

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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50¢

WORKSHOP TALKS

War hits workers

by Htun Lin

Even before the first bomb of Bush's war fell, workers back home were suffering from domestic collateral damage. Deep cuts in California threaten the jobs of 10,000 teachers. In economically depressed areas like Oakland where I work, the cutbacks are the severest.

The Oakland school board warned that up to 1,000 teachers, one third of the total, are facing layoffs. Teachers are in a state of uncertainty over who will be gone tomorrow. For teachers, students and parents, education is the latest aspect of homeland insecurity.

A few short years ago there was a state surplus. There was an effort to reverse the decades-long neglect of education by hiring more teachers. This ray of hope motivated a lot of young people to go into the profession. However, they are learning that for capitalist planners human concerns are always expendable. Many teachers say that if they are laid off they will not return to this profession.

This is true especially for those who put all their energy into a promising new small school program that Oakland is going to discontinue. Small schools were aimed at those who were dropping out. Planners project that there is going to be an even more dramatic shortage of teachers for the next decade. Once a public good is dismantled, it is very difficult to put it back together again.

We experienced this in health care over a decade of restructuring. Staffing levels have been cut so drastically that wards are understaffed as a matter of course. Every manager is called on the carpet for being a penny over budget. There has been a massive depopulation of health care professionals. A lot of veteran nurses, once they were given pink slips, never returned to the field.

(Continued on page 3)

BLACK/RED VIEW

Colin Powell, creature of imperialism

by John Alan

When President George W. Bush arrogantly told the UN that he would go to war against Saddam Hussein's Iraq, with or without its approval, he was telling the world that the U.S. was the greatest military power in the world today, that it would get rid of the evil autocrat Saddam Hussein and create a new, democratic Iraq. The world has not heard this kind of sham since European powers, centuries ago, occupied Africa and Asia to "civilize" and "christianize" the people there.

'GOD'S GIFT' TO THE RIGHT

Bush's Secretary of State, Colin Powell, had the task of convincing a majority of members of the UN to join the war against Hussein. One liberal newscaster thought it was a great idea, since Powell had originally opposed the war, and he called Powell "god's gift to this country."

If Powell is indeed a gift, he is a great political gift to Bush. Powell is an African American and thus he is a shield that can protect the Bush administration from being called racist.

Powell is closely connected to the structure of the military bureaucracy. After serving as an officer in Vietnam, and commanding a battalion in South Korea, he attended the National War College and worked in the Department of Defense. From there Powell's military career shifted from being a line officer into functioning in the internal bureaucratic politics of the army. He became an assistant to Caspar Weinberger,

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LEAD-EDITORIAL

War on Iraq, resistance, and the shift in global politics

by Peter Hudis

George W. Bush's illegal, unwarranted and barbarous war against Iraq clearly has nothing to do with "liberating" the Iraqi people and everything to do with extending U.S. global power at the expense of both the Iraqi and American populace.

The Bush administration's effort to "decapitate" Saddam Hussein with a massive cruise missile and bombing attack in the first hours of the war on March 19-20 reflected its intent to eliminate Hussein while preserving as much of the repressive Iraqi state apparatus (especially its police and Ba'ath Party officialdom) as possible. In response to the apparent failure of that initial attack and the emergence of armed resistance to the U.S. blitzkrieg in various Iraqi cities, Bush's war machine is unleashing a bloodbath that will be felt in the region for years to come.

The many setbacks that confronted the U.S. in the first week of the war in cities like Umm Qasr, Basra and Nasiriya indicates that the battle for Baghdad will be no high-tech "cake walk," as U.S. officials at first seemed to imagine. A lengthy and bloody war and occupation is now very likely.

THE RUSH TO WAR

Bush's insistence on pushing ahead with his war, despite the risk that it will plunge the U.S. into a colonial quagmire of its own making, has produced a major shift in world politics.

In response to the opposition of France and Germany, as well as Russia and China, to his war drive, Bush launched his assault without even asking for a vote at the UN Security Council—a move that is inflaming regional sentiment around the world at U.S. unilateralism. Turkey's refusal to allow 60,000 U.S. troops to invade Iraq from its borders has led Bush to pour more arms and soldiers into Iraq from the south, even though this risks greater U.S. combat and Iraqi civilian casualties. And the anti-war sentiment that is growing in every country has led Bush to write off democratic world opinion, which is leading to increased resentment at the U.S.'s drive for permanent military intervention overseas.

The more this administration tries to negate all limits to its drive for war, the more it manages to establish other limits which become real barriers to the exercise of total U.S. dominance.

WHAT HAPPENS AFTER?

U.S. actions in Iraq thus far show that this war will not result in the attainment of genuine self-determination or democracy for the Iraqi people.

Bush has made no secret of his plans to install a U.S.-run military regime for at least several years after a war. The U.S. is also intent on keeping many officials of Hussein's repressive Ba'ath Party in power. Worried about a fracturing of Iraq along ethnic and religious lines, the U.S. sees folding Ba'ath Party officials (many of whom are guilty of human rights abuses) into its occupation as a way to ensure "stability." In doing so the U.S. is also responding to pleas from regimes like Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, which fear the advent of any real democracy in the region.

It is this desire on the part of the Bush administration to preserve the structure of the repressive Iraqi state, and not any humanitarian qualms on its part about inflicting massive civilian casualties, that explains its attentiveness to trying to take down Hussein's regime with "precision" bombing.

While the U.S. claims to be fighting in the name of Kurds, Shi'ites, and other oppressed groups, it has made sure not to arm them—unlike its approach to the reactionary Northern Afghanistan, which it flooded with weapons. Though the U.S. has given military training to 1,000 Iraqi exiles at a NATO base in Hungary, it banned any Kurds from participating.

We are seeing a repeat of what happened after the end of the first Gulf War in 1991, when the U.S. allowed Hussein to remain in power rather than allow the Kurds, Shi'ites and others to take destiny into

their own hands. Though this time the U.S. is trying to depose Hussein, the Kurds, who have been betrayed by Western powers (especially in 1974 and 1991), are about to be betrayed again.

Kanan Makiya of the Iraqi National Congress, a group funded by the U.S., stated in mid-February that U.S. plans for a post-Hussein Iraq are "guaranteed to turn the [Iraqi] opposition into an opponent of the U.S. on the streets of Baghdad the day after liberation.... The government of the United States is about to betray, as it has done so many times in the past, those core human values of self-determination and individual liberty" ("Our Hopes Betrayed," *The Observer* News & Letters photos)



Protests erupted within hours of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, in Chicago on March 20 (right), in New York (above) on March 22, and elsewhere. See page 11.



[London], Feb. 16, 2003).

Meanwhile, the threat of a massive humanitarian disaster looms. Over 60% of Iraqis depend on UN aid for food. The World Health Organization estimates that a decade of U.S.-imposed sanctions and Hussein's policies have forced the vast majority of Iraqis to live on a semi-starvation diet for years. These conditions are bound to worsen as the U.S. tries to subdue all forms of resistance to its invasion and occupation. The livelihood of millions of Iraqis is now in jeopardy.

RIFTS IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE

Despite the Bush administration's fruitless four-month effort to get the UN Security Council to sanction an invasion of Iraq, Bush long ago decided to go to war, with or without international approval. Stunned by the attacks of September 11, 2001, and emboldened by its rapid "victory" over the Taliban in Afghanistan, the administration sees war against Iraq as a way to further its drive for permanent military intervention by taking down the one regime in the critically important Middle East that has expressed open opposition to U.S. policies. Yet Bush's arrogant over-reach has led to a pulling apart of the U.S.-led global alliance that seemed so unified after September 11, 2001.

France and Germany, among the most powerful components of NATO and the European Union (EU), have repeatedly opposed the U.S. drive for war against Iraq. However most of the other 15 nations of the EU have expressed support for the war. So have the 10 nations (mainly from the former Warsaw Pact) that are expected to join the EU in coming years.

More is at issue in this divide within Europe than widespread anti-war sentiment, crucial as that remains. Public opposition to war is almost as high in Britain, Spain and Italy—whose rulers support Bush—as in France and Germany.

French President Chirac's decision to veto any UN Security Council resolution authorizing war against Iraq didn't result in a sudden disdain on his part for military intervention overseas. He has shown little reticence to engage in such undertakings when it suits his purposes, as can be seen from France's many military interventions in Africa. A few months ago Chirac sent 3,000 French troops to Ivory Coast.

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Roe v. Wade 30 years later**The limits of political emancipation**

By Maya Jhansi

The war has served well as a distraction from the ambitious and alarming attack on women's reproductive freedom issued by the U.S. Senate on March 13. With a vote of 64 to 33, the Senate passed the so-called "Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003." This bill is a well-calculated strike at Roe v. Wade on its 30th anniversary.

