a "by your leave" to the civil rights movement. To the Blacks it was a manifestation of just how all-pervasive racism was in the racist U.S.A., not excluding its white revolutionaries who considered themselves, and not the Black masses, as "the vanguard." Blacks and whites moved separate ways and, once again, the objectivity of their struggle for freedom was inseparable from a self-developing subjectivity.

Black consciousness, Afro-American

roots, awareness of themselves as a people, a nation, a race: "Black is beautiful." Black is revolutionary. Many a youth was memorizing Malcolm X's records. That they identified with him most after he broke with Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims, when he was moving toward a new revolutionary universalism, is no accident whatever. In 1966, when Stokely Carmichael (on that famous march through the South, alongside Reverend King and James Meredith) first raised the slogan "Black Power," he signaled more

than the end of Dr. King's predominance in the leadership of the Movement. It was also the beginning of the division between ranks and all leaders, himself included. It is true he electrified the crowd, when he first expounded on the slogan. . . .

But as the slogan caught on, Stokely himself was off elsewhere. Neither he nor any other Black leader was around when the 1967 explosion burst on the U.S. stage. Neither he nor any other Black militant leader was listening to the voices that came from below, least of all from Black workers.

We may not be on the threshold of revolution, but the fact that the idea revolution simply refuses to be silent even when we are not in a prerevolutionary situation speaks volumes about the philosophical-political maturity of our age. We may not have a Hegel or a Marx or a Lenin, but we do have what no other age has had in such depth—the movement from praxis whose quest for universality does not stop with practice but hungers for a uniting of theory to practice. It is this—and therein lies the uniqueness of the dialectic—which resists any retrogression within the revolution. Retrogression seeks to particularize tasks, to "fix" the universal, to confine the tasks of the masses to "making" the revolution and not bothering their heads about "self-development."

What the movement from practice has revealed over these last two decades of revolt and striving to establish new societies—whether via the African revolutions against Western imperialism and private capitalism, or through East European struggles for freedom from state-capitalism calling itself Communism, or within each land, be it the bastion of world imperialism, the U.S., or one as different as China—was that the masses wish not only to overthrow exploitative societies, but they will no longer accept cultural substitutes for uprooting the old and new managers over their conditions of labor and life. Anything short of a total reorganization of life, totally new human relations, was now retrogressionist. That is what was new in these revolutions as against the revolutions following the First World War, when it seemed sufficient to overthrow the old and not worry about what came after the revolution succeeded. If any such illusions were still left when World War II ended and the

Afro-Asian-Middle Eastern-Latin American Revolutions created a Third World, the 1950s ended them. The new frontiers opened with the end of illusions, with the start of revolutions within the successful revolutions, with the permanence of self-development so that there should end, once and for all, the difference between the Individual and the Universal. Philosophic-political maturity marks the uniqueness of our age. The need for "second negativity," that is, a second revolution, has become concrete.

Take Africa again. It faced the reality that political independence does not mean economic dependence has ended, but, on the contrary, the ugly head of neo-imperialism then first appears. Yet equally crucial were the new divisions that arose between the leaders and the led once national independence was achieved. At the same time new divisions also arose between Arab leadership and the uneducated masses. Whether we look at Zanzibar, which did succeed in overthrowing its Arab rulers, or to the southern Sudan, which had not, the need remained the same: a second revolution.

Or take China, which certainly during the "Cultural Revolution" never seemed to stop espousing the slogan "It is right to revolt." Why, then, did it turn to a "cultural" rather than an actual, a proletarian, a social revolution? Hegel and Marx can shed greater illumination on that type of cultural escapism than can the contemporary "China specialists," who bow to every revolutionary-sounding slogan. It was no "pre-Marxian" Marx who insisted that Hegel's philosophic abstractions were in fact the historic movement of mankind through various stages of freedom, that the stages of consciousness in the *Phenomenology* were in fact a critique of "whole spheres" like religion, the state, bourgeois society and so forth. Hegel himself saw that "pure culture was the absolute and universal inversion of reality and thought, their estrangement, one into the other . . . each is the opposite of itself." Where Hegel moved from "culture" to "science," i.e., the unity of history and its philosophic comprehension, Marx stressed that thought can transcend only other thought; but to reconstruct society itself, only actions of men and women, masses in motion, will do the "transcending," and thereby "realize" philosophy, make freedom and whole men and women a reality.

The genius of Hegel, his relevance for today, is that he summed up "the experiences of consciousness" in

so comprehensive, so profound a manner over so long a stretch of man's development—from the Greek city-states to the French Revolution—that the tendencies in the summation of the past give us a glimpse of the future, especially when materialistically understood in a Marxist-Humanist, not vulgar economist, manner.

What we have shown throughout is this: There is a dialectic of thought from consciousness through culture to philosophy. There is a dialectic of history from slavery through serfdom to free wage labor. There is a dialectic of the class struggle in general and under capitalism in particular—and as it develops through certain specific stages from competition through monopoly to state, in each case it calls forth new forms of revolt and new aspects of the philosophy of revolution.

Only a Marx could work out the latter. What Hegel had shown were the dangers inherent in the French Revolution which did not end in the millennium. The dialectic disclosed that the counter-revolution is within the revolution. It is the greatest challenge man has ever had to face. We are living that challenge today.

30th Anniversary Edition

Philosophy and Revolution

Order your copy now...

Special offer \$20

(plus postage)

After March 2003, \$24.95

Lukács and Korsch had proposed a similar, Hegelian reading. Yet a notable difference separates Dunayevskaya from these earlier positions. Their interpretation had limited the revolutionary impact of Hegel's thought to the socio-political order. Dunayevskaya aims at a total liberation of the human person . . . She assumes within her theory of class struggle issues as diverse as feminism [and] Black liberation. . . .

—Louis Dupré
Yale University

Dunayevskaya . . . has discovered a concept of freedom in Hegel that engages us to see freedom as a self-determination that is a free release rather than a movement of becoming other. . . . Should feminists bother with Hegel? Dunayevskaya's voice returns us to an affirmative response. While Hegel used his own analysis to affirm the subordination of women, there is still much in his analysis of the pathway to freedom, especially in the *Logic*, that is not exclusively male but which helps us to reflect on a truly human freedom.

—Patricia Altenbernd Johnson
University of Dayton

Contents...

Part I Why Hegel? Why Now?

1. Absolute Negativity as New Beginning
2. A New Continent of Thought: Marx's Historical Materialism and Its Inseparability from the Hegelian Dialectic
3. The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin

Part II Alternatives

- Introduction. On the Eve of World War II: Depression in the Economy and in Thought
4. Leon Trotsky as Theoretician
5. The Thought of Mao Tse-tung
6. Jean-Paul Sartre: Outsider Looking In

Part III Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation

7. The African Revolutions and the World Economy
8. State Capitalism and the East European Revolts
9. New Passions and New Forces: The Black Dimension, the Anti-Vietnam War Youth, Rank-and-File Labor, Women's Liberation

\$24.95. Paper 0-7391-0559-0. April 2003. 416 pp.

REVIEW ESSAY

by Peter Hudis

Of the many issues facing the effort to rethink the idea of revolution today, few are more vexing than that of state power. Does social revolution center on the political seizure of state power? If it doesn't, what must be done instead? Can a revolution transform human relations so fundamentally that we will not again be confronted with a statist bureaucracy after the overthrow of the old?



For many years even the greatest revolutionaries tended to focus first and foremost on the political seizure of state power, leaving until later the question of how to fundamentally transform social relations. That approach defined the attitude of the generation that made the Russian Revolution of 1917. As Lenin noted after 1917, making the revolution was relatively easy; figuring out how to reorganize conditions of life and labor after the seizure of power proved far more difficult.

When the Russian revolution became transformed into a totalitarian dictatorship under Stalin in the 1930s, a different concept of the road to a new society began to emerge. It showed itself in the Spanish Revolution of 1936, where workers and peasants occupied the factories and farms as the prelude to the political transformation of society. Instead of first seizing state power and then figuring out how to change living conditions, the Spanish masses sought to transform production relations in the very course of their struggle. The new questions posed by this proved of key importance in leading to the birth of Marxist-Humanism.¹

Nonetheless, the Spanish masses' disclosure of a new dialectic of liberation that combined economics and politics did not become the point of departure for revolutions that followed. Thanks in part to the acts of the Stalinists, the Spanish Revolution was defeated by fascism in 1939. Then in the post-World War II era Stalinism and Social-Democracy dominated left politics worldwide. The tendency to seize political power and impose State Property and the State Plan, while leaving aside the radical transformation of human relations, predominated on the part of both reformists and revolutionists.

Yet things have begun to change since 1989. The collapse of the state-capitalist regimes which called themselves Communist in East Europe and Russia, and the impasse experienced by post-revolutionary regimes in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, have led many to question the approach of focusing on seizing state power without specifying how to transform human relations. It is as if the questions posed by the Spanish Revolution of 1936 are returning to the forefront of discussion.

SHOULD WE SEIZE POWER?

John Holloway's book *Change the World Without Taking Power* is a welcome contribution to this discussion. He argues against the notion that "first we win power and then we shall create a new society." The state, he notes, is not an instrument that exists outside of capitalism; capitalist relations are instead thoroughly embedded in the modern state. A focus on seizing state power inevitably leads radicals to reproduce the basic hierarchies of capitalism—of leaders versus led, of power-over versus power-to-do.

Capital, he says, is not just something that exists outside us; it is based on the separation between doing and done, between subject and object. When radicals focus on seizing control of the state they soon find themselves upholding the very relations of capital they had earlier sworn to oppose: "Once the logic of power is adopted, the struggle against power is already lost" (p. 17).

Holloway instead calls for creating relations of "anti-power"—that is, dissolving relations of power-over-others in our everyday struggles: "This project is far more radical than any notion of revolution based on the conquest of power and at the same time far more realistic." His model is the Zapatistas of Chiapas, Mexico, who eschewed any notion of trying to seize state power after their revolt of 1994.

The Zapatistas' focus on developing new forms of resistance has surely made a valuable contribution to reconceptualizing the idea of revolution. At the same time, the power of the Mexican state in isolating and repressing the Zapatistas shows that the problem of state power can in no way be bypassed. The state still needs to be confronted, challenged, and ultimately **smashed**. Yet since the state is the expression of capital, it will not vanish overnight; it will persist in some form until we have created a new society of freely associated labor on a world scale. This raises the thorny question of how we can contest the power of the state without falling prey to its logic of domination.

Holloway does not really tackle this question. In critiquing the idea of taking state power, he says little about how to deal with the persistence of the state before and after a social revolution.

A DIALECTIC OF NEGATIVITY?

So what can we do? To Holloway, "flies caught in a web of social relations beyond our control, we can only try to free ourselves by hacking at the strands that imprison us." That means, he says, focusing on negation, on "a rejection of a world we feel to be wrong." "The aim of this book," he writes, "is to strengthen negati-

Rethinking the idea of revolution

ty...to negate in whatever way we can the negativeness of our existence" (pp. 5, 8).

Holloway tries to ground his stress on negativity in dialectical philosophy. Unlike other autonomist Marxists like Antonio Negri, he does not reject dialectics. However, he does not really discuss Hegel's dialectic or what Marx drew from it. He instead bases himself on the "negative dialectics" of Theodor Adorno.

Contrary to some latter-day epigones who dismiss Adorno because of his distance from the practical struggles of his day, Marxist-Humanists have considered Adorno's *Negative Dialectics* one of the most important books ever written on dialectics.² Holloway's ability to appropriate Adorno for key issues facing activists shows that Adorno's ideas are in no way destined to remain in the ivory tower.