Essentially, the bill criminalizes a medical procedure called dilation and extraction used for some second trimester abortions. The term "partial birth abortion" is not recognized by the medical community. It is a deceptive description designed to garner support for the criminalization of a safe medical procedure. The American Medical Association as well as most other medical organizations are against such bans. The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists describes so-called "partial-birth abortion" bans as "an inappropriate, ill-advised and dangerous intervention into medical decision making." To make matters worse, the federal ban makes **no exception for the health of the woman.**

The timing is revealing. While the world watches the war on Iraq with horror, the right wing is busy pushing through its reactionary agenda at home. The hypocrisy of this is too raw to bear: war hawks waxing sentimental over "the unborn" while they wreak death and destruction on thousands of living souls.

THE RISE OF THE RIGHT

However, though the war is serving Bush as a war of distraction from the crises at home, it does not explain the victories of the Right when it comes to women's reproductive freedom. While this federal ban is the latest and perhaps most ambitious legislative victory, the arena where the Right has gained the most ground is morality. Over the last three decades, the right wing has succeeded in demonizing, not only abortion, but women, especially poor and Black women. It has gained, in effect, control over the parameters of discourse about abortion with the basic assumption that women cannot be trusted to make moral decisions about their lives.

The Right has learned a lot from freedom movements in this country, particularly the Civil Rights Movement. It mobilizes support by drawing on moral arguments, religion, philosophy and history. It's true that their most fanatical supporters bomb clinics and kill doctors, and the so-called "moderate" supporters cover for them. But, this is not what explains the Right's victories. Indeed, the Right has been known to invoke the memory of Martin Luther King Jr. (nevermind that he was actually pro-choice and, of course, against mindless violence) to give their "movement" the semblance of ethical content.

The women's movement has gone the exact opposite way, towards pragmatism and an almost exclusive focus on electoral politics. Because the feminist movement has so narrowed its vision and focus to abortion legislation, it has not provided a viable vision to counter the lies and misinformation of the Right. The women's movement has all but ceded the moral ground to the Right.

Partly, as many women of color have noted, this comes from a narrowing of the movement to the single issue of abortion rights. This left to the side other realities specific to poor, working-class and minority women, such as forced sterilization in the 1970s, so-called population control today, lack of birth control and lack of primary health care. Many poor women are denied the "right" to be mothers and to have a family. By leaving out the concerns of women of color and poor women, the abortion rights movement narrowed its liberatory vision—and thus lost moral ground.

WOMEN WORLDWIDE

by Mary Jo Grey

A permanent Peace Camp was set up by women earlier this year at Ireland's Shannon airport in opposition to the use of that facility by the U.S. military for the buildup of Bush's war against Iraq. Now that the camp has become a regular focus for resistance to the war by both women and men, women are claiming a space for monthly 24-hour No-To-War Camps—including one held on International Women's Day, March 8, as part of the Global Women's Strike, "Invest in Caring, Not Killing." They said they want to join their voices with those of women in Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine, condemning the devastating effect of war on women and children.

Information from *Mother Warriors Voice*

* * *

A Pakistani woman who was gang-raped as a tribal council punishment against her family because of a supposed crime by her brother, was honored for having the courage to report the crime in a country where violence against women often goes unpunished. Mukhtar Mai received the award from the Human Rights Society of Pakistan at a ceremony in Lahore. "She dared to file a case against the influential men in her area and get them punished," commended the group's leader.

WOMAN AS REASON

The movement has also left to the side the larger philosophical questions around women's reproductive lives, questions about meaning, existence, human relationships, sexual intimacy. For example, such concepts as "choice" and "self-determination" are taken for granted, without working out their emancipatory connotations. What does self-determination mean, outside of a vision of social transformation? What does "choice" mean in, for example, a context in which economic degradation makes abortion not a "choice" but an exigency?

BEYOND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION

I recently read an article by a libertarian who argued the pro-choice position by exalting the rights of women as autonomous individuals over the rights of the fetus, which is neither autonomous nor an individual. It seems to me the current women's movement has not gone beyond this, even though women have been the greatest critics of bourgeois individuality.

The fact is that the political emancipation of women in the U.S., hard-fought and important as it is, has always been incomplete and limited. In many countries around the world that profess to be democracies, women's lives are circumscribed by personal codes and family laws—often created to appease fundamentalists—which exempt women from the rights accorded to "individuals." The issue of abortion in the U.S. serves this same function.

Women need a world in which they can make meaningful decisions about their bodies and minds. Roe v. Wade rode the waves of a movement that called for a freedom beyond political emancipation. The transformation of alienated social relations, not only between humans but also between humans and nature, is as necessary to the freedom to choose as access to safe and legal abortion. While it is important to fight to keep abortion safe and legal, it is time to start asking why we keep having to do so over and over again.

International Women's Day 2003**Iran**

Editor's note: This is from an article posted on www.badjens.com, an Iranian feminist website.

The Women's Cultural Center, a women's non-governmental organization (NGO) based in Tehran, had invited "those who believe in equality" to join them in Laleh Park to declare their opposition to America's impending attack on Iraq. Around 300 women and 100 men answered the call.

The Laleh Park gathering was not only the first public protest against the war, but it was also the first non-state sponsored assembly in years where citizens showed their opposition to U.S. policy.

As it turned out, war was only one form of violence the planners intended to address. The event was more an assertion against gender violence and inequality on an international and national scale. Sanctions, war, environmental damage, globalization, AIDS, and human trafficking were condemned.

Of course, the most passionate attacks were reserved for Iran. Sharia-based personal status and family laws were an especially sore area. Unequal inheritance, women's inability to file for divorce, and most fundamental, as pointed by human rights attorney Shirin Ebadi, diyeh, or blood money. A woman's diyeh, essentially the monetary value of her life, is one half of a man's. The result is that men who murder women are often left unpunished (the penalty is death) because the exchange of life isn't equal.

A young woman's public airing of sexual harassment on the streets during the open-mike was met with the most applause and cheers. The infusion of her anger and frustration suddenly gave the event a Take Back the Night quality. In front of tens of police officers, she accused law enforcement of inaction and complicity and condemned them for furthering the violence by blaming the victim and rendering them the accused.

Sponsored by a secular organization, the nexus binding the participants was a stand against war and for equality. After International Women's Day in 1979, when women marched to protest the mandatory imposition of the veil, women were deprived of a public space to collectively articulate their concerns. The quest for a civil society in recent years has led to a flourishing of non-governmental organizations, and women's NGOs have been increasing in numbers and strengthening their presence in kind.

Criminalizing sexuality

The question of how the sexuality of criminal defendants is presented to juries and handled by judges was explored at a conference in late February at Northwestern Illinois University in Chicago. Joey Mogul, a lawyer with the People's Law Office, cited the discretion given to prosecutors in seeking the death penalty as a problem.

During the conviction phase of a trial, gender stereotypes can be used to cast a convicted person as belonging to a gender variance, Mogul said. This may present the convict as being inferior and having a tendency to violence. It is a quick process to dehumanize the defendant. The dykier and butcher, the better, said Mogul. Thus, a jury may view the convicted person as more worthy of death, or whatever punishment the prosecutor seeks.

Even if defendants are "straight," the prosecutor may, through insinuation and innuendo, cast them as queer in order to influence a biased jury. Forty percent of women in prison have had accusations of being lesbian used against them. Mogul advocates a law that forbids the mention of gender orientation in trials.

She cited a 1999 case where the prosecution bombarded the jury with evidence of the defendant's lesbianism. The states attorney argued that because she was a "hard core" lesbian, she was more likely to kill. The allegations were completely unsubstantiated and irrelevant. Mogul said she was amazed at how the state kept repeating this non-evidence and wryly observed that she has never heard of a prosecutor using heterosexuality as a motive for murder.

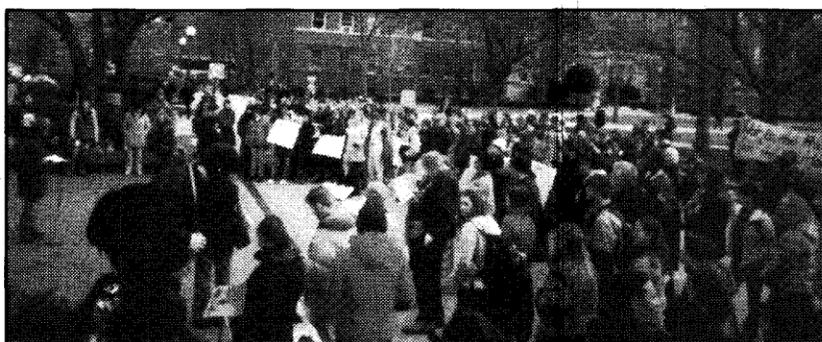
The innocent and heterosexual Kerry Max Cook (portrayed in the drama "Exonerated") was condemned partly on the basis of his alleged homosexuality. The news of his being gay preceded him to prison where he was unmercifully treated by the inmates.

Lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgendered people have no peers on the jury. Thus, Mogul argued, the jury of peers is simply a mockery if the sexuality of the defendant is to be a factor in the prosecution's case.

—January

Chicago and D.C.

In Washington D.C. about 25 women were arrested on March 8th when a determined few disobeyed orders from the police to stop short of the White House. The D.C. demonstrators who have been holding vigil at the White House since Nov. 17 called for an action to circle the White House in pink.



News & Letters

The first Gulf War in 1991 killed 113,000 civilians, almost two-thirds of them children. Bush's war on Iraq promises more of the same. That was the message of an International Women's Day rally of 200 at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana on March 7.

Code Pink activists rallied in Chicago on March 10. The rally and march in Chicago had speakers which focused on immigrant and Native American struggles.

There was a confrontation after the rally as the group of over 100 men and women

took to the street and the police escort told them to go to the sidewalk. No arrests were made. Banners included "March 10—A Day of Appreciation for Abortion Providers" and "Money for Books Not Bombs." Speakers spoke about women in prison, sweatshops, reproductive rights and opposition to U.S. militarism. The rally ended with a moving spiritual.

—Sue S.

San Francisco

The impending war colored everything about this year's International Women's Day. The monthly Women in Black vigil was transformed into a major demonstration in San Francisco. Women in Black were joined by several other groups, including Mourning Mothers, who graphically represented the effects of war on civilians by wearing eight-foot puppets of mothers in mourning for their dead children, symbolized by rag dolls held in their arms.

People's reactions to the vigil were very pronounced. Most became very grim, very quiet. One young boy asked his father "What are they?" and his father answered, "This is what war looks like."

Other events included a fundraiser for the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, announcing the speaking tour of Tahmeena Faryal in April.

—Urszula Wislanka

JCI strike scores gains against GM

Shreveport, La.—JCI, a key subcontractor for GM Shreveport, went out on strike recently. They make the seats for this plant, and the strike put us down about a day's time. As a result of the strike, workers at JCI got their wages up to around \$18 an hour.

That is important because subcontracting is the way of cutting auto workers' wages. GM has expanded subcontracting from parts production to whole subassemblies like seats or engines. They would get subassemblies built while paying workers maybe \$8-9 an hour, one-third what GM pays workers inside.

I think the subassembly is just step one of a two-step process. If GM shut down the Shreve-

port plant and moved it to Mexico, they would have bad publicity. But if later they moved production from subcontractors to the Mexican border and even lower wages, who would know or care? There is even a new interstate being built linking Brownsville, Texas at the border directly to Shreveport.

President Eisenhower's defense secretary once said, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country." They still think that way at GM.

GM may be getting short-term savings by subcontracting from subassembly plants, but in the long run capitalism creates its own gravediggers. We are mostly older workers in this plant, and can expect that even if they closed it down we could eventually be transferred to another plant. Workers at the subassembly plants, whether owned directly by GM or not, are usually younger—and more revolutionary, because they have so much less to lose.

When they do hire workers here, you have to know somebody. When they are hiring for summer vacation relief, maybe 300 people, workers can turn in names that have an "equal chance" to be drawn.

So what are the odds that the name of the local president's wife was the first to be drawn—meaning she would be one of the few that GM kept on permanently. And what are the odds that the next year the first name drawn was the local president's son. What did all of us in the local give up so his wife and kid could get hired in?

—GM Shreveport worker

Maiming at Azteca

Chicago—You may have heard about the accident at Azteca Foods. Rodrigo Mina, a temporary worker replacing strikers at Azteca Foods, was seriously injured on Feb. 20 while at work at the Chicago plant.

Mina was clearing tortillas away from the location where two conveyor belts meet when he slipped on a package of Azteca tortillas. As he fell, his hand got caught between the belts in a space approximately two inches wide. The belts pulled his hand and then his arm in up to above his elbow. According to Mina, his arm was ground up for about 10 minutes before the belts were shut off.

He was hospitalized for over two weeks and has had two surgeries to reconstruct his arm using bone, veins and skin from his foot and leg. He is unable to use his arm. His doctors tell him that with a year of intense therapy, he may be able to have limited use of his arm.

UE representatives and strikers have visited Mina to ensure he knows his rights and to tell him that he is not alone. The strikers are particularly disturbed by this accident since they all know how to shut off the belts in question. They had complained to management about the lack of a safety guard around the belts to prevent exactly this type of accident.

Mina is now home, but unable to walk—not to mention work. You can mail a donation to Rodrigo Mina at 2749 South Tripp, Chicago, IL 60623.

Strike support donations can be made online via Paypal at <http://www.ranknfile-ue.org> or can be mailed to UE Local 1159 at 37 S. Ashland, Chicago, IL 60607. For more information visit the UE website at <http://www.ranknfile-ue.org> or call 312-829-8300.

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from page 1)

Now nursing schools have a shortage of applicants and there is a critical shortage of nurses in the wards. Management is offering thousands of dollars as a reward for finding a successful candidate for a nursing job. The shortage is so severe that they throw a lot of money to subcontracting personnel agencies, which bring in nurses from afar. These nurses are not familiar with our hospital routines and patient population. Our current nursing contract includes a landmark quality care clause. Quality care means you can't treat nurses as mere replacement parts in an assembly line.

LABOR CONTRACTORS

Capitalists like to delude themselves about their ability to allocate resources efficiently. Resources for them are a quantitative abstraction, which they can manipulate from their corporate suites. Workers know that any human endeavor is a cooperative one. In health care or education, cooperation of living labor creates an accumulation of knowledge and experience in the group as a whole, which cannot be replaced with discrete quantities of labor provided by temporary agencies.

Cooperation, like Humpty Dumpty, cannot be easily put back together. The bean counters congratulate us during health employee forums for the company's "fiscal health." The shop floor reality is ignored by their illusion that managing money is managing health care.

This illusion is magnified on a national scale by Bush's health policies. One of the latest is to take more money out of Medicare by forcing patients into HMOs in order to obtain prescription drug benefits and to diminish Medicare patients ability to appeal denials for care. Bush also wants to shift more of the federal government's responsibility for Medicaid to the states.

The one area where there is absolutely no restraint is the permanent war. Schools and hospitals are expendable. Management has defended health care cutbacks because of massive reduction in health expenditure. They say that the new reality in health care means we're going to have to collect ever-increasing co-payments from individual patients.

While Bush is hell bent on dismantling health care as we know it, to him, his one health issue above all others is the possibility of bio-terrorism. The Bush homeland security apparatus has obligated local health agencies to prepare for mass inoculations beginning with us health workers. Health professionals know that hundreds are expected to die from the smallpox vaccine itself.

HOODWINK PUBLIC

One local health official said it is reckless for the Bush regime to use vaccinations and jeopardize the health of millions to market this war. She felt Bush is trying to hoodwink the public into believing that authorities are doing something to protect them when in reality they are not.

The everyday reality for us workers under capitalism is that the health of workers and the education of our children are sacrificed to the needs of capital. Nurses and teachers know better than generals that it takes a long time to build a working system, which once dismantled is difficult to put back together. How will planners rebuild what they are destroying right here at home—our health and educational infrastructures? Bush's permanent war is also a war against workers, and is forcing many of us to question the whole system.

Musicians shut down Broadway

New York—Supported by the stage hands and actors unions, musicians striking on Broadway shut down most shows the weekend of March 8. Despite area financial losses and inconvenience, the musicians were quite strongly supported by the public and the media.

Fighting the producers principally over the minimum number of orchestra players, until now the New York local was the only one in the U.S. which had not succumbed to the mechanized (canned music) takeover of the musical theater genre, which has cost countless musicians their livelihood.

On Sunday night March 9, both sides were summoned by Mayor Bloomberg. Within 24 hours a deal was negotiated costing the musicians about a third of their jobs plus other major concessions. This deal is profoundly disturbing and tragic for the union membership, but will most likely be ratified anyway, since they generally recognize that another strike at this time would not be supported by the public.



Independent Media Center

—Supporter

people will prevail—work will be art, and art will be work, and the robot will bleed ink, oil and plutonium unto death.

Canteen speedup

Chicago—The new warehouse boss at Canteen called in every warehouse worker at the vending side and wrote them up—for not meeting the "industry standard" of speed in picking orders. The workers they wrote up have 60 years of experience between them with clean records. Suddenly they can't do the job? The main reason they are working eleven hours a day and more is that only four warehouse workers are being told to do what seven workers did just a couple years ago.

The company put the discipline on hold after a grievance hearing, but the charges are still pure harassment. The company spent plenty to install TV cameras monitoring nearly all the working areas. If they had seen any idle behavior, they would have used that against them.

Canteen apparently wants to count as work only pulling orders and not the hours of ordering and receiving product and otherwise making it possible to pull orders at all. From that point of view, even the grunt labor of putting stock away is not work. But that point of view is wrong. It is the same mindset that leads supervisors to set up vending routes as if driving time between routes did not count. Setting arbitrary standards won't get any more work done, but hiring another warehouse worker would.