Nevertheless, there is a fundamental difference between Adorno's negative dialectics and the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic of negativity. Adorno sought to eliminate the "affirmative" character of the dialectic—the notion that the positive emerges from "the negation of the negation." For Hegel, as for Marx, the transcendence of alienation arises not just from negating what exists, but from the "negation of the negation"—the projection not just of what you're against but what you're for. Adorno saw his aim as "to free dialectics from such affirmative traits." To Adorno, "negative dialectics" means a ceaseless process of negation without any assurance of a positive outcome arising from it.

As Adorno sought to "free" negativity from the positive in the realm of philosophy, Holloway seeks to do so in politics. He uses Adorno to oppose the way "what was initially negative (the rejection of capitalism) is converted into something positive (institution-building, power building)" (p. 15).

Does Holloway's reliance on Adorno's negative dialectics aid or impair his effort to project a concept of liberation that takes us beyond the limits of past failed revolutions? To answer this we must turn to his discussion of commodity fetishism, the theoretical core of his book.

BEYOND COMMODITY FETISHISM

Holloway shows that Marx's critique of commodity fetishism pinpoints the central problem of capitalism. The problem is not just that we are dominated by a power outside us, the state or the capitalist class, but that our human relations take on the form of relations between things. Fetishism "refers to the breaking of the social flow of doing, the turning of doing against itself" (p. 45). Unless we confront and uproot this, Holloway insists, we will never be free.

Yet this raises a difficult issue. Marx says in *Capital* that human relations in capitalism appear to take on the form of relations between things because "that is what they really are." Commodity fetishism is no illusion; it defines the nature of our lives. But if that is so, is it even possible for us to think outside the fetish?

This problem has bedeviled some of the greatest Marxists. Georg Lukács, for one, argued that the transformation of human relations into relations between things affects everyone in capitalism, workers as well as capitalists. But if we are all subject to the fetish, how can we get out of it? Lukács responded by saying the Party serves as the "knowing" of the proletariat. By assigning to the Party "the sublime role of class consciousness," Lukács sought to chart a path from our present fetishized existence to the goal of a new society.

Holloway rightly critiques Lukács for this on the grounds that Lukács never provided an adequate account of **how** the Party becomes the bearer of class consciousness. It is just asserted. Holloway says that Lukács reached for an external mediator to resolve the problem of fetishism, "the Party," instead of having it arise from the internal struggles of the masses.

Adorno also argued that the transformation of human relations into relations between things applies to everyone. However, he didn't follow Lukács on the Party. For Adorno the way out was through permanent critique by "small groups of admirable men." Holloway says this approach was also unviable, for it never explained what enables the radical critic to rise above the alienation he opposes.

Holloway takes a different approach. He sees the way out as lying in the everyday resistance engendered by those opposing oppression. We cannot feel alienated, he notes, unless we have some sense of what it means to be non-alienated. This friction between our everyday oppression and our sense that we are more than a mere object of oppression breeds negativity, resistance. This negativity, he argues, is the font from which we can break through the fetishism of commodities.

Holloway's discussion of commodity fetishism is both the best and the most problematic part of his book. It is

the best insofar as he rightly critiques intellectuals like Lukács and Adorno for never providing an adequate account of how to surmount commodity fetishism. It is also problematic insofar as Holloway does not really follow Marx's discussion of how to surmount the problem of fetishism in *Capital*.

In *Capital* Marx presents the fetishism of commodities as all-pervasive in capitalism. So how can we get out of it? In the midst of his discussion Marx suddenly writes, "Let us **imagine**, for a change, an association of free men." Marx takes us into the future, into a realm



Woman Zapatista at the 1991 International Encounter in Chiapas.

where humanity has eliminated value production. He presupposes a positive transcendence of capitalism and from this standpoint penetrates the mystery of commodity fetishism. He writes, "The veil is not removed from the countenance of the social life process . . . until it becomes production by freely associated men."

Marx's presupposition of a transcendence of capitalism was no mere utopian speculation. It was a philosophic generalization of the praxis achieved by the

masses in the Paris Commune of 1871, who developed a new form of freely associated labor. Indeed, Marx did not even have a separate section on commodity fetishism in the original 1867 edition of *Capital*; it was only in the French edition of 1872-75, issued **after** the Paris Commune, that Marx was able to both make a **category** of commodity fetishism and fully show the **internal** way out of it.

For Marx mere negativity by itself does not surmount the fetishism of commodities. To transcend fetishism the power of negativity must become absolute, that is, inseparable from a vision of the future, a notion of the transcendence of value production. Marx could project such a vision because he held tightly to Hegel's concept of "the negation of the negation"—that is, not only the destruction of the old but the creation of the new.

It is this which Holloway keeps his distance from. He is so overburdened with the way traditional Marxists have taken what was initially negative (the rejection of capitalism) and turned it into something "positive" (power building), that he, like Adorno, holds back from embracing the positive which emanates from the movement of absolute negativity.

This not only means that he falls short of Marx's approach in *Capital*. It means Holloway does not really resolve the problem he is grappling with. For history shows that ceaseless negativity by itself does not free us from the stranglehold of commodity fetishism. Without a vision of a future non-exploiting society, we remain at mere first negation—opposing what is—without having a sense that we can create a non-alienated reality.

DRAWNS ON CRITIQUE OF LUXEMBURG

Holloway's aversion to projecting such a vision comes out from his critique of Rosa Luxemburg's view in *Reform or Revolution* (1898) that "The final goal of socialism constitutes the only decisive factor distinguishing the [revolutionary] movement from bourgeois democracy." Luxemburg, he says, held the final goal to be the conquest of political power. But surely Luxemburg went further, as seen in her profound critique of Lenin in 1918 on the need for revolutionary democracy after the conquest of power.

Moreover, Luxemburg was absolutely right to say in 1898 that "It is only because Marx looked at capitalism from the socialist viewpoint...that he was enabled to decipher the hieroglyphics of capitalist economy." Given today's far more mystified relations of capital it has become even more crucial to view reality from the vantage point of a socialist future.

Holloway is right that Marx's *Capital* is often wrongly viewed as "a theory of capitalism," as if Marx was providing a mere sociological analysis. *Capital*, Holloway insists, is a theory of the **destruction** of capitalism, a view of its transitoriness and non-viability. What Holloway does not seem to see is that Marx was able to theorize the destruction of capital because he brought to bear upon his analysis a vision of the future which flowed from his rootedness in **both** proletarian struggles **and** Hegel's concept of the positive which emerges from "the negation of the negation."

(Continued on page 8)

NOTES

1. For a discussion of this, see *The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II*, by Raya Dunayevskaya (Chicago: News and Letters, 1986).
2. Raya Dunayevskaya called Adorno's *Negative Dialectics* "one of the most serious contributions to the study of dialectics in the past half-century." See *News & Letters*, March 1978. This didn't stop her from critiquing Adorno. See *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx*, ed. by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson (Lanham: Lexington, 2002), pp. 186-90 and 207-08 especially.

FIGHTING THE DRIVE TO WAR AS 2003 BEGINS

The very first sentence in the article by a young Iraqi woman in the December issue—"If one learns anything from living under a totalitarian system it is how to decipher the news and sift through official propaganda"—made me think that I don't live under totalitarianism but I, too, have to sift through the news. We're supposed to have a free press, but it's hard to figure out whether what you're getting from the press is real. I could relate to her in many ways. She was born in 1981 and I was born in 1982. But she says her childhood always involved the Iran/Iraq war, while I can't imagine spending my childhood like that. I haven't had to consider war in that way until now.

**Anti-war activist
Memphis**

When Congressman Charles Rangel said he was for bringing back the Selective Service, he just wanted the rich to have their chance to be drafted, instead of the poor who always fight most wars. I agree, but what I want most is for all those in the current administration from the Commander-in-Chief to his Vice-President, to be drafted first.

**Nouveau Toussaint
Chicago**

Marching in D.C. on Jan. 18 was a protester's dream come true. Heaven is a river of marching people with signs and chants meant to set the government straight. I think we ran Bush out of town. Who believed he was at Camp David for jogging?

**Veteran anti-war protester
Tennessee**

It was a surprise to me to see so many Michigan church-sponsored buses carrying thousands to Washington, D.C. to protest the administration's drive to war against Iraq. It is a welcome counterpoint to the war-mongering Christian fundamentalists who are practicing their religion by demanding that the blood of innocent Iraqi people be spilled on madman Bush's altar of war. One woman spent \$3,000 of her own money to rent one of those buses hoping there would be a decent number responding to the appeal to join the protest. Happily, not only was the bus filled, there was also a waiting list.

**Old radical
Detroit**

What needs more discussion in the anti-war movement is thinking through what the ultimate outcome may be. I am confident that as Americans see more and more atrocious breaches of civility at the hands of their government, they will hop on the bandwagon of the anti-war movement. The big question is, where will that bandwagon take us and how do we keep it from falling apart over the long haul?

**Anti-war youth
California**

It seems clear that many Americans are in no rush to go to war. I am suspicious of the motives of the ANSWER coalition that organized the D.C. march, because of its affiliation with the International Action Center, Ramsey Clark's

defense of Hutu and Bosnian war criminals, etc. The important thing is that thousands of people came from all over the country to march in the freezing cold, not because of ANSWER, but to stand up against Bush and his push for war.

**J.P.
Connecticut**

Let's see if I've got this right. Because the Iraqi dictator either does or doesn't possess weapons of mass destruction, the U.S. has to wage war against Iraq. And because the North Korean dictator possesses even more dangerous weapons of mass destruction, the U.S. has to engage North Korea diplomatically. So the reason why a nation has to be attacked by a preemptive strike is the reason why a nation has to be engaged diplomatically. Hey, that makes sense!

**Bewildered
Spokane**

It was good news to learn that Afghanistan acceded to the International Criminal Court, which opens the way for the extradition and trial of the notorious warlords who have been accused of human rights abuses in that country. This is what the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) has been demanding for a long while. It means that Afghanistan is now closer to the world community on this subject and more progressive than the U.S.

**RAWA supporter
New York**

I've lived through a lot of presidents, beginning with Hoover, and some of them were pretty bad for workers and their families, but the worst of all is President Bush. More people are being laid off than for a long time and there are no jobs out there anymore. But it's not only the messed up economy that makes Bush so much worse. It's the idea that we could just go into Iraq with tanks and bombs and kill a lot of people. We've never done anything like this before in my lifetime.

**Retired GM worker
Bay City, Michigan**

The year 2002 has come and gone but the madness of the Bushites and the reluctance of the Democrats to oppose it continues. On our own political and personal levels we must continue the struggle because there is no such thing as a plateau in sociology or politics. To stand still is to move backward.

**Black feminist author
Virgin Islands**

The growing instability in the world's political and economic systems is killing ordinary people in greater numbers. Assuming the overthrow of the Iraqi regime, what is the objective of inflaming one of the world's most volatile areas? The Roman Empire lasted a thousand years; the British 200 years. The new world order? Short and brutish, it seems to me.

**Patrick
England**

A new study at the University of Sussex in Britain found that people who were

READERS' VIEWS

involved in campaigns, strikes and political demonstrations experienced an improvement in psychological well-being that helped them overcome stress, pain, anxiety and depression. In short, protesting may be good for our health—as well as for our very survival.

**Protester
California**



ISSUES OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I'm a big Adrienne Rich fan and the part that interested me most in Terry Moon's review of her *Arts of the Possible*, in the December issue, was discussing how Rich rejects "personal narrative" and "private solutions ... devoid of political context or content." That put a lot of Rich's other work in perspective for me. Her prose, especially, is imbued with social and political content but I had not until now seen the clear relation to capitalism.

**Young lesbian feminist
Memphis**

The article about abortion in Peru (December *N&L*) was amazing. What a powerful slogan to demand: "Contraception in order not to abort; legal abortion in order not to die." The refusal to "permit retrogression or limitation on our human rights" speaks to what we need to be doing in the U.S. today.