—Canteen worker

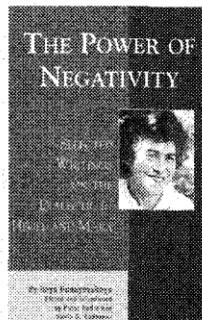
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—Patricia Althenbernd Johnson, University of Dayton



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From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

May 1968

The long hot summer began in spring this year with so fast-moving a scenario that neither the startling abdication of President Lyndon Johnson nor his loaded "peace feelers," had time to sink in before the shot that killed Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. reverberated around the world. LBJ's popularity which had risen late Sunday night with his announcement of de-escalation of the Vietnam War, plummeted down with the news of King's assassination on Thursday, April 4.

No serious commentator abroad thought this was an act of a single individual, insane or just filled with hatred. Every one took a second look at this racist land where acts of conspiracy to commit murder "and get away with it" are spawned out of an atmosphere emanating from a White House conducting a barbaric war abroad, and a Congress which allows its "illustrious members" to sound like rednecks bent on murder when the "Negro Question" is the issue. Just the week before the assassination, those legislative halls were resounding to demands "to stop King" from leading a Poor People's March into Washington...

THE AMERICAN REALITY

The president was compelled to call off the meeting he had scheduled with his Pacific satellites. Though he ordered the flag flown at half mast and shed many a crocodile tear, one thing was clear: no overflow of staged tears by the administration could possibly whitewash the presidency and these uncivilized United States of America. The murder of Rev. King pushed even the Vietnam War off the front pages of the papers as Black revolts struck out in no less than 125 cities, most of them untouched in the previous hot summers.

The very fabric of American civilization was unravelling so that its racism stood stark naked for all the world to see. When "law and order" was restored, nothing was in the same place, nor will it ever be...

Though all the "dignitaries" were duly represented at King's funeral, the difference between the pomp and pageantry of the funeral of the assassinated president five years ago and the present mule-drawn carriage bearing the body of Dr. King was stark.

This was due not only to the difference between a

EDITOR'S NOTE

This month marks the 35th anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. while he was in Memphis, Tenn. to support striking sanitation workers. To continue the struggle championed by King, we reprint excerpts from the Lead-Editorial in the May 1968 *N&L* entitled "These uncivilized United States: Murder of Rev. King, Vietnam War." It is contained in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 6805-6807.

president and a "civilian." Nor was it just the difference between a rich man and a poor one; Rev. King wasn't all that poor. He had chosen the mule-drawn carriage as symbol for his Poor People's March on Washington not only to underline the difference between affluence and poverty in this richest of all lands, but mainly to stress the difference between the backwardness of the conditions of the Black farmer in this most technologically advanced land.

The Negro has always been the touchstone of American civilization, exposing the hollowness of its democracy, the racism not only at home but also in its imperialist adventures. And the latest of a long list of martyrs in the battle for freedom was too much flesh of the flesh of the whole of American "civilization" to be capable of cover-up by all the flags flown at half mast. After the Black man had had his funeral, what then?

The true measure of both the grief and determination to go on with the civil war for freedom was seen, in one form, in the mass outpouring of 150,000 who were in Atlanta, and, in another form, in the Black revolts in the cities...

Rev. King was murdered because he came down to Memphis to assist Black workers locked in class struggle with the white power structure...

VOICES FROM BELOW: 1956-66

In retrospect, the coincidence of Rev. King's beginnings as a leader of the Montgomery Bus Boycott with the totally new stage of Negro revolt appears, not as accidental, but the right person at the right place at the right time. That is to say, it bespeaks the objective significance of King's role in that struggle, sparked by the refusal of a Negro seamstress, Rosa Parks, to give up her seat in the bus to a white male.

We didn't need the lapse of a decade before we sensed the historic significance of "the forceful voice of the Alabama Negroes who have taken matters of freedom into their own hands." At the very moment of its happening we compared the significance of these actions against the white power structure in Alabama to the Hungarian Revolution against Russian Communism, stressing that "the greatest thing of all in the Montgomery, Ala. spontaneous organization was its own working existence."

But let us add here that it wasn't only that Rev. King was there. It is that he knew how to listen to the voices from below and, therefore, to represent them in a boycott that lasted 382 long days during which it was in mass assembly some three times a week, daily organized its own transport, moving from a struggle against segregated buses to a demand for hiring Negro bus drivers—and won on both counts.

If there were those who hadn't recognized this totally new stage of Negro revolt in 1956, none failed to see, on the one hand, the barbarism of Bull Connor's police dogs, water hoses, electric cattle prods, and, on the other hand, the bravery, daring, and massive persistence of the Negroes in Birmingham in 1963.

Again King was there. This time he tried also to give philosophic expression to the struggle against segregation. In his famous letter from a Birmingham jail to the white clergymen who objected to "illegal acts," Rev. King wrote: "We can never forget that everything that Hitler did in Germany was 'legal' and everything the Hungarian Freedom Fighters did in Hungary was 'illegal'... To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an 'I-it' relationship for the 'I-thou' relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things."

Both nationally and internationally, both in relationship to the non-violent tactics here and the more violent phases of the African revolutions, Dr. King had developed to the point where he let nothing stand in the way of the struggle for freedom.

Though the humanist philosophy he then unfolded was quoted from Buber, and not Marx, he was not unaware that the African Revolutions based themselves on the Humanism of Marx.

ISOLATION

It is true that, by 1965, Rev. King faltered seriously as he was completely baffled by the newer stage of Negro revolt in Harlem and Watts and all the other long, hot summers, marked by the shouts of "Burn, baby, burn!" But the isolation from the Negro masses at that moment was not due solely to his belief in non-violence...

For something a great deal more significant than violence vs. non-violence was involved in the new Black mass revolt. New perspectives were needed. A new

comprehensive view; new allies among rank and file labor and other white militants to help in the arduous task of tearing the whole exploitative society up by its roots.

New leaders did arise, but they travelled everywhere from Cuba to Algiers. They were not where mass power lay—on the streets. They were not working out a new relationship of theory to practice on the basis of it and hence could not give expression to the new in the masses.

1967-68: THE VIETNAM WAR AND DEATH AT HOME

The sickness unto death with the Vietnam War on the part of the youth, both white and Black, at first got but little response from Rev. King. However, there was no doubt that the dream he had of achieving equality for Negroes had turned into a nightmare as he moved

North and came up against the mightier white power structure there in the person of Chicago city boss, Mayor Richard J. Daley.

At the same time, the white youth that had gone South to help in the civil rights struggles had clearly, since 1965, shifted to creating an anti-war movement to oppose the barbaric imperialist war...

With \$20 billion being poured annually into the Vietnam War, the administration's "Great Society" was the forgotten Black waif left both homeless and starving in the backwaters of the

South as well as the ghettos of the North.

Clearly, without a new unifying philosophy of liberation that would relate itself to the new reality, it was impossible to move forward. The new voices of revolt in the North as well as Virginia and Mississippi that had not been heard in 1965 were finally heard to say "Hell no, we won't go!" in 1967.

UNITING MOVEMENTS

Dr. King came out against the war and tried uniting the two movements fighting the administration. At once, he became the target of the most slanderous campaign which showed also its arrogance in telling him to keep hands off other than "Negro problems." In this, the administration was joined by the leaders of the NAACP and Urban League. Gone was any pretense to Black unity. Gone was "approval" of King as a man of non-violence. The deep-freeze against "the war on poverty" was no longer restricted to Southern bourbons but was the dominating line of the presidency.

It is this atmosphere of capitalistic monolithism that Rev. King confronted as he planned what became his last and greatest battle: to combine the poor—Black and white, Indian and Mexican American—in a massive march on Washington that would not only coincide with the days of protest against the Vietnam War, but also promised to continue till the whole white power structure was disrupted; civil disobedience that would peacefully revolutionize society by masses in motion. Thereby Dr. King courted death.

It was not King who was the "obstacle" to Black liberation. It was the capitalistic system. The "guerrillas" had far less a revolutionary perspective with their smaller goals and elitist concepts. Whether the march would have developed to keep things moving, to bring "orderly" government to a halt, it is impossible now to say. What is clear is that the threat of the march kept the administration on tenterhooks. All sorts of "new politics," too, was brought in to bring pressure upon King to direct the movement into electoral channels—and he seemed to begin to think in these terms himself.

BLACK AND WHITE

But all was still in flux, masses were in motion if not in the Movement; white labor was forced to help Black labor at least on specific issues, and not only with finances but a promise to bring "thousands" to Memphis! The atmosphere was charged further as it became clear that President Johnson, while declaring for de-escalation, had in fact embarked on the greatest escalation, although within a more "restricted" area.

The civilians who died were not all in Vietnam. One was gunned down in Memphis and 46 more were killed, 2,600 injured and 21,270 arrested in the week of Black revolt that followed King's assassination.

It is true that all that Dr. King had achieved through the years was but prologue. But it is prologue to a drama of liberation that is unfolding daily. His greatness lay in recognizing the objective movement of history and aligning himself with it. Precisely because it was both objective and had masses in motion, it is sure to continue on a high historic level till society is reconstructed from the bottom up.



Demonstrators in Memphis remember 1968 sanitation workers strike and assassination of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

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ESSAY

Helen Macfarlane: Antigone in Victorian England

By David Black

Following the overthrow of King Louis Philippe in France in February 1848, the tide of revolution reached Austria within weeks. In March, the citizens of Vienna overthrew the government of Prince Metternich and forced the emperor to concede a representative parliament and a new constitution. But the Hapsburgs played for time and struck back. In October, Field Marshal Windischgratz's troops stormed the city and restored the status quo. A new emperor, Franz Joseph, annulled the constitution. In Hungary, however, the imperial army was driven out and independence was declared. Here counter-revolution required outside help, and this was provided by Czar Nicholas I under the terms of the Holy Alliance. Russian troops invaded Hungary and restored Hapsburg rule. Afterwards, Windischgratz's successor, Field Marshal von Haynau, unleashed his own troops on the defeated Hungarian population in an orgy of reprisals.

Present in Vienna in 1848 was a British woman called Helen Macfarlane, then about 30 years old. The experience of revolution and ensuing counter-revolution had a profound effect on her. When she returned to England she embraced the radical wing of Chartism, which was trying to revive itself following the defeat of the People's Charter campaign in 1848. In 1850 she began to write for two new publications edited in London by the Chartist leader, George Julian Harney: the monthly *Democratic Review* and the weekly *Red Republican*. Living in Burnley, Lancashire, Macfarlane knew Frederick Engels in Manchester. Engels, on behalf of Karl Marx (who was in London), commissioned her to write a translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, which had first been published in German just before the 1848 Revolutions broke out. Macfarlane's translation, serialized in the *Red Republican*, was presented by editor Harney as "the most revolutionary document ever given to the world."

THE DIVINE IDEA OF LIBERTY

In an article for the *Red Republican*, in June 1850, Helen Macfarlane, writing under the pseudonym of "Howard Morton," said that "Chartism in 1850 is a different thing from Chartism in 1840"; now that "English proletarians" had "proved they are the true democrats" and had "progressed from the idea of simple political reform to the idea of Social Revolution. Returning lately to this country after a long absence of some years, I was agreeably surprised by this fact. 'What old Mole; workest thou in the earth so fast?'"

Of course, she was over-optimistic. Chartism would never recover from the defeat of 1848 and the radicals' efforts to renew Chartism as a socialist movement were doomed to fail in the capitalist boom-time of the 1850s. But Macfarlane was the first British writer (actually, born in Scotland) to understand the awesome importance of two German thinkers: Hegel and Marx. Not only had she seen a Revolution; she had also grasped the power of an Idea:

The idea of perfect Liberty, of Equality and Fraternity—the divine idea of love, incarnate in the gentle Nazarean, is the idea we earnestly worship. This great work had been begun by the Lollards and other heretics of the middle ages, but its accomplishment was reserved for Luther. With the Enlightenment, it freed itself from the dead weight of a lifeless Past...bursting forth from under the accumulated rubbish of ages, like waters of life—like a fountain to refresh the wanderer fainting in desert places: it found an expression free from all symbols, sagas, and historical forms, in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," by Maximilian Robespierre, and in the immortal pages of the *Contrat Social* and *Emile*.

This unique and profound investigation into the nature of man, which, conducted by a phalanx of modern philosophers, was terminated by Hegel, the last and greatest. The result of this investigation was the democratic idea, but as thought, not in the inadequate form of a history or saga. As Hegel expresses it, "Freedom is a necessary element in the conception, man"...The next step in the history of this idea, will be its practical realization.

ANTIGONE

Hegel argued that philosophy sometimes must exercise "audacity." So also for Macfarlane, must its practical realization. She wrote:

We, who rally round the Red Flag, are reproached with entertaining the nefarious design of completely destroying the existing order of things; with the desire of totally abolishing the present system of society—for the purpose, it is said of putting some fantastic dream, some wild utopia of own in place of long established and venerable institutions; the accusers being "bankers, cottonspinners, landowners," as well as "superior women," educated according to the recipes of Mrs. Ellis for making "admirable wives and mothers."

We are low people certainly; disreputable vagabonds without doubt. In ancient times we were accounted "the enemies of the human race," accused of setting fire to Rome...I am happy to say we still retain our old reputation...and have not

failed to follow the laudable example of our precursors in Roman times...Yet even in England, this shopkeeping country of middle-class respectability there are a few of us belonging to the "better sort" who have repudiated all claim to be considered respectable, because for them the words Justice and Love are not mere empty sounds without a meaning; because they say—like Antigone in Sophocles—the laws of God are not of today, nor of yesterday, they exist from all eternity.

What are we to make of this remarkable unfurling of the Red Flag as the enactment of "laws of God" which "exist from all eternity"? Macfarlane seems to have taken onboard Hegel's analysis of Sophocles' tragedy *Antigone*. In this drama, Antigone's two brothers, Polynices and Eteocles, have killed each other fighting for control of the city of Thebes. Eteocles' victorious ally, his uncle King Creon, inherits the throne and decrees that, whilst Eteocles should be buried with full honors, the "rebel" Polynices should be left outside the walls of the city to be eaten by the birds. Antigone refuses to accept this dishonoring of a brother. Despite threats from Creon that he will bury her alive, she buries Polynices according to the tribal religion and she wins Creon's son Haemon over to her side. The conflict ends in disaster for all concerned.

Hegel describes how the dramatic clash in *Antigone* takes place between two irreconcilable principles: on the one hand, the moral law of the state, which is cruel, but nonetheless, historically "progressive"; on the other hand, the law of "natural" family honor, based on the kinship principles of a stateless tribal society. Antigone says of this "natural" law:

Not now, indeed, nor yesterday, but for aye
It lives, and no man knows what time it came.

The dialectical tension on Antigone occurs because the supposedly less "civilized" of the two colliding forces gains, in Hegel's words, a "self-conscious actual universality." Antigone does not just stand up to the new state; she also stands out as an individual from those in her community "who think as I do but dare not speak." Antigone holds her defiance as more important than her life and in breaking the bonds holding the state together.

George Lukács, in *The Young Hegel*, shows how Hegel saw the ancient tragedy of Antigone as a precursor of the "tragedy in the realm of the ethical" he saw unfolding in capitalism. Hegel feared that because great wealth seemed to be "indissolubly connected with the direst poverty," the powers of a "lower world" (expressed in the "laws" of political economy) were becoming inverted with the "higher world" (the Ethical State) and threatening to dissolve the "bonds uniting the whole people."

Lukács' insights were re-examined in the 1970s by Raya Dunayevskaya who, like Macfarlane, identified the Idea of Freedom with the Idea of History, freed from its narrow bourgeois horizon. Dunayevskaya praised Lukács' restatement of the importance of the Hegelian dialectic for understanding Marx's humanism, but rejected Lukács' fetishism of the "vanguard party" as mediator of class consciousness.

Dunayevskaya pointed out that the traditional Left had limited "subjectivity" to the negation of capitalism by an abstract universal of "socialism," which in reality had ended up as Stalinism and other forms of statism. But the second subjectivity—as "negation of the negation"—contained the objectivity of real struggles by real human beings. Addressing socialist feminists who were fighting for "autonomy" from the Old Left, Dunayevskaya argued that Hegel's analysis of Antigone expressed how the individual's experience in revolt can lead to a new subjectivity "purified of all that interferes with its universality"; in which the prevailing "principle" is an objective "autonomy" of self-liberation.

These 20th century interpretations of Hegel's analysis of Antigone illustrate its ongoing influence on revolutionary thinkers. In Helen Macfarlane's case, it surfaces again in an article she wrote on the visit to London in July 1850 by Baron von Haynau, the aforementioned Austrian field marshal and war criminal. Von Haynau happened to be visiting the Barclays and

Perkins brewery on Bankside when word got around the Chartist-supporting workers that the "Butcher Haynau" was in their midst. The workers set upon him and attempted to drown him in a barrel of beer; he narrowly escaped with his life and had to be rescued by a squad of constables. When the *Morning Post* asked, "How is it that the working class, once profoundly indifferent to what was taking place in foreign countries...have suddenly become so sensitive?" Macfarlane responded:

Let us look at the other side. A hoary-headed old ruffian orders women to be stripped naked, and flogged till nearly dead, by a set of savage soldiers...Of what terrible revolting crime had these unhappy women been guilty? They had aided their husbands, their fathers, their brothers, in the Hungarian and Italian insurrections.