**Young male revolutionary
USA**

The "In Memoriam" for Alina Pienkowska made me see that she must have been an amazing woman. It was awesome for her to say: "Here in the shipyard I stopped being afraid and became a real person." It shows what Marx meant when he wrote that we are "individualized through the process of history."

**College student
Tennessee**

ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

The decision of the Central Elections Committee to ban the Arab Knesset members, Azini Bishara and Ahmad Tibi, from running in the upcoming Knesset elections has to be bitterly denounced. The way the right extremist wing united against the Arab representatives in the Knesset is an example of how they are trying to intensify the hatred and conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians. It shows the kind of national discrimination toward the Arab citizens that has continued since the creation of Israel. As the head of the Committee for Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, I had to denounce the decisions as racist and unjust and hope the Israeli High Court will cancel it and rule according to Israeli law.

**Latif Dori
Tel Aviv**

UNCOVERING THE HIDDEN NEWS

The South African revolution was betrayed, but all is not lost. The people are regrouping again and a new leadership is emerging from the grass roots. The agents of imperialism are scared. It is why there is so little news on South Africa these days, even after events like the UN's World Summit was held in that country last August.

**South African revolutionary
Michigan**

The *Albuquerque Journal* published a recent letter from me critiquing the way they cover news about unions, which is consistently unprofessional and unfair. I was especially angry at their cartoon stereotype of longshore workers as anti-patriotic brutes, and I sent them a cartoon

by an artist friend of mine that expressed my feeling about their bias, hoping they would run it as part of my letter. They did not. Since editorial cartoons are all some people read I thought it would have been equal time to run the one I sent. But my letter to them was a rear guard action. What I want to know is when organized labor will develop a program to monitor labor coverage?

**Stan Rosen
Santa Fe, New Mexico**

CONTINUING WAR ON THE POOR

I feel as if I am in the '60s all over again. Last week I joined a protest at DTE Energy (the merged electricity and gas companies in Detroit) because a 30-year program to assist the poor with heat and water bills has been ended. Just under 10,000 households have already had gas or electricity shut off and the coldest months are just beginning. DTE Energy did restore some service but Michigan Welfare Rights Organization has put out a flyer warning, "No water, no heat, no lights? No Peace!" to announce continuing demonstrations. So here we are, back at the need to "organize, organize, organize" all over again.

**Civil Rights Movement veteran
Detroit**

U.S. copyright laws may be the ultimate weapons of mass destruction. I refer to the latest U.S. policy that threatens the lives of more than 40 million people afflicted by HIV-AIDS, malaria, or tuberculosis, denying them access to cheaper generic drugs in order to defend the high profits of U.S. drug companies by hiding behind the U.S. copyright laws. At the end of December the BBC reported that the U.S. had blocked an international agreement that had been signed onto by 143 countries, which would allow poor countries to buy cheap goods. The U.S. claimed that the deal would allow too many drug patents to be ignored, and has extended the U.S. patents and copyrights to 20 years. How many millions of people could have been saved by then if the greedy pharmaceutical companies ever put human interests ahead of their criminally high profits?

**Giorgio
Canada**

FINDING A WORD FOR IT?

I have tried to think of a good word to concisely describe the objective reality of our times. Superficialization of culture and society might be such a word. What do you think?

**N&L Supporter
Wisconsin**

FOR JOE STRUMMER (1952-2002)



It was sad to see the passing of Joe Strummer of the Clash. His work with that band introduced a generation to the imagery and history of the revolutionary movement, from the general strike to the Spanish Civil War. The beat shook the cobwebs off a lot of books. While Joe Strummer never seemed to develop his views of Marxism or anarchism very much, as a bohemian artist that really wasn't his point. What he found in Black music—American blues, Jamaican reggae, calypso, rap—was nothing less than a Promethean grammar of the modern world. "Watch when Watts town burns again, the bus goes to Montgomery...." His best work with the Clash embodied this concept. It is an achievement that will stand despite the use of their music in television commercials.

**Gerard Emmett
Illinois**

VOICES FROM WITHIN THE PRISON WALLS: WHAT IS 'TERRORISM'?



We have young Black, Brown and Red men out there in the urban streets slaughtering each other like wild beasts, poisoning their communities with drugs and automatic machine guns. We have shiploads of cocaine, heroin, marijuana and other drugs permeating the American border to be found later in the Black and Latino ghettos.

All this is terrorism right at home, yet George Bush gives us the impression that terrorism can only come from the Middle East. Instead of investing revenue on educational facilities for the troubled inner-city youth, the Bush administration has devoted millions to build more penitentiaries.

Instead of joining the fight against AIDS, the Bush administration will spend billions on military aid designed to engender war instead of preventing it.

Unemployment is terrorism but George Bush would rather watch youth being put in desperate situations to justify enslaving them. Sexism, misogyny, discrimination, domestic violence—all of it constitutes terrorism right here at home. They care nothing about Saddam Hussein being a dictator or he would have been dethroned long ago.

As President Bush plans and plots to wage war on a people who are already suffering oppression and injustice in Iraq, we should be planning and plotting a positive solution as a weapon against the evil that is now enslaving the minds of our youth and the nature of our communities. Crime, HIV/AIDS, poverty, starvation, alcoholism, capitalism, imperialism, police brutality, the death penalty, injustice—this is the terrorism we as human beings have to wage war against. For it's quite clear that the Bush Administration has no intention of ever doing so.

**Revolutionary Prisoner in Solitary
Wisconsin**

POSING KEY QUESTIONS—WITH ANSWERS?

As Mitch Weerth correctly points out in his article "Mass unrest inspired Lula's victory in Brazil" (December 2002 *N&L*), Brazil's affect on the political climate of the South American continent is significant. Yet there has been little to no coverage about Lula's victory in the mainstream press. I enjoyed Weerth's analysis of the process by which Lula came to power. It remains to be seen if the compromises made in order to get elected will prevent him from accomplishing significant reforms. But when the political situation seems so dreadful in the U.S., it is encouraging to hear that the Left is achieving victories elsewhere.

**Steve Tammelleo
Memphis**

I appreciated the method and the facts presented in the article on Lula's victory in Brazil. It posed some key questions, ending with "Is there a way out?" But as is so often the case in *N&L*, you provide no answers to that question, which translates into "What is to be done?"

While the final lines about "whether the next four years will be only about a struggle for higher wages or about the need to restructure production and life in accordance with the goal of human self-development rather than the self-expansion of capital" do point to the larger question, they offer no suggestions for action—neither a program of concrete goals nor a strategy to attain them. This seems to flow from your rejection of "vanguardism," which I infer to interpret as regarding the "Leninist" path of coming up with goals and strategies to fight for them. You seem to think this will come from teaching Hegel's philosophy (as interpreted by Raya Dunayevskaya).

While I find useful ideas in your columns, this is no substitute for drawing concrete conclusions and pointing out the path forward. All effective organizations of struggle do this, from all classes, castes, races, gender-based struggles and nationalities. In 2000, Bush ran on tax cuts, privatizing social services and the conservative social agenda. His team utilized the state apparatus of Florida and the Supreme Court. That's effective leadership. Representing exploiting class interests they utilized elitist methods of

struggle just as did the perpetrators of the attacks in New York on 9/11. The Bolsheviks mobilized for "Peace, Land, and Bread" in World War I. They won the active support of the masses. That too was leadership. Just because the Russian Revolution failed and its later supporters became a drag on the struggle for liberation doesn't mean we should abjure leadership.

N&L throws out the baby with the bathwater when you refuse to draw concrete lessons from philosophy, economics and the history of class struggle, as this otherwise fine article does. It reduces your contributions to being commentators rather than leaders.

**Earl Silbar
Illinois**

Editor's note: Marxist-Humanists do not object to "drawing concrete conclusions and pointing the path forward." At issue is **how** to do so. Our aim is not to lecture people from afar regarding what they "ought" to do, but to single out and make explicit the movement for a new society that is immanent to their praxis.

In the case of Brazil, the task today is to lay out the facts of Lula's stance and the response of the masses, so that the tendencies immanent to their struggles can be discerned. Lula has just come to power and it is surely too early to jump to conclusions regarding where all this will lead. To propose at this point a formula for action on their behalf would not only be pointless, but counterproductive.

That does not make us mere commentators. For example, for years we insisted that the Left support the Bosnian and Kosova struggles for self-determination, that the arms embargo against them be lifted, and that the movements there oppose any effort at ethnic partition. Likewise, we argued after 9/11 that the anti-war movements needed not only to oppose Bush and bin Laden but also to solidary with those victimized by reactionary Islamic fundamentalism overseas. It was shown in our work on behalf of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan. As can be seen from our statement, "Why the Anti-war Movement Needs a Dialectical Perspective," that is one crucial way in which to draw concrete lessons from philosophy.



GEORGE RYAN & THE CRIMINAL INJUSTICE SYSTEM

George Ryan has been accused of giving clemency to the Death Row prisoners in Illinois only because of the scandal that dirtied his office over issuing licenses to unqualified drivers which resulted in the horrifying deaths of six children. I don't forgive his responsibility for the corruption on his watch that led to those deaths, but I think he got a lesson from it on death and responsibility and became a different man. That should be respected just as should punishment for his previous wrongdoing. Americans must learn that our death penalty makes us criminal justice pariahs throughout the world.

**Anti-Death Penalty activist
Chicago**

I thought you would like to know the kind of discussion raised in Germany by Governor Ryan's lifting of over 160 death sentences on the last day of his governorship. The most widely read regional newspaper, *Koelner Stadt-Anzeiger*, began its report with his statement "now I can sleep again comfortably." After detailing the spectacular miscarriages of justice, extorted confessions and sentencing of innocent people that had led to worldwide protests, the paper described the "lonely/personal as well as controversial" way Ryan had "drawn the final curtain of this dark chapter" this way: "That the Governor, from now on, can rest quietly has got to do not only with his pardoning of those on death row, but also with the fact that he is going to leave his office and end his political career." The next day the paper carried three long articles about capital punishment in the U.S. and in the individual states, including a large nationwide map. The great attention the event received was echoed in papers all over Europe.

**Correspondent
Germany**

Governor Ryan is the first governor to commute so many on Death Row at one time. The question that remains is

whether any other governor will be willing to do the same.

**N.T.
Chicago**

The five teenagers convicted of the Central Park violence 13 years ago were finally found innocent and that event does not stand alone. Philadelphia had a similar case wherein five Puerto Rican teenagers were convicted in a case where a young man was found in a fountain near the art museum and his girl friend was found unconscious. At the time, efforts were being made to gentrify the largely Latino community and the incident was exploited by real estate developers and the District Attorney, Arlen Specter. At the court hearing for the five youth, their families and neighbors believed they were to be released but the judge set a distant date for another "hearing" and it took several more "postponements" before they were quietly released. The now-Senator Specter had to have known the case was a frame-up. One of the boys was even in a hospital at the time of the incident. The formerly Latino neighborhood is now completely gentrified, and Senator Specter's record as a DA was never publicly questioned.

**H.L.
Philadelphia**

RAMONA AFRICA IN CHICAGO

Ramona Africa, the sole survivor of the Philadelphia police's attack on the MOVE headquarters in Philadelphia in 1985, was imprisoned for seven years. She has been a tireless fighter for the rights of political prisoners, particularly those of the MOVE 9, who were wrongfully convicted in 1978 of murdering a police officer, and Mumia Abu-Jamal, wrongfully convicted of shooting a policeman in 1982.

Then-Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Ridge, now Director of the Office of Homeland Security, achieved acclaim among conservatives by persecuting MOVE as well as Mumia, who ended up on Death Row.