These women, Macfarlane pointed out, "had aided those to whom they were bound by every natural and legal tie" as part of the struggle for Freedom. Like Antigone, they had upheld a "higher law" than that laid down by the state. And "it lives."

In another article she links the "Holy Spirit of truth" which inspired the poets and prophets—

namely Hesiod, Isaiah, Cervantes, Milton and Shelley—with the guidance of the "Nazarean" towards "a pure Democracy, where freedom and equality will be the acknowledged birth right of every human being; the golden age...the Paradise, which was never lost, for it lives—not backwards, in the infancy and youth of humanity—but in the future." On a similar note, she takes Blanqui's concept of "A Republic Without Helots" to mean a society "without poor, without classes...A society such indeed as the world has never seen—not only of free men, but of free women."

Macfarlane's recognition of her own subjectivity as one of the "few of us belonging to the 'better sort,'" who had defected to the side of the oppressed, as she puts it in reference to Antigone, comes from Marx. *The Communist Manifesto*, as translated by Macfarlane, celebrates the fact that "a part of the bourgeoisie is joining the proletariat, and particularly a part of bourgeois ideologists, or middle-class thinkers who have attained a theoretical knowledge of the whole historical movement."

I have taken up just a couple of themes from Macfarlane's writings. She also debated the issues of Chartist organization and propaganda; she did a powerful critique of Thomas Carlyle; she attacked the historians of the "Glorious British Constitution"; she wrote about the United States of America as a "sham republic" which wasn't a democracy because its Black people were enslaved and its women were denied their rights; and more.

Karl Marx described Helen Macfarlane as an "original" and a "rare bird." For me, she was a flash of humanistic enlightenment appearing suddenly in mid-19th century England, then just as suddenly disappearing without trace in 1851, having fallen out with her editor, Julian Harney. Historians, with a few exceptions, have ignored her.

Editor's note: The above essay consists of excerpts of a longer piece published in The Ethical Record, South Place Ethical Society, 25 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL. Website: www.ethicalsociety.org.uk



A cartoon from an 1848 issue of Punch magazine depicts a Chartist taunting the Prime Minister.

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FIGHTING WARS AT HOME AND ABROAD

There are some who say we have to support the troops invading Iraq "because they're there." That makes no sense at all. What is important is how much noise we've been making before it really starts—that is, before the body bags start coming home. In that sense, we've improved on the 1960s. But a lot of questions have been asked about where are the African Americans and Latinos in the anti-war demonstrations today? The truth is that we are already at war at home. Others may not have caught up to it yet, but we African Americans have been fighting our war here for a long time. They say that all politics is local. What that means to Black people is that we're not going to be plantation slaves any longer. This is a decisive moment for all of us.

George Chicago

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When Bush announced his war deadline, you could tell he had his priorities straight. He didn't talk about the harm to people, he said nobody in Iraq should harm the oil fields. I knew he had a lot of oil industry friends, but I recently learned that even his national security advisor, Condoleezza Rice, also has oil interests. They sure are taking care of their corporate friends.

Peace Activist Detroit

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The anti-war movement's unwillingness to address Saddam Hussein's past atrocities on the Kurds, Shi'ites and anyone opposed to him has contributed to the limitation of the growth of the movement into a truly massive peace movement. By keeping silent on Hussein's atrocities, there is a perception that the anti-war movement is pro-Saddam because the Bush administration's line is that the war is against him. If the movement distinguished clearly between Hussein and the Iraqi people it would have deflated the Bush administration's propaganda against "Iraq."

Basho Los Angeles

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It is almost as if Bush needed this war—and, of course, Osama bin Laden gave it to him. I can recall how before the 2000 election, many people were saying that Bush would get us into a war if he was elected. I think people understood war to be organic to Bush's politics, just as they knew him to be the biggest executioner of prisoners.

What seems to be coming clearer to me is that the contradictions of the post-WWII world, and then the "changed world" following the U.S. attack on the Gulf of Sidra in 1986, are full blown. The stage is being set for big changes and it is very frightening.

Union organizer Springfield, IL

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I wonder about the extent of the coverage of the anti-war movement today, when the protests in the early '90s didn't get that same kind of coverage. The same president who claims to be waging a war against terrorism is actually waging terrorism at home. They are not telling us what the war is really about. The media is giving a distorted view. We now have a lot of celebrities getting publicized for claiming to be anti-war

but when Muhammad Ali took a stand on Vietnam, he was given a very unpopular treatment. I want to know where the celebrities are on other concerns. Why are they bringing all this attention to the war while they are saying nothing about the attacks going on against people of color, those on welfare and AIDS victims? Why aren't they talking about that?

African American Chicago

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Maybe the African-American presence is not visible at the anti-war protests, but we have to look at the whole culture to see what is going on. The cutbacks in social services, which African Americans depend on, are very important. So many workers today can't afford any medical care, homelessness has increased, especially for single moms. There are Blacks who are Muslims and have sent money to help those in the Middle East, which can now cause them to lose their citizenship. The war will provide a way to make the Black dimension completely invisible. Black studies is already invisible on the campus.

Black single mom Chicago

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It seems to me there is a much larger number of elderly people participating in the demonstrations today than in previous peace movements. Maybe it's because we've been through WWII, the Korean War, the Vietnam War and the last Gulf war against Iraq—all showing the horrible loss of lives, the injuries, and sacrifices that get worse with each war.

One of the old people Michigan

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There have been protests all over Ecuador, the largest in Quito, where police aggressively attacked students, and in Cuenca where 10,000 marched in the streets. President Gutierrez issued a lukewarm condemnation of the war but the extremely right-wing Congress passed a resolution of condemnation by a four to one margin. The opposition of ordinary people is overwhelming beyond belief. I have yet to meet one person—bus driver, store keeper, street vendor, teacher, student, friend or family—who does not consider what Bush has done as criminal and obscene. In Quito yesterday a "trial" was held that found Bush guilty of violating international law and human decency.

Artist Ecuador

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We are beginning to see the kind of ferment that raises important questions in people's minds—like understanding how militarism and capitalism are linked. Like many others, I have found many people I know who were always very quiet now speaking out. One woman I always considered quite conservative startled me the other day by suddenly declaring that all the problems we were talking about come from capitalism. There is a clarity you can see happening everywhere.

Counselor Los Angeles

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In South Africa, for the first time in recent memory, a wide range of organi-

READERS' VIEWS

zations are getting together against the imperialist war on Iraq. These are the first stirrings of the working class since 1994 and mark the beginning of the revival of workers activity on the international political front. Over 10,000 people attended the Feb. 15 march in Cape Town and the movement is still growing.

Shaheed Mahomed, Anti-War Coalition, Capetown South Africa

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Who doubts that in a full war the might of America alone could crush Iraq. But a quick military victory is no indicator of a successful outcome. In some ways the campaign has a feel of Christian fundamentalism. Mr. Blair claims a high moral ground for a belief system which justifies more killing. Historically, Turkey was the foe and great effort was made to break the Ottoman empire. One of the tactics utilized was guerrilla or terrorist activity. Britain played a role in developing and fanning Arab nationalism then.

Pat Duffy England

THE WAR ON WOMEN

March 8 this year was when the 4th global women's strike was launched, where women worldwide go on strike against no pay, low pay and overwork. The theme this year was "Invest in Caring, not Killing." In solidarity with the women in 80 other countries around the world, Milwaukee's Welfare Warriors organized a "Moms on Strike" bus tour for that day, stopping at Maximus and UMOs, two welfare agencies which put moms to work for no pay; Walmart, the second richest corporation in the world which pays extremely low pay; and some temporary agencies which embody both low pay and overwork.

Women do two-thirds of the world's work, mostly unwaged caring work. We care for young, old, sick, dying, for neighborhoods, churches and schools. Yet this work isn't recognized and now women are being denied the time to do this work properly. The U.S. spends most of the people's money to fund killing and none to fund caring. With our strike we are saying "Stop the world and make a change." Help us stop the war on the poor.

Welfare Warriors 2711 W. Michigan Milwaukee, WI 53208

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While the world has been fixated on "The War," the Bush administration has continued its attacks on the home front with much less scrutiny from the press, and the population as a whole. Consider the "gift" just given the anti-choice forces who now have legal authority to return to their strategy and tactics for blocking access to abortion clinics and to "counseling" (i.e. harassing) women. I just heard on public radio part of a new "educational training tape" developed by Joseph Scheidler and other anti-choice leaders in which a "sidewalk counselor" is challenged by a pro-choice protester who indicates they are going against the law. The voice-over then recites the exact working in the legal authorization for what is being done and the "guarantee" the Constitution provides for their actions. This is only part of the increasing invasion on women's rights we are confronting in our war right at home today.