In Chicago, Ramona Africa will speak: **Monday, Feb. 10, 2003, 6:30 p.m.**
News & Letters Library, 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440, Chicago (Loop)
Call 312 236 0799

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

BOOKS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

- NEW!** *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx* by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$24.95
- Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today* 2000 edition. Foreword by Joel Kovel.....\$24.95
- NEW!** *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* 30th Anniversary issue, 2003.....\$20 until April (\$24.95 after)
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* 1991 edition. New author's introduction. Foreword by Adrienne Rich.....\$12.95
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* (1996 edition).....\$15.95
- The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: Selected Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya*.....\$8.50
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya* Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes".....\$3 paperback, \$10 hardcover

By CHARLES DENBY

- Indignant Heart. A Black Worker's Journal* 1989 edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$14.95

By KEVIN ANDERSON

- Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study* First full-length treatment of Lenin's studies of Hegel....\$15.95

PAMPHLETS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard* Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa" by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby.....\$2

- Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western 'Civilization'* (Expanded edition).....\$5
- NEW!** *Explorations in Dialectical and Critical Theory* From Hegel to Derrida and from Marx to Mészáros.....\$5
- Kosova: Writings from News & Letters* 1998-1999.....\$3.50
- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis* Includes critiques of Ernest Mandel and Tony Cliff.....\$2
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.* by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$2
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.: A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments* by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$1.50
- Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II* by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$2
- Theory and Practice, by Rosa Luxemburg* First English translation.....\$2
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$1.25
- Voices from within the Prison Walls* by D. A. Sheldon. Prisoners' views of (in)justice system and organizing from within.....\$8
For pamphlet plus donor copy for a prisoner.....\$16
- The Revolutionary Journalism of Felix Martin (Isaac Woods)*.....\$8
- Working Women for Freedom* by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan, and Mary Holmes.....\$2
- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya*.....\$2
- News and Letters Committees Constitution*.....\$37¢ postage

- Marxist-Humanist Literature Catalog for 2000-01* A full list of publications (includes many not listed here) available from News and Letters Committees.....60¢ postage

ARCHIVES

- Guides to Collection and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of Its World Development* Full description of 15,000-page microfilm collection.....\$4.50
- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection-Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of Its World Development* A 15,000-page microfilm collection on 8 reels available from Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202.....\$165

NEWSPAPER

- News & Letters subscription* Unique combination of worker and intellectual published 10 times a year. (Request information about gift subscriptions).....\$5/year
- Bound Volumes of News & Letters* 1970-77, 1977-84, 1984-87, 1987-94, 1994-99.....\$30 each
N&L is also available on microfilm from Pro Quest, 300 Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106. *N&L* as well as other Marxist-Humanist literature is available on audio tape.

Mail orders to:

News & Letters, 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440, Chicago, IL 60603, Phone (312) 236-0799

Enclosed find \$_____ for the literature checked. Please add \$2 postage for each pamphlet, \$4 postage for books. Illinois residents add 7% sales tax.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Email Address _____

Bush declares state of war as the state of the union

The massive protests that marked the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday weekend provided an undeniable picture of the forces contending for the minds of humanity against the drive for war that has consumed George Bush ever since he announced his intentions to wage permanent war in his "axis of evil" State of the Union message a year ago.

What is unprecedented is that the rapidly growing and diverse anti-war movement is taking place **before** Bush has dropped the first bomb. This movement will have to face its own contradictions to see where we will go from here. At the same time, this critical moment demands that we look at three other battlefields, in particular, where the forces for freedom are contending for our minds and reveal the true state of the union in 2003.

VICTORY FOR PRISONERS

Nothing more dramatically reveals the depth of the uprooting needed to achieve a new human world today than the storm released by the historic act George Ryan performed in his last days as governor of Illinois when he commuted the sentences of 164 men and 3 women on Death Row. The day before he had granted full pardons to four other men, who thereby joined 13 others who had been found innocent of the crimes they were charged with.

Among those 13 was Anthony Porter who was only 48 hours before he was to be executed, thanks to evidence discovered by journalism students at Northwestern University. While it is important to see that Gov. Ryan's act did not come out of the blue but out of the hard and persistent efforts of a growing prisoner support movement nationwide, it is equally important to make sure that it opens wide a national debate on the entire criminal injustice system.

None are more determined to see that this takes place than those who have been freed. As one of the four, Madison Hobley, put it at a meeting to celebrate their freedom, "Now I'm on a mission."

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS ROLLED BACK

The mission George Bush has been carrying out is the very opposite: fighting against the most basic of our freedoms. As we mark the 30th anniversary of the momentous Supreme Court ruling that established a woman's right to make her own decisions about bearing a child, we can see that Bush's mission from the beginning of his presidency, in tandem with the Christian Coalition, has been to scuttle that right.

He has pursued his goal through two years of anti-choice, anti-woman executive orders and legal briefs

We came, they ran!

Chicago—The first Police Board meeting of the year was held Jan. 9. President Demetrius Carney called the meeting to order and said, "I will call all those who called to speak." Mr. Larry Marshall, with family members standing beside him, gave a moving speech for his 11-year-old granddaughter beaten by three white male police officers.

Then, like a hurricane, around 30 brothers and sisters from the Chicago Public Housing complexes came in, not waiting to be called on to speak. The procedure is that one must call before 4:30 pm the day before. The brothers stated that they "wanted the procedure in writing." The Police Board didn't have it in writing.

So the brothers said they were "going to speak anyway tonight." President Carney and the rest of the Police Board members began to shake. They adjourned the meeting. The entire Police Board and Superintendent Terry G. Hillard ran out through the back door. But the brothers and sisters from the Public Housing complexes spoke, as well as anyone else who wanted to, for more than 40 minutes.

You must remember this: it occurred at the Chicago Police Headquarters. When Superintendent Hillard and the Police Board members ran out of there, there were more than 30 police officers in and around the room before they called for their backup.

That happened Thursday. Friday Governor George Ryan pardoned four men. Saturday Ryan gave clemency to 160-plus. What a way to start a new year.

—George Wilfrid Smith Jr.

that have made increasingly inaccessible not only obtaining an abortion but even information about contraceptives, including "disappearing" such information from federal government websites.

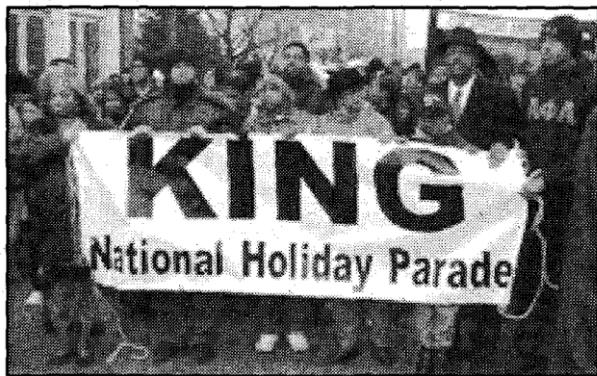
We saw the extremes to which Bush would go on his very first day in office when he imposed a "gag" rule that barred health providers anywhere in the world who receive American funds from providing abortion services or even talking to a woman about abortion. It has succeeded in disastrously crippling international family planning and other programs that could advance reproductive health and combat HIV and AIDS.

RACIST TO THE CORE

As for the question of race, nothing better captures the state of the union than the way Trent Lott felt so comfortable as majority leader of the Senate with his racist longing for a return to the good old days when Strom Thurmond ruled and segregation was the law of the land that his nostalgia strangled him.

How little Bush's critique of Lott meant was clear from the speed with which he nominated Charles Pickering, whose record is every bit as racist, to the Court of

King march for peace



News & Letters/Terry Moon

Memphis, Tenn.—The annual Martin Luther King Jr. Day Parade was decidedly anti-war this year as over 500 marched through downtown singing freedom songs and carrying pictures of King and signs for peace. At this overwhelmingly African-American march, speakers at the rally spoke against Bush's war plans. Marchers eagerly took leaflets headlined "Protest the War Against Iraq." —Participant

Chicago mayoral race

Chicago—Rev. Paul Jakes, chairman of the Greater Chicago Committee Against Police Brutality, has worked on behalf of victims of police brutality. He spoke to *News & Letters* about his challenge to Richard M. Daley in the mayoral election. In his campaign, Jakes is highlighting the plight of ex-offenders. If elected, he plans to issue an executive order banning discrimination against ex-offenders in employment.

Given the extraordinary extent of incarceration of African Americans and Latinos in Chicago and the U.S., many of whom are convicted of "crimes" stemming from poverty, unemployment, homelessness, and just being Black or Latino, and many of whom are convicted though innocent of any crime, this is an issue affecting not only ex-offenders but the socio-economic structure of Chicago as a whole. In relation to this, Jakes made it clear that he is strongly pro-labor and pro-labor union. He stated he "would never cross a picket line" and that all workers and employees "should be union members."

Jakes says that the media and Chicago politicians have given Daley a "free ride." Despite some recent articles criticizing him, for example a lengthy article, "The Case Against Daley" by Steve Rhodes in *Chicago* magazine (Dec. 2002), for the most part the media and politicians have refrained from asking Daley hard questions about his failure, and the federal government's failure, to serve all of the people of Chicago.

Jakes pointed out that, "There are tens of millions of dollars that are being used for military equipment and no plans to help with the homeless or hungry. In Chicago, there are 166,000 homeless. Presently a very small percentage of federal education dollars is given to the Chicago Public Schools."

—Marilyn Nissim-Sabat

Appeals. Yet all that pales in the face of the decision Bush announced, a few weeks after the Lott incident, to join in the attack on the University of Michigan's affirmative action program in the Supreme Court—daring to present his racist brief as a "defense of diversity" and choosing Jan. 15, Martin Luther King's birthday to make his announcement.

While Bush's brief stops short of claiming affirmative action is unconstitutional, its direction, if he wins, would force colleges and universities across the nation to abandon their current policies and adopt a so-called "race-neutral" position.

WIDENING WAR ON THE POOR

Not content with all these wars against the American people, Bush has rushed to define the opposition he sees arising to his plans for us as nothing less than "class war." That was the charge hurled when the first voices of protest were raised against the so-called "economic stimulus" package he presented in Chicago when he tried to make his proposal to eliminate taxes on corporate dividends—which will benefit the top 1%—sound as though it was an anti-poverty program for the elderly.

Given that tax relief for the wealthy is the centerpiece of his proposed solution to the dismal economic situation confronting us—with the unemployment rate at an eight year high; all the states of the union facing their deepest deficits in 50 years and 11 of them considering such drastic cuts in Medicaid for the poor that no less than a million more face losing their health insurance—it seems clear that deepening and widening his war on the poor is exactly the "class war" Bush has in mind.

The past two years have revealed that the permanent war he declared when he moved into the White House on a stolen election is a war he has been waging both at home and abroad. It demands from us the kind of total uprooting that will be inseparable from the creation of a world based on totally new human foundations.

BLACK/RED VIEW

(Continued from page 1)

that the struggle against racism takes various forms, like today making affirmative action "race neutral."

The way the present appropriates history is also shown in the Trent Lott affair. Senator Trent Lott, at Strom Thurmond's 100th birthday party, boasted that his state voted for Thurmond for president in 1948. "We're proud of it. And if the rest of the country had followed our lead, we wouldn't have had all these problems over all these years, either."

Now, "all these problems" Lott alluded to is nothing less than the unfoldment of a new period in African-American mass action against legalized segregation and racism. Elements of this began to appear in the 1930s, in the middle of the Depression. Factories were shut down. More than 12 million people were jobless. Homelessness and poverty was destroying the lives of untold thousands of people.

TRENT LOTT'S BAD OLD DAYS

African Americans, North and South, began to challenge the oppressive post-Reconstruction South loved by Lott and Thurmond. In 1954 legal segregation was abolished by the Supreme Court, in *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*. In 1956, 101 congressmen, including Strom Thurmond, all from formerly Confederate states, signed the "Southern Manifesto" denouncing the Brown decision. Meanwhile the Montgomery bus boycott put an end to segregation on public transportation.