Women's Liberationist Chicago

CRITIQUE OF HOLLOWAY

Peter Hudis' review of John Holloway's book on changing the world without taking power was intriguing in

the way it responded both to what is positive and what is negative in Holloway. It shows that in following Adorno's logic, Holloway doesn't see the negation of the negation and thus falls short of the Marxist-Humanism of Raya Dunayevskaya, who seems to be the only theorist who recognizes it and appreciates it. The review gave us a lot to think about.

Longtime reader Detroit

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Hudis' review of Holloway's book is a little unfair. Holloway moves away from the Left as it exists now. He is calling for negating the Left as it exists now. He is saying that the Left needs a second negation. This book seems fairly praiseworthy, he is so far ahead of even Lukács and Adorno. As Hudis points out, Holloway caught that *Capital* was not just about capitalism, but about the destruction of capitalism. The review would be great without the last paragraphs, where he critiques Holloway for not bringing his thinking to his own roots. Praising something and then knocking it down for coming up short seems sectarian to me.

David Mizuno'Oto Oakland, Cal.

U.S. IN THE PHILIPPINES

An "explicit agreement" to allow 1,700 U.S. troops in to Jolo Island, a predominantly Muslim island south of Mindanao, was said to have been struck by U.S. department of war head Donald Rumsfeld and Philippine president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. The deal was supposedly to hunt down and kill members of the 250-member kidnapping and bandit group Abu Sayyaf and was abruptly retracted in response to a huge public outcry there in late February. This was right around the dozen-year anniversary of the U.S. abandonment of its two huge military bases in the Philippines under the pressure of mass opposition among Filipinos, and the 17th anniversary of the people power uprising that resulted in the constitutional ban on the presence of foreign troops in the country. Initially, when asked about the ban, a Pentagon spokesman responded that the Philippine government would "just have to finesse that problem."

Recent visitor to Philippines New York

VANGUARD TO LEAD, WHERE?

The response by *N&L* to the reader who complained that *N&L* is a mere commentator instead of being in the vanguard made me look at the way people all over the world are making history while the vanguardists are still trying to write a new program for the workers. The protests in the U.S. especially remind me of what was expressed in *Marxism and Freedom*—that there is another face in the U.S. that the rulers don't want the world to see—the oppressed workers fighting against the state. Today we see women, children, old people, young students, factory workers, intellectuals, farm workers—all uniting against war. We see youth carrying slogans: "down with capitalism."

What I would like to tell the vanguardists to study most in *Marxism and Freedom* is Raya Dunayevskaya's statement that "the idea of any genius has been first in the mind of the simple person" and that history has been made by the people.

Marcos California

+++

I appreciate the point of Brown Douglas' column about ANSWER in the March issue of *N&L*. The remnants of the vanguard party in the U.S. are a laughing stock. Among their flaws is their hyper-sectarian character, so that they more resemble cults. The Revolutionary Communist Party, frozen in Maoism, appears to be a Bob Avakian cult; the Socialist Workers' Party, frozen in Trotskyism, appears to be a Jack Barnes cult, and so forth. Isn't vying for

FOR RACHEL CORRIE

The media are eager for body counts in Iraq, but the body counts have already begun in Palestine. Under the cover of world attention riveted on the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the Israeli army is having its brutal way with the Palestinians. Yesterday (March 17) they shot and killed 11 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, including two teenagers and a two-year old girl, cowering inside her home—and another two in the West Bank. But with all eyes on Bush and Baghdad, is anybody looking at this? In the past few weeks, 26 Israeli and Palestinian organizations have joined together in the Palestinian-Israeli Emergency Committee, to try to prevent just such events from worsening.

The horrifying death of 23-year old

Rachel Corrie, a peace activist from the U.S., gripped me painfully. I awaken from sleep ever since with the image of this brave young woman standing in front of the bulldozer, asking with her eyes for the driver to have compassion on the home he was about to destroy, while he drove directly onto her. I did not know Rachel, but can only imagine that she could not envision the force of darkness about to envelop her. I shudder to recall similar acts of nonviolent resistance in recent years which ended with only injuries. This killing reveals the hardening hearts of those now giving and carrying out the orders.

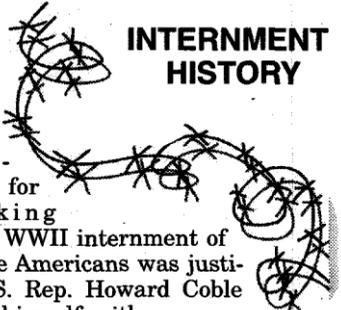
Gila Svirsky Jerusalem

(For photo, see page 12.)

a role in the leadership of the rapidly emerging antiwar movement among these comically sectarian cells, otherwise consigned to the nether regions of American public discourse, a sort of practical joke on the Left?

Vanguardist organizations ironically re-enact the precise sense in which Marx criticized philosophical idealism, by imagining that the idea comes from above, and therefore that the idea ought only to be reseeded in people from on high, by reading the correct newspaper like a religious fundamentalist.

**Tom More
Spokane**



INTERNMENT HISTORY

In his pseudo-apology for remarking that the WWII internment of Japanese Americans was justified, U.S. Rep. Howard Coble excuses himself with an argument from hindsight: "I can see why FDR made that decision... Today we can look back and see the damage that it caused." They didn't need 50 years of raised national consciousness to see the damage inflicted on the Japanese-American community and on the principle of due process. Thousands of internees and outraged ACLU activists took the U.S. to court.

It wasn't hindsight that transformed any once accepted practice into an injustice after the fact. As the March Archives column on "the American Roots of Marxism" shows, there had always been Black and white opposition to slavery. Its abolition and the subsequent shortening of the working day were not simply gifts conferred on the oppressed by a nation that had grown older and wiser. On the contrary, it was the struggle of those who fought and died for such freedoms that prompted the nation to grow older and wiser.

**Japanese American
Oakland, Cal.**

HOMELAND SECURITY?

The dissent aroused by the crises today has been accompanied by increas-

ing attacks by the right against the forces of revolt. What we have been seeing in all the steps taken since 9/11 are giving a legal basis for a police state. It is now taking the form of an even more dangerous Patriot Act II. Under its definitions, very nearly anyone can simply be labeled a "terrorist" and be stripped of citizenship. We all know of the increased surveillance at the growing demonstrations and the threat of mass incarceration of protesters. But what is important is that plans were in place for military compounds even before 9/11. It is because the rulers have not been able to get control over their masses that such drastic new solutions are being prepared.

**World War II Veteran
Michigan**

When Irish activist and former Member of Parliament, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey arrived in Chicago on Feb. 21 she was denied entry into the U.S. allegedly on "national security" grounds. She was photographed, fingerprinted and immediately returned to Ireland against her will. She had travelled to the U.S. with her daughter, Deirdre, to attend a christening. Deirdre is quoted as saying: "I can't imagine what threat they could think she poses to U.S. security. Unless the threat is knowing too much and saying it too well." The McAliskies have a long history of fighting government repression on both sides of the Atlantic.

**Astounded
Chicago**

BUSH 'LOGIC' ?

This is what I call Bush Logic:
If there is no right, then there is no left!
If there is no wrong, then there is no right!
If there is no up, then there is no down!
If there is no good, then there is no bad!
If the world is against me, then I must be for the world. I will look out for the world, but the world should not look out for me.

**Nouveau Toussaint
Chicago**

I typed in "March," "War," and "Bush," and your website came up. I feel so helpless to stop this madness. How can this

man have the power that he does? Is no one in Washington able to stop him? Thanks for wanting peace. What can be done? I am a medical missionary, penniless and 68 years old. God help this country. Bush is trying to finish it off.

**New Web reader
North Carolina**

CLASS STRUGGLE 2003

The article on the Fred's boycott (January-February *N&L*) speaks eloquently to the battles with management over organizing a union. Non-union support is very important. These struggles are repeated year after year; union organizers are blacklisted even when there is a positive ruling from the NLRB, which always takes at least two to four years. This story recalled what I wrote about on the class struggles in the mines in the *N&L* pamphlet about the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike. At least back then labor had a little power. Now there is a real conspiracy between union bureaucrats and management. Job loss has increased so much that recent figures show over a million unemployed. And that doesn't include part-timers and people who have stopped looking for work. The whole of *N&L* shows what families have to go through to get a job today.



**Andy Phillips
Detroit**

KILLING ACHEH'S PEACE ACCORD

For many years demonstrators and human rights activists in Aceh have been arrested and killed by government security forces. Since the accord signed in December between Indonesia and the separatist Free Aceh Movement there has been a significant decrease in the number of violent incidents. But recent attacks and killings indicate that government forces are trying to destroy the prospect for peace. Four Acehese were killed on March 15 alone and a drive-by shooting killed another two people riding a motorcycle. Such incidents appear designed to

keep the population from even hoping for real peace in Aceh. A lot of Acehese feel hopeless and very scared. The Indonesian government is trying to crush the demand for self-determination by keeping the military in every corner of Aceh.