Today, 140 years after the Emancipation Proclamation we still find prominent politicians who think Jefferson Davis is a great person with a statue to him in Montgomery, Ala. Davis was president of the Confederacy, and those who want a statue to him are opposed to memorializing the Civil Rights Movements.

The Trent Lott affair made clear that the face of retrogression is not always the same. After all, it was the reactionaries who drove Lott out, not the liberals. We saw Lott apologize many times, even saying on BET that affirmative action has a place. That is when the Right knew they had to get rid of him. The Right would like to appropriate Dr. King but they want to turn his expression "judge not by the color of the skin but by the content of the character" into its opposite. For King it meant an opening of opportunities for African Americans. For Bush it means an end to affirmative action.

Rethinking revolution

(Continued from page 5)

This is what we have been missing since Marx's death and explains why so many have failed to project a path to liberation that goes beyond the capture of state power. What is needed is neither to focus everything on seizing state power nor to leave the question of the state aside. What our generation needs is a concept of what happens **after** the revolution, what kind of human relations must be created at work, between men and woman, between the races, and in society as a whole, in order for capital to be transcended.

To grapple with this entails probing deeply into the concept of absolute negativity as new beginning. Though Holloway's work falls short of this, it raises many questions which can aid the effort of doing so in this year of our newest work, *The Power of Negativity*.

Special offer for Black History Month

The Revolutionary Journalism of Felix Martin
(Isaac Woods)
\$8.00



Indignant Heart: A Black Workers' Journal
by Charles Denby
\$14.95

Two great books by two worker-thinkers...\$23.00 with shipping free (a \$29.00 value)

Illinois Death Row pardons highlight system of injustice

Ruth Pena was born and raised in Puerto Rico and immigrated to Chicago in 1975. She became active in the movement to free the wrongfully convicted when her brother, Angel Rodriguez, was framed by Chicago police in 1998 and sentenced to 60 years in prison. In 1999, she co-founded the Comité Exigimos Justicia ('We Demand Justice' Committee). Angel's case was overturned in March 2000. Ruth has continued to struggle on behalf of the wrongfully convicted. She was interviewed by Jason Wallach for *News & Letters*. —Editor

Comité Exigimos Justicia (CEJ) began in April of 1999 with three family members of people who had been wrongfully convicted. At the time, we thought it was just coincidence that there were three people that had been wrongfully convicted, but as we began to look at the cases, we saw that it was a systemic problem. And that was further documented when we learned that in the three cases it was the same detective, same tactics.

What is amazing is that all these people have been convicted when, for each, no physical evidence linking the accused to the crime was ever produced; just the testimony of the detective who claims that investigators get their information through an informant or a phantom call, and eventually someone comes forth with "eyewitness" testimony. Documentation has proven that eyewitness testimony is unreliable, especially in violent crimes.

Governor Ryan's pardon of four wrongfully

Venezuelan crisis

The so-called "civic strike" carried out by Venezuela's elite since Dec. 2, which had paralyzed the all-important state oil monopoly PDVSA, has had a devastating impact on the country, without bringing about its intended result of forcing Hugo Chavez from power.

By the end of January both the opposition and Chavez asserted that oil output had risen to about 500,000 barrels a day (bpd), only 20% of normal output, after having fallen to 35,000 bpd the month before.

None of these figures however are certain: PDVSA, which up until two months ago was a world class producer of crude, is in shambles. Two thousand upper and mid-level employees have been fired by Chavez; its main computer system isn't functioning, and it's unknown how long it will take to get many oil fields producing again.

At one point in December, 13 of its 21 tankers were anchored by their captains in support of the strike until they were boarded by the National Guard. Venezuela's finance minister Tobias Nobrega has already changed his forecast for the country's growth in 2003 from 3.7% to 0%. The currency, the bolivar, has supposedly lost a third of its value since the strike began, and shortages of food and basic consumer goods are becoming more serious.

This is occurring despite the fact that the poor, who make up 80% of the population of 24 million, have opposed the strike, marched in support of Chavez, and engaged in pitched battles in the streets with middle and upper class opponents that have left several dead and many dozens wounded.

Despite the suffering the strike has caused, initiated by the elite with the sole aim of forcing out a popularly elected president they despise, the Bush administration is again maneuvering to lend them a hand. Having suffered the embarrassment in April last year of supporting a doomed coup, hardly a peep came from Washington in the first 11 days of the strike.

Then, apparently no longer able to keep quiet, it was declared that the best thing for Venezuela would be early elections, which is exactly what the opposition wants. Two days later they were backpeddling when it was pointed out that not a single country in the hemisphere supports removing Chavez if it means subverting the constitution.

The solution? As of the third week of January, the U.S. began pushing for a constitutional amendment in order to provide for elections. The fact that a tiny minority in Venezuela could care less if they destroy their own country in their mad rush to oust Chavez, coupled with the U.S. trying to find a way to help them, has many leftists calling for his support. Hugo Chavez is supposed to represent, after all, a point man in the "leftist resurgence" taking place in Latin America.

A key question, however, has been left out of most discussions of the crisis: how could it be that just eight months after hundreds of thousands of the poor came into the streets in April last year to reinstall Chavez two days after the coup, the opposition feels that they can now disregard that power? Do they sense that the support for Chavez is little more than skin deep?

There is indeed a gulf that separates Chavez from the poor. Despite the fact that many demonstrations in support of him have taken place since the strike began, most are organized by the government.

The most radical pro-Chavez organizational form that exists are the so-called "Bolivarian circles," neighborhood groups of 10 to 12 people formed to petition the government for scarce funds. These too are organized by the government. The "general guidelines" that direct their formation even state clearly that "the supreme leader of the circulos bolivarianos will be the President of the Republic." Under these circumstances it's not hard to see where Chavez's opponents get their confidence.

—Mitch Weerth

convicted men [Aaron Patterson, Madison Hobley, Leroy Orange and Stanley Howard] and commuting the sentences of 167 people on Death Row mean that people have realized that the system is broken. Not only has he commuted the sentences, but he has pretty much attacked the entire judicial system in Chicago. Four people were pardoned. Three people were given 40 years and the rest were commuted to life in prison. I think that it opened the doors for a lot of people because the community is outraged that it is not just one case, but that we have a systemic problem.

We worked with other organizations in influencing Ryan's decision. One organization alone may set up a strategy, but it takes a lot of different people to make these wrongful convictions known. There's a lot of solidarity.

We played a big role in getting the Mexican consulate involved in the cases of the Mexican nationals. Two of them were involved in cases investigated by Detective Guevara. Mario Flores [one of the Death Row inmates whose sentence was commuted to 40 years—ed.] was not aware that Guevara was involved in other cases until CEJ contacted him. He, in turn, contacted his attorney Leonard Goodman who researched Guevara. He documented that Guevara is a rogue cop who does whatever is needed to close a case—and in the process has been promoted several times. Many cases have been reversed, revealing Guevara's games.

If the prosecutors that fabricate or hide evidence in order to get a conviction are not held accountable, then there is nothing that is going to stop them. The same thing with the detectives. Nothing will ever stop until their jobs are on the line. Right now, we don't have people on Death Row. And nothing has changed except that the people who were on Death Row are no longer there. The system itself has not changed.



Aaron Patterson speaks out for those unjustly convicted, within hours of his pardon and release from Illinois' Death Row.

The movement in support of the wrongfully convicted needs to strategize now to see that something is done to hold [prosecutors and detectives] accountable—that there is some legislation. This is a great time to work at it because people have a lot of energy. It has given a lot of hope for the people who thought that there was no hope. The fight hasn't started. It is just a little crack open so that we can continue the struggle.

Let's not forget the prosecutors because a lot of times people shouldn't be arrested, but once they are, the prosecutors come in and work with the detectives. In some of these cases, the accused doesn't know how to speak English, and the interrogation will have no translator. Often the accused doesn't know what he is signing. So it's not just the cops. It's also the prosecutors—they go hand in hand. Of course, there are judges involved, and there are prosecutors who end up getting promoted because of their conviction records. It is the system, the entire system.

You shouldn't have to go through all this red tape to ask the governor to pardon you for something you didn't do in the first place.

One of the people that we need to hold accountable is Mayor Richard Daley. He was the prosecutor on the Death Row [Ten] cases. He hid information that [former Area 2 Chief

Detective Jon] Burge terrorized and tortured people. The prosecutor, the state's attorney's office knew what was going on. They either looked the other way or cooperated. There's no way that you can walk into a room where somebody's just been tortured and not be able to tell that something happened.

[Current State's Attorney] Dick Devine was Daley's assistant. It has taken over ten years to document [what happened] and these people [in power] are putting holds on [the investigations]. How could you expect the truth to come out when the people who were responsible are now on top trying to quiet everything down? If these people are out of the way, we could open up a lot more cases. People need to organize. Write letters if you need to, but unite, organize and protest!

Gujarat elections, ominous sign for India

India—In what is perhaps one of the darkest chapters of Indian history, the Bharatiya Janata party (BJP), led by Narendra Modi, the man many are calling India's Slobodan Milosevic, resumed its seat of power in the state of Gujarat.

The BJP's campaign shamelessly fanned the flames of hatred and violence in the wake of the vicious pogrom against Muslims in which 2,000 were brutally massacred in retaliation for the attack on Hindu pilgrims last February that killed 57.

The fact that the BJP won a clear majority of parliamentary seats in Gujarat gives unprecedented strength to the bloody Hindutva (Hindu supremacist) movement in India. This victory comes as a major setback to human rights activists who have worked ceaselessly to expose the complicity of Narendra Modi and his state apparatus in the ethnic cleansing of Gujarati Muslims.

The great tragedy is that the main opposition party, the Congress, ignored these findings and instead campaigned against the BJP on a "soft Hindutva" platform—this in the state that is the birthplace of Mahatma Gandhi, whose legacy of compassion and tolerance has been much maligned by Hindutva's followers. Furthermore, the left and center parties failed to work out a unified platform, leaving an ideological void easily filled by the politics of hate.

There are serious economic issues at the center of Gujarat's crisis. Since the 1980s, Gujarat has experienced a large-scale deindustrialization, leaving in its wake a destitute population. Tension has heightened between Dalit and Muslim populations, both at the lowest rungs of society. The BJP has made use of these tensions, while left and center parties have ignored them.

The BJP, which also rules the national coalition government in Delhi, has done everything it can to intensify the nuclear conflict with Pakistan. Most recently, in response to President Musharraf's chilling revelation that Pakistan was "ready" for an "unconventional war" in its latest 10-month stand-off with India, the Indian government set up a Nuclear Command Authority to push forward its own nuclear program.

Gujarat is the BJP's first electoral victory since 1998. It suffered a set of devastating losses in state elections last year. Now, the leaders of the BJP see Gujarat as a mandate to use violence against and open scapegoating of Muslims and minorities as a campaign tactic for several upcoming state elections and the national elections scheduled for late 2004. At their most recent National Executive meeting, they called the Gujarat victory "a turning point in India's history." They know what Gujarat means. When will we?

There are still many commentators in India who talk complacently of the strength of India's democracy.

Meanwhile, the Hindutva movement has surreptitiously and quietly infiltrated all levels of civil society, especially the schools, creating for itself a material and ideological base, rooted in an insecure middle class.

Most recently, Narendra Modi's visit to Mumbai (Bombay) was met by a protest of women, artists, and other activists who issued this statement: "Dressed in black, we denounce the opportunistic misuse of [the] electoral processes and mourn the tragic loss of our democracy. Each time we are supportive or silent in the face of any oppression and discrimination of any minority (based on class, caste, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, health status and ability) we ally ourselves with the likes of Modi, Sharon, Bush and Hitler."

—Maya Jhansi

Achehnese wary of peace pact

Acheh, Indonesia—Under international pressure, a peace accord was signed Dec. 9 between the Indonesian government and the separatist guerrilla movement, the Free Acheh Movement (GAM). To date, the peace pact has reduced the government's widespread killing of combatants and civilians, but it is too early to tell whether there will really be peace, whether the military will withdraw from its long history of repression, killing and terrorizing the population of Acheh, which overwhelmingly desires independence. The whole procedure may yet prove to be a ruse to disarm GAM.

Nevertheless, the population is happy at the prospect of peace. People are less afraid to come out at night, and even came out to demonstrations.

However, on Jan. 9, thousands of villagers from East Acheh and North Acheh started to go to the city of Lhokseumawe to join a peace demonstration to show support for the cessation of hostilities. Unfortunately, many of them did not arrive because they were blocked by Indonesian security forces who shot and injured at least 20 villagers.

The rally was organized by the Forum Rakyat, Perempuan Merdeka, Solidaritas Pemuda Acheh and several other organizations. Cut Farrah, the coordinator, said that up to 3,000 people were assaulted. However, she said, the number of people who attended the rally was far greater than those prevented from reaching their destination.

Speakers at the rally, which was attended by about 5,000 people, called on the two parties to the agreement to honor its content.

—Compiled by Anne Jaclard

INS detentions a betrayal of democracy

Los Angeles—A large crowd of Iranian-Americans and immigrants gathered Dec. 19 at West Los Angeles's Federal Building to protest the round-up of Iranian immigrants voluntarily registering at the INS. As this country draws closer to the darkness of a tightly controlled police state, men and boys (as young as 16) from a few Middle Eastern countries such as Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, and Afghanistan were to register with the Immigration and Naturalization Service by a little known deadline of Dec. 15.

During this process over 100 were arrested in Los Angeles alone due to alleged visa violations, some arising because of INS's own screw-ups. This came as a shock to many, especially recent immigrants who left Iran to breathe a little easier, themselves with a hundred others spending nights on the cold floors of jails.

As their heart-felt stories broke out on the Persian-language station KIRN 670AM, and were aired on Farhang Holakouhi's popular talk show, the detentions offended many Iranians, non-Iranian immigrants and Americans, outraged by Ashcroft's America, and propelled them to come out and protest.

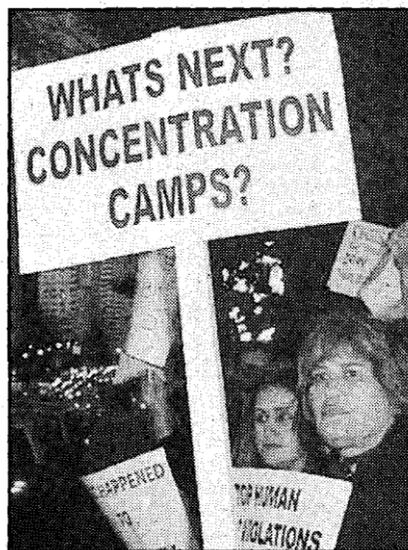
This rally was different because of its short notice and the role of independent forces that helped organize it. The crowd, estimated around 3,000, came from all walks of life and included young and old. They gathered despite media channels looking the other way, particularly the satellite TV stations that usually beam anti-Iranian regime programs. This coincided with the ongoing student movement in Iran demanding freedom from theocracy and release of a university professor condemned to death by the Iranian clerical establishment.

Common sense logic would have it wrong to arrest voluntarily registering immigrants under the pretext of

anti-terrorist policies. And there is no evidence that terrorism from people of Iranian descent (or for that matter, Iraqi, Syrian, Sudanese, Afghan, or North Korean) is any greater than from native-born Americans. Besides, Iran is the only country in the Middle East that had spontaneous candlelight vigils immediately following the September 11, 2001 attacks.

There were signs demanding release of loved sons and fathers arrested by the INS. This is a reminder that the powers have turned this "republic" into an empire that has long betrayed the Jeffersonian ideals of American democracy, proving once again a point made by Karl Marx that the bourgeoisie betrays its own revolution. The American revolution is no different.

The rally evoked heated political debate. The old fossils of the Iranian right wing based in L.A. all condemn it since they view it as an embarrassment to the Bush administration and a diversion from anti-Iranian regime propaganda vital to their TV programs beaming to Iran. At the same time, the action got coverage from the Iranian state-sponsored media outlets, depicting mis-



treatment of Iranians by the U.S. government.

However because of the universal issues raised by this rally, touching on the very nature of the society we would be living in the future, and the sheer size, passion, and organization of the rally, coverage in the local media and CNN was not as polluted with the usual clips of the hostage crisis mixed in as if history started and ended in 1979, or as if the Middle East is just a breeding ground for terrorism. To the Iranian community, long subjected to negative portrayals, this was a breath of fresh air.

George W. Bush, in a Voice of America broadcast addressed to the Iranian nation, sided with its struggle for "freedom and democracy" and requested the un-elected Iranian leaders to yield to the will of people. At the same time, he views Iran as part of an "axis of evil," and the INS, a part of the Department of Homeland Security, arrests innocent Iranian immigrants and students. These are utterances and actions by the head of a corrupt and compromised American democracy voted in by a minority and selected by the Supreme Court.

We have arrived at guilt by national origin or ethnicity, when having a certain look, name, or accent is cause for suspicion and punished by this system.

At this moment in time and despite all the impressive advancement in science, technology, and culture, this retrogressive period makes defense of basic human dignities an important cause and the road to the new society. The process of globalization makes issues of ethnicity, national origin, and hence immigration an issue for human dignity.

—Mansour

Iraq, North Korea crises test the anti-war movement

(Continued from page 1)

dia nuclear laboratories provided training for Iraqi nuclear scientists. Of major industrial countries, only Germany had more business ties to the Iraqi regime.

FULL CIRCLE FROM THE FIRST GULF WAR

This support for Iraq's totalitarian police state was no accident, but the recognition of a deep affinity that became even clearer after the end of the Gulf War of 1991. The recent PBS "Frontline" documentary on the Gulf War of 1991 graphically illustrated this. First, the utter defeat of the Iraqi military, including mass desertions by the conscripted troops who had no wish to fight for Hussein's regime to begin with. Then the jubilation in the streets of Southern Iraq as the oppressed Shia population rose up in rebellion, joined by thousands of army deserters.

The U.S. military held back and allowed them to be slaughtered. This was repeated in Northern Iraq in the Kurdish rebellion that sacked the regime's torture centers. Saddam Hussein's loyal military was allowed to attack the Kurdish cities, which had experienced the "weapons of mass destruction," specifically poison gas that killed thousands of Kurds at Halabja during the Iraq-Iran War. Meanwhile President George Bush distracted himself with victory celebrations.

These events form a pattern that has repeated itself with variations since then. As the January-February 1993 Editorial in *News & Letters* stated: "Like Stalin, who stood outside the gates of Warsaw in 1944 while Hitler slaughtered a mass uprising, U.S. imperialism manages to come to the aid of suffering peoples only after they have been decimated by the forces arrayed against them. The 'benign imperialism' offers humanity its 'freedom' only on the day of its burial." (This was reprinted in the *News & Letters* pamphlet *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western Civilization*.)

Debate over this has emerged within the 'peace movement over responses to Bosnia, Kosova, Haiti, Rwanda, Somalia, East Timor. In retrospect it should have been obvious that it was bound to be a central debate with the rise of the U.S. as the sole superpower following the collapse of Russian Communism.

In 1991 there was talk in sections of the Left about the CIA orchestrating the anti-Hussein intifada. This was completely false. The truly lower and deeper opposition to Saddam Hussein will be found now as then among the exploited workers, like those who formed shuras, or workers' councils, during the 1991 intifada, and the Iraqi women who are subjected to ever more restrictive legal codes as Saddam courts the Islamists in the Middle East.

ARRAY OF OPPONENTS

The Iraqi opposition in fact includes the vast majority of people in Iraq. It cuts across the political spectrum from monarchists to Communists, including some critical of state-capitalism. The major pro-U.S. grouping is the Iraqi National Congress. Originally founded in 1992, it was at first more broadly based than now, and it includes a number of groups including the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan; the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, a Shia group; and other groupings as well as independents.

This is the "official" opposition as recognized by the U.S. Iraq Liberation Act of 1998. A meeting is planned, to be held in Iraqi Kurdistan, to name an Iraqi government-in-exile. Even in this group's debates most oppose

a U.S. military government for Iraq, calling instead for some type of democracy. The Iraqi writer Kanan Makiya, now associated with the INC but who has written some of the most important works on the current regime, has said that there is only a 5-10% chance that U.S. military action could bring democracy to Iraq.

A different coalition, the Iraqi National Forces, consists of groups that oppose both a U.S. invasion and the present regime. The INF formed in 2002 with the aim of deposing Saddam Hussein without outside intervention. It includes the Iraqi Communist Party, the Islamic Al Dawah Party (whose forces have previously attacked U.S. military bases, including the 1983 bombing of marines in Lebanon), the Syrian-aligned Baathists, various Nasserite Arab Socialist groups and ethnic minority groups. Still, the INF doesn't necessarily criticize the groups who are willing to work with the U.S. The Worker-Communist Party of Iraq, followers of Mansour Hekmat, do criticize the idea of working with the U.S.

Iraq is a relatively large country with a broad political spectrum. It seems elementary that the next step for the broad anti-war movement here is to bring the views of the Iraqi opposition into its deliberations. As history has proven, that opposition doesn't have the same interests as George W. Bush.

NUCLEAR WAR THREAT IN KOREA

The "axis of evil" that Bush announced was an example of his foolishness, and it has blown up in his face. In an effort to disengage himself from the Clinton administration's policy with regard to Iran, Bush's attack on the moderate Khatami was a gift to the right-wing clerics. It was a way to take the pressure off themselves.

Bush's truly heedless actions toward North Korea have threatened the world most. His belligerent language has angered people in South Korea and accomplished the seemingly impossible: it has bolstered the regime of Kim Jong Il, perhaps the purest totalitarianism that exists today, as well as a miserable, bankrupt, and slowly dying regime before now.

Bush's foolish approach was bound to backfire. First, it would cost South Korea an estimated \$500 billion over the first ten years to absorb the North's failed economy in the event of the regime's downfall, a price that dwarfs the unification of Germany. The South Korean bourgeoisie is not anxious to put up this kind of money.

Even more importantly, Bush's rhetoric conjures a vision of nuclear war that is truly terrifying because it could so easily happen. Any kind of war there would assure the destruction of North Korea itself, of Seoul, South Korea, and of a large part of the 37,000-person U.S. force stationed in South Korea. A nuclear war would be far worse. Kim Jong Il's ideological mentor, Hwang Chang Yop, who defected to the South, spoke of contingency plans for "torching Japan" with nuclear weapons in the event of war.

Bush's rhetoric played right into the hands of Kim Jong Il's dying ideology, "Juche," or "self-reliance," which was never a form of Marxism as it claimed (Marx's works essentially are forbidden there) or self-reliance at all. Rather it was a philosophy created to bolster the fortunes of the North Korean ruling class, the Kim dynasty, as it maneuvered within a world in which state-capitalist rulers competed for single-world mastery, whether as the "socialist camp" against the "imperialist camp" or as the rivalry of Russia and China for domination of world Communism.

This has come down in the last decade to the cult of Kim Jong Il as a kind of earthly deity. Meanwhile North Korea is so far from "self-reliant" as to be dependent on

food aid from South Korea, China, the UN, the Red Cross and Christian WorldVision.

The situation in North Korea speaks to current debates in the anti-war movement as well. Groups like the International Action Center, which can correctly denounce the genocidal sanctions on Iraq, have no problem embracing the regime in North Korea, although up to two million North Koreans have been cruelly starved to death by this regime over the last decade. This while Kim reserved food supplies for his military and government officials, as well as for Petronian feasts and spectacles held for visiting Western leftists. An estimated 25% of North Korean children are malnourished to the point of being damaged for life, while Kim spends 25% of the Gross National Product on the military and perhaps another 9% on statue-building and other manifestations of his cultish rule.

WHICH WAY FORWARD?

The effect the anti-war movement has had on slowing the pace of Bush's war drive, and of forcing him into positions he doesn't want, has been a great achievement in itself. It has taken away the sense that we must inevitably accept U.S. imperialism's drive for permanent war overseas and increased repression at home.

To go further requires going beyond simply stating what we are against, no matter how passionately, not to mention avoiding the grosser trap of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." With the experience of Bosnia, Kosova, and East Timor in mind, historian Michael Berube has suggested a formula of an anti-war movement that "would base those arguments [against war] on an appeal to internationalism, rather than on appeals to national sovereignty" (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 11/29/02).

Current discussions in left journals from *The Progressive* to *The Fifth Estate* show that many anti-war activists are beginning to search for and create a new language that could speak to people within Iraq.

The anti-war movement that has emerged in the current situation is still new, still finding its voice, as a movement akin to the anti-globalization movement that arose in Seattle. It carries within it the new experiences of the last ten years, of debates that have done much to clarify the importance of internationalism. What the movement hasn't accomplished yet is the difficult task of forging links with the forces inside Iraq that could uproot not only Saddam Hussein's regime, but also create the kind of new human relations that could open new pathways toward the future for all of us.

NEWS & LETTERS

Vol. 48, No. 1 JANUARY-FEBRUARY 2003

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published 10 times a year, monthly, except bi-monthly January-February and August-September for \$5.00 a year (bulk order or 5 or more, 25¢ each) by *News & Letters*, 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440, Chicago, IL 60603. Telephone (312) 236-0799. Fax (312) 236-0725. Periodical Class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *News & Letters*, 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440, Chicago, IL 60603. Articles may be reprinted verbatim if credited to "News & Letters."

Raya Dunayevskaya
Chairwoman, National Editorial Board (1955-1987)
Charles Denby
Editor (1955-1983)

Olga Domanski, Peter Wermuth, Co-National Organizers, *News and Letters* Committees. Jim Mills, Managing Editor. Felix Martin, Labor Editor (1983-1999).

News & Letters is printed in a union shop.

759-C

Protesters across the U.S. say 'No to war in Iraq!'

Washington, D.C. rally

The movement to stop a U.S. war on Iraq reached a new level of participation on Jan. 18, when hundreds of thousands marched and rallied in both Washington and San Francisco. Many more demonstrations were held in smaller cities across the U.S., and others took place around the world, from Europe to Russia and Japan.

On the coldest day of the winter, much of the Washington Mall was filled by the crowd. People came from all over the U.S., some from as far away as Montana. The demonstrators were enormously varied, including seasoned activists, church groups, community groups, students and children. People we talked with said they had braved the cold because they felt they had to stand up and be counted.

High school and college students stood out the most. Some there characterized the crowd as the 1960s activists getting together with a whole new generation of youth. On one bus from New York, several groups of 14-16 year olds came on their own. A group from Nassau Community College had stayed up the whole night before making signs. In Huntington, Long Island, high school students had their own demonstration of 300 the day before.

Filipinos, Koreans and solidarity friends joined forces to strongly project their opposition. Korean drummers led the Asian contingent followed by banners that spanned the street reading: "No to U.S. troops in the Philippines and Korea."

There were speeches by famous activists, politicians and actors, followed by a long march to the Navy Yard. The mood was enthusiastic and friendly. Many of the demonstrators had handmade signs that made their own statements. The banners were predominately anti-war and anti-Bush. Although the rally had been billed as a celebration of Martin Luther King Jr. Day as well as anti-war, African-American participation was small and the banners did not connect the issues.

Unfortunately, some of the informal discussion centered on how "bad" and "deluded" most of the American people are, at the very moment when the majority of Americans are showing themselves to be highly critical of the Bush administration. After these demonstrations, Bush can no longer claim that the country is behind his insane drive to war in Iraq; now people around the world know that the U.S. is deeply divided.

The question remains, what will happen if the war starts? Will this unusually large pre-war movement grow and deepen its challenge to the capitalist war-machine, or will it collapse? Many people expressed cynicism about the ability of even a large movement to influence Bush, and said they expect to be demonstrating for a long time.

—New York News and Letters local

Oakland teach-ins

The Oakland (Cal.) School District held district-wide teach-ins on the war, Jan. 14. It was the first school district in the country to do so. Several organizations were invited to make presentations, though none expressing pro-war views accepted the invitation.

Jasmine was one of the young presenters: I participated in the teach-in at Oakland High to spark the discussion, to find out what the kids thought, what the teachers thought.

I expected that the younger kids would not know much more than what was fed to them by the mass media. I was surprised. Everyone knew that the war is for oil. In fact, it was difficult to find anyone speaking for the war. There was one girl, from Bosnia, who was clearly very frustrated. Based on her experience she was convinced that having this discussion will not make a bit of difference, that the war will happen anyway.

The student leaders who helped organize the teach-in were very passionate and articulate. They were all

students of color—there are very few white students at Oakland High. They were trying to address apathy in the school and the focus of this society on material wealth.

A teacher, Cassie, recounted her memories of growing up in the segregated South, where she had to go to the back of the bus. She did not want to see those days come back.

One student said he would be enlisting. Since there really were no pro-war sentiments expressed, he was encouraged to speak about it. He said, "with the way life is in Oakland, I'll either get popped here, or I'll get popped there. It makes no difference and at least I'll get paid."

Jonah, an Oakland teacher commented: Amazing, amazing things happened throughout our district. I think many of us remembered why we became teachers, to change the world, to build a better future, to awaken a sleeping country of materialists and individualists, and help people see the beauty and power of community and working to make a better world.

I am so inspired by everyone I worked with and everything I learned. The most powerful moment of an

lapsed after the war started. A lot of people really feel isolated and came out to not feel alone, but they have no illusion that they are going to stop Bush through these marches alone.

—SF Bay Area N&L Committee

West Coast conference

The West Coast Student Anti-war Conference was held on Jan. 17 at San Francisco State University, while a similar conference was being held on the same day at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. Close to 30 schools from all over the West Coast, from San Diego to Washington, were represented by the more than 100 participants. Some represented organizations that were ongoing since the post-September 11 mobilizations. Others were just getting formed.

The discussion started with the question of "what are we here for? Is it solely for anti-war? Or are there other issues?" "Points of unity" were proposed, narrowed to two: 1) opposition to the war in Iraq, and 2) commitment to educate people against the war. Immediately voices were heard as to what is missing or inadequate in such "points of unity."

One participant said "we need to think big, because the other side definitely is. We need to be against war around the world, because other wars will come up." A Japanese-American woman pointed to the need to show solidarity with the foreign students, who are being subjected to much more oversight by the government. She compared it to the treatment of Japanese-Americans during WWII, and that many of them are now speaking out since very few spoke for them then. They paid a heavy price for society's silence in search for "security."

A man from the International Socialist Organization offered the opinion that "points of unity cannot be discussed now because it will take too much time to hash out all the points that have come up." He proposed that we quickly agree on the minimal two points originally proposed, so that we could move onto decisions we need to make.

The vote was taken and all amendments were voted down, incredibly, including solidarity with foreign students!

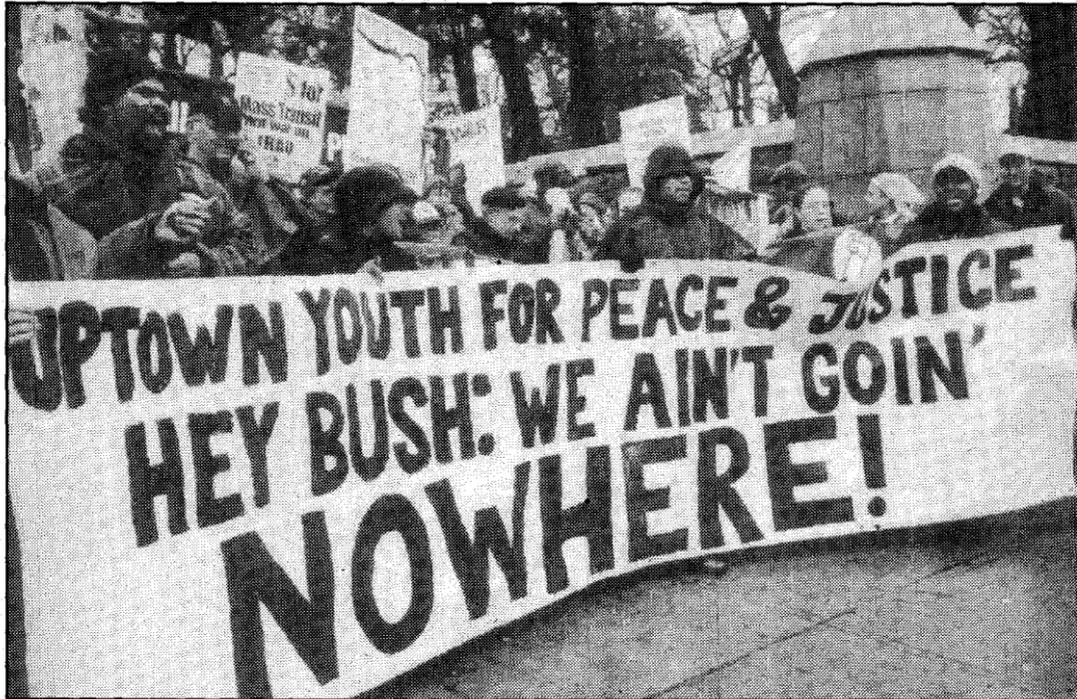
So what were the other decisions that were so important?—whether to have a national conference. Yet one has already been scheduled at the University of Illinois on the weekend of Feb. 22-23.

The most troubling part of the conference was not even the fact that the discussion was trivialized, but the sentiment expressed in the second point of unity that those present were already educated, and that they had an obligation to go out and educate others. Is it not possible that people coming to the march, or opposing this society in other ways, are also wise?

The fact that the joint conferences in D.C. and San Francisco voted to form a new national organization, Campus Anti-War Network (CAN), could lead to something, but only if they agree to be educated by the anti-war students not in their organization.

A promise was made that more discussion will happen at the national conference. There are big questions that the movement needs to address. But this conference did not do it.

—Urszula Wislanka



NEW YORK CITY—Youth denounce Bush's war drive in demonstration on Dec. 14.

absolutely memorable day was when an Arab-American woman presenter said to me "Thank you for what you did today. There is hope. There is hope."

San Francisco march

While march organizers and city officials fight over the number of people who rallied against the war in San Francisco, the content of this anti-war movement is being worked out by the 150,000-plus who marched. About 50 Black and Latino high school students from Oakland, organized by Youth Together, sported quarter-page stickers that read "Shot down on the corner or shot down in Iraq? Youth deserve better choices!"

A small multiethnic contingent of college students calling themselves Students for Justice chanted, "Your oil, your oil, it's blood on foreign soil." The question of whether the movement will continue or collapse is important. We've heard that concern from youth in San Francisco. The organizers are too busy congratulating themselves for "mobilizing the masses."

In 1991 there was a huge march of 200,000 but it col-

Israeli students refuse military service

Tel Aviv, Israel—Two imprisoned conscientious objectors to military service, Noam Bahat and Hillel Goral, went on hunger strike, Jan. 16. Both are among the signatories of a letter signed last year by over 300 high school students, declaring their refusal to serve in the Israeli army (see their website at www.shministim.org). Both objectors are serving a second consecutive prison term in defense of their convictions and are held in the isolation ward of Military Prison No. 4, south of Tel Aviv.

According to Noam Bahat, the hunger strike comes to protest his imprisonment for opposing the occupation of the Palestinian people, as well as to protest the occupation itself.

Bahat and Goral represent a growing wave of protest among high school students ahead of their induction into the army. Some 300 students have signed a joint letter to Sharon, proclaiming their refusal to take part in the repression of the Palestinian people.

A remarkable illustration of the unrest emerged recently when IDF's chief of staff Gen. Moshe Yaalon gave a talk at Haifa's elite Reali high school, whose promilitary bent is reflected in numerous graduates who reached prominent posts in the army. Yaalon was heckled by a small group of students who accused him of war crimes in defiance of the Geneva Convention.

The protesters were silenced and ejected, and the school principal—himself a former general who served as army spokesman—apologized to Yaalon. That wasn't

all: Ministry of Education Director-General Ronit Tirosh issued a statement charging that the outburst by the students, and the labeling of Yaalon as a war criminal, displayed a failure of all involved in the students' education, falling short of their responsibility to instill them with worthy values.

Infantry Fst. Sgt. (res.) Yoni Kozlovsky of Tel Aviv was sentenced to 28 days in military jail, Jan. 19, for refusal to serve in the occupied territories (he was posted to guard the West Bank Jewish settlement of Anatot). Kozlovsky, who is preparing his Ph.D. thesis in neuroscience at the Tel Aviv University, is brother of another refusenik, Ro'i, who was sentenced for refusal before the outbreak of the intifada.

Yoni defended his refusal with the following statement:

"I refuse to serve in the occupied territories because I believe in liberty, equality and fraternity—words almost forgotten in Hebrew. I refuse to take part in an occupation that denies three million Palestinians their freedom and human rights. I refuse to take part in an occupation marked by crimes and immoral deeds, an occupation that kills civilians and steals their land, an occupation that employs detention, closures, starvation, torture, theft and killing.

"I detest the occupation because the occupation is racism. I hope Palestinians and Israelis achieve peace, through a compromise resting upon reconciliation, justice and morality, mutual respect and compassion."

—Information from Yesh Gvul

NEWS & LETTERS

Read about struggles for peace and justice around the world in **News & Letters**

Only \$5 a year gets you ten issues of the best paper in the Left

Order from literature ad, page 7

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry

By the end of January, the crisis over North Korea seemed to have eased, but was by no means over. In a deft series of moves in December and January, this small totalitarian state, so weak economically that its own people are starving, had managed to put the U.S. on the defensive, essentially forcing it to back down.

On Dec. 23, the Kim Jong Il regime announced that it was removing seals on its nuclear reactor at Yongbon that had been installed in 1994 by the International Atomic Energy Commission. This action, which made possible the production of nuclear warheads, was accompanied by warnings of an "uncontrollable catastrophe" should the U.S. intervene.

Initially, the Bush administration announced that if North Korea did not back down, it would impose sanc-

Secret plan for Ulster

Recently-released British government documents from the time of Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath reveal, as a Jan. 1 banner headline in the *London Times* put it: "Heath made plans for 'ethnic cleansing' in Ulster." This was in 1972, during the mass unrest against anti-Catholic discrimination in Northern Ireland. As he grew desperate, Heath instructed civil servants to come up with a secret plan for a "worst-case scenario."

According to its own documents, complete with maps, Heath's government "specifically discussed... compulsory transfer of population within Northern Ireland, or between [its] six counties and the Republic" of Ireland. As the *Times* wrote, "Under the plan up to 300,000 Catholics would be moved from their homes into regions to be ceded to the Republic, while about 200,000 Protestants would be shifted from the ceded areas into a new Northern Ireland state." This would have set up an "ethnically pure" Protestant Northern Ireland at gunpoint.

Reading these accounts, even after 30 years, still sickens the stomach. It also raises a question. If Britain, famed for "limited government," made such plans, what secret "scenarios" has the State of Israel created for the Palestinians, or the U.S. government for our land's minorities and dissenters?

New Kenyan leader

Was it a second liberation, equivalent to the winning of independence from Britain in the 1960s? However improbable, that was the sentiment among many of the one million who turned out on Dec. 30 to celebrate the end of 24 years of authoritarian rule under outgoing President Daniel arap Moi.

The people of Kenya voted for opposition leader Mwai Kibaki and against Moi's handpicked successor—Uhuru Kenyatta, son of Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta—by a landslide, 63% to 30%, this despite manipulation and vote-buying by the Moi government. Kibaki, a veteran of the independence struggle who broke with Moi in 1991, ran as the leader of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). For the first time in decades, NARC united key leaders from the country's two main ethnic groups, the Kikuyu and the Luo.

The new government made an important gesture when it immediately ended Moi's school fees, which had prevented 15% of the country's children from attending primary school. NARC also promised to fight corruption and to investigate past political murders.

The leadership of NARC includes grassroots activists like Wangari Mathai, an environmental activist repeatedly jailed under Moi. However, the leadership contains considerably more politicians who defected from Moi's party only months ago.

Behind the nuclear crisis in Korea

tions that would lead to its "economic collapse." But even this was a retreat from the Clinton administration policy that had threatened an immediate military attack were those seals removed. In the coming weeks, the U.S. sounded still more cautious, even announcing that it would delay a UN Security Council vote on the matter. Meanwhile, negotiations continued.

How could tiny North Korea have gotten away with plans that could result in the manufacture of five to eight nuclear warheads by May 1, this in open defiance of the world's sole superpower? One reason was that South Korea wanted nothing to do with a U.S. policy of confronting the North, for which it could pay a horrific price. Even without nukes, massive North Korean artillery installations just across the border from Seoul could level that city of 10 million.

Decades of U.S. imperial arrogance toward South Korea, including the recent acquittal (in a U.S. military court) of two soldiers who had run down and killed two teenage Korean girls, had created a deep antagonism, especially among the youth. They tend to remember decades of U.S.-supported military regimes, like that of Chun Doo Hwan, perpetrator of the 1980 Kwangju massacre, rather than the horrors of the Korean War of 50 years ago.

During those long years of U.S.-supported authoritarian rule, South Korea industrialized at breakneck speed, creating a corrupt group of monopoly capitalists with close ties to the military and alongside it, a large and disaffected working class.

Worker and student resentment of the big capitalist firms, the U.S., and the local military establishment was a major factor in the election of Roh Moo Hyun to the presidency, also in December. A lawyer who began his career defending labor and student activists, Roh made clear that he would not be a lackey of the U.S.

With Japan, let alone China and Russia, also counseling caution, the U.S. found itself isolated in the region. However, it is doubtful that alone stayed the hand of the U.S., especially at a time when the Bush administration has embarked on a unilateralist policy of permanent war. Nor could fear of loss of life have been the main factor, at a time when U.S. "defense" intellectuals have reached the chilling conclusion that a "small" nuclear war between Pakistan and India would not be so grave. (*New York Times*, Jan. 19, 2003)

What was undoubtedly also at work in restraining Bush was the fact that northeast Asia has a productive capacity in capitalistic terms of nearly \$6 trillion per year, when one considers the annual output of Japan (\$4 trillion), South Korea (\$381 billion), and China (\$1 trillion, much of it centered in the hi-tech and industrialized Northeast, near Korea). This total is far greater than that for India and Pakistan combined (\$2.3 trillion), or even the Middle East, or Western Europe. And most of that northeast Asian productive capacity is within easy range of North Korean missiles.

More death in Israel

Two consecutive suicide bombings in a poor immigrant neighborhood of Tel Aviv killed 23 and injured over 100 on Jan. 6. The victims were mostly undocumented immigrant workers from the Philippines, Vietnam, China, Ghana, Romania and Bulgaria. Many of the survivors couldn't even get medical care for their injuries for fear of being arrested and deported from Israel once their undocumented status became known. The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, which took responsibility for these bombings, once again showed that it is one with Israeli rulers in its racism and inhumanity toward workers.

The Sharon government immediately used these bombings to prevent Palestinian leaders in the West Bank and Gaza from attending a London conference on Palestinian reform. The conference was held nevertheless on Jan. 14 and the Palestinian representatives were able to participate through a video hookup. Palestinian Information Minister Yasser Abed Rabbo, who spoke from Ramallah, said the following in his speech: "The suicide bombings will not bring us peace, and confiscating of our liberty will not bring you security. Let us together reject extremism in all its forms. Let us together choose the path of peaceful negotiations."

The continuing Israeli army siege of the West Bank and Gaza is stifling any voice for peaceful co-existence and secularism among Palestinians. Within Israel, the corruption and bribery scandals of Sharon's Likud government have angered some. But the deep class divisions, ethnic chauvinism, and increasing violence against women in Israeli society have not become the subject of discussion by the parties running for election.

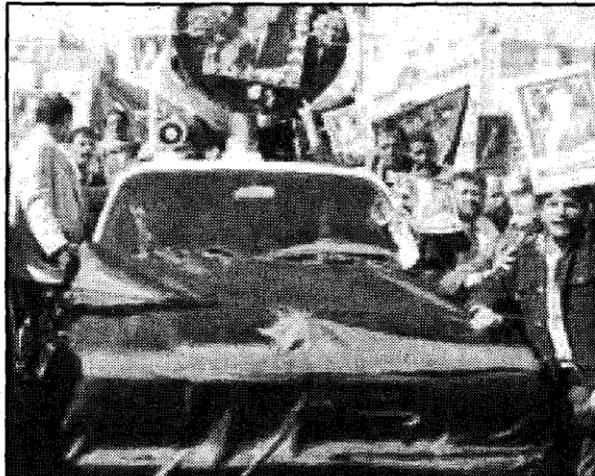
That election reflected the lowest voter turnout since Israel's founding in 1948. Sharon's Likud party received 37 out of 120 parliament seats. The right wing secular party, Shinui, increased its seats. The Labor party slumped to 19 seats.

While the Labor Party under Amram Mitzna had promised to empty most Israeli settlements and renew peace negotiations, it also favors the continuation of the building of the separation wall between Israel and the West Bank and Gaza. This 220 kilometer concrete barrier annexes another 10% of the Occupied Territories and in doing so also destroys Palestinian homes, productive agricultural land and many groundwater wells.

—Sheila Sahar
Jan. 22, 2003

Protest in Yemen

Several hundred thousand marched in the funeral procession of Jarallah Omar, deputy secretary-general of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) on Jan. 1. Chanting "no for violence and murder, yes for peace," "murder and



Independent Media Center

assassination is the language of cowards," and "we want a Yemen without terrorism," the crowd stretched over a mile on its way to the cemetery.

Omar was killed on Dec. 28 by an Islamic extremist, who told police of his plans to kill other "secularists" as well. Evidence of a plot to kill the local head of the Ismailis, an offshoot of Islam, also turned up.

Among the tendencies represented in the funeral march, besides the YSP itself, were the Nasserite nationalists, the ruling General People's Congress, and even members of Al-Islah, the large Islamist party of which the assassin was a member. Muslim scholars also met to condemn terrorism against both Yemenis and foreigners, even if carried out in the name of Islam.

Only one aspect of the Yemen terrorism story received coverage by U.S. media: the fact that soon after Omar's murder, a member of the same gang of religious extremists murdered three Americans working at a Baptist hospital.

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

Who We Are And What We Stand For

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

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. *News & Letters* was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation.

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-1987), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the

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

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

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

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

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

In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, heterosexist, class-ridden society, we have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead." We participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim... to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the *Constitution of News and Letters Committees*.