**Correspondent
New York**

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION TODAY

The excerpts from chapter 9 of *Philosophy and Revolution* printed in the Archives column of the January-February issue were as powerful to read today as when they were first written in 1973. Their power was not only in seeing the reason of the Black revolt of the 1960s but in bringing out what it meant that Martin Luther King made a strong connection to the anti-war movement. Unfortunately, the anti-war movement now, just as then, is not reciprocating.

**Activist-thinker
Detroit**

In this utterly retrogressive period, it is critical to return to Raya Dunayevskaya's writing in *Philosophy and Revolution* against picking up theory "en route." Now theory is not even "en route." It is thrown out altogether. Dunayevskaya picked out the self-activity of Black youth who initiated a new era of struggle for all. She singled out the Black youth as the first to say "Hell no. We won't go." Many in today's movements think they are the leaders, not Black youth. They need to study the statement from a Black youth in Oakland who said, "If you don't join Uncle Sam's army, you have to join the unemployed army or end up in prison." Man's retrogression in thought doesn't only reflect reality but creates it.

**Hospital worker
Oakland, Cal.**

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Memphis debunks power of duct tape

Memphis, Tenn. — On Saturday, March 8, about 20 neighborhood people and environmental justice activists came together at a house in the Crump neighborhood, a Black neighborhood in north Memphis. We were there to test out the "shelter-in-place" technique that the chemical companies in the neighborhood say will save people in the event of a chemical disaster. Eerily, this technique is exactly what the Office of Homeland Security has been telling us to do in the event of a terrorist biological or chemical attack: to have lots of plastic sheet and duct tape on hand and seal all windows, doors, and vents to block outside air from coming in.

The Concerned Citizens of Crump Neighborhood Association and the Sierra Club had already put out a flyer that said, "Duct Tape & Plastic, Emergency Quackery." We were there to give a demonstration to the press of exactly how effective shelter-in-place is during an emergency. A hypothetical scenario was planned in which a train derailed on the main track that runs through the community. This train contains liquefied propane and begins to leak, catches fire, and explodes. A woman from the community has less than ten minutes from the sounding of the siren to tape up all of the windows, the door, and vents in her chosen room. If she is unsuccessful, the Grim Reaper goes into her house and demonstrates the consequences.

The woman testing out shelter-in-place said, "I was out of breath within five minutes and I had to sit down. I only had one window taped, but not completely airtight, the way they want you to do it. I could never get

up there to tape that vent, and I could never tape three windows; which is where I would shelter. I couldn't tape up three windows in ten minutes. I don't believe the average person would be able to do it. It's just a reality that you're going to be dead if you sit up in here and tape up and wait on somebody to come and get you."

Another woman said of the situation, and of being in a neighborhood with all exits blocked by a potential passing train, "The chemicals have always been a big problem with us all our lives. You know, the smell and everything like that. So we had lived with that foul odor all my childhood, for years...When you say something, nothing's going to happen anyway. Nothing is going to be done about it. So you'll just be talking loud and saying nothing. Even with the railroads, when you're driving your car down the street. I understand that some neighborhoods have a train problem. But in here, you can wait a half hour for a train that's coming with any kind of chemicals or anything else, you're just going to have to sit there and wait. Over on James, they have an overpass because that is a predominately white neighborhood."

The media advisory flyer put together for this event says it all: "Chemical emergencies can happen at any time in a neighborhood hosting five polluting industries in less than three miles." I believe that we showed these industries and the rest of Memphis that "shelter-in-place" really is a poor excuse for a safety measure.

—Participant



Memphis' Crump residents protest chemical disasters.

News & Letters

Dennis Williams

Dennis Williams, 47, died March 20. He was one of the Ford Heights Four, and as such he spent 18 years on Death Row for a crime he did not commit. The suit brought against Cook County, Illinois by him and his co-defendants made him a millionaire, but could not restore his youth and early adulthood.

On July 2, 1996 I took the day off work so I could stand in a courtroom and hear Judge Thomas Fitzgerald say to Dennis, Kenneth Adams and Willie Range, "All the convictions are vacated." My knees went weak and I nearly cried.

After he became free, Dennis responded to requests to speak about the death penalty and wrongful convictions. At a Northwestern University forum, a student questioned him on how he had maintained his integrity through an ordeal that had taken away half his life. His reply: You have to understand the power of innocence. Not he nor his co-defendants, Adams, Verneal Jimerson, and Range ever cooperated with crooked law enforcement or prosecutors who plied them with threats and blandishments to testify against each other.

The last time I saw Dennis was at an event where Governor George Ryan announced the pardon of Paula Jones, the 16-year-old who had been coerced and terrified into testifying against the four. None of the four held her testimony against her because they knew that she was also a victim. It comforted me to know that he had won some of his battles and that he stuck it to the people who had framed and betrayed him. I'm going to miss that comfort now. He was the first person I ever talked to on the phone from death row. I hate knowing that that young, stubborn life is gone.

—January

BLACK/RED VIEW

Powell's imperialism

(Continued from page 1)

President Ronald Reagan's first secretary of defense. Weinberger liked his management and political skills, which led to his appointment as Reagan's national security advisor.

When the Reagan administration ended, Powell moved up in rank to four star general, was nominated by President George Bush to chair the Joint Chiefs of Staff and played a major role in the Persian Gulf War in '91. As a rising star of the military bureaucracy, Colin Powell was helpful to the most right-wing elements of the Republican Party.

Though mass unrest caused the military establishment to open up, President Truman's executive order, which integrated the armed forces from above, cannot compare to Rosa Parks' simple act of refusing to give up her seat on a bus, which opened the civil rights revolution from below. The U.S.'s imperialist wars, even when fought under a banner of freedom, are not concerned about African-American freedom. Only African Americans and their allies have engaged in struggles to gain and secure freedom and civil rights in this country.

The main aim of the Civil War, for example, was not to free slaves, but to save the Union and the capitalist form of exploited labor. Nor was there a plan to treat the ex-slaves as equal and kindred human beings. By 1877 the military abandoned the South to the racists, ending the Reconstruction period during which African Americans brought that area the only real democracy it had known.

This was the new state of racist terror, when on the eve of the 20th century the U.S. entered onto the world stage as an imperial power. It defeated the decrepit military forces of the Spanish Empire and was in the process of annexing Cuba and the Philippines, Spain's colonies. Theodore Roosevelt's justification for this imperialist venture was that Anglo-Saxon superiority would bring civilization and end barbarism in the world. He paid no attention to the barbarism committed against African Americans in the South.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN ANTI-IMPERIALISM

African Americans did make this connection and actively supported the Anti-Imperialist League, who in their "Address to the People of the U.S." in 1898 said:

"We are in full sympathy with the heroic struggles for liberty of the people in Cuba and the Philippines, and therefore we protest against depriving them of their rights by an exchange of masters [annexation by the U.S.]. Only by recognizing their rights as free men are all their interests protected....A beaten foe has no right to transfer a people whose consent has not been asked, and a free republic has no right to hold in subjection a people so transferred."

On the very day in September 1901 when President McKinley was assassinated, Theodore Roosevelt asked Booker T. Washington for his advice on appointments. Roosevelt needed Washington to allay African-American opposition to racist U.S. policies.

An African-American face in the right wing does not advance African-American freedom. It did not a century ago, even if Booker T. Washington was the first African American to dine at the White House with the president on Oct. 16, 1901. It does not today, with Powell as the first African-American Secretary of State.



VOICES FROM THE INSIDE OUT

by Robert Taliaferro

When former President Clinton signed Executive Order 13166, he enacted one of the few well-thought out laws during his administration. Order 13166 required federal agencies to provide translations of official forms and documents into the language that an individual requests.

With the new Republican Congress, and a Republican President bent on waging war to express U.S. policy at the expense of the rest of the world, a growing xenophobic lobby is finding it imperative to define an "official" language for the U.S. Representative Peter King (R-NY) is taking the forefront of this argument as he is planning on introducing the National Language Act (NLA).

This Act would, in its supporters' thoughts, restore American tradition and values by abolishing bilingual ballots and requiring official forms to be published in English only. Additionally, citizenship ceremonies would also be conducted in English only. Noting that English has been the binding factor of American society, people like King feel that programs that promote bilingual education are divisive to the country.

IRONIES OF PERMANENT WAR

It is ironic and surprising, with war and no certain peace looking to present itself anywhere in the next decade, and with race, class, and cultural differences expanding rather than waning, that members of Congress are still discussing ways to further alienate minority populations in this country, even as they ask for support and patience.

It is also ironic that the only truly indigenous languages of the country are almost nonexistent, being destroyed—not through voluntary means—but through callous acts of barbarism that seem like historical precursors of similar acts of "U.S. enemies"

Detroit stands up for affirmative action

Detroit—I attended a Detroit march supporting affirmative action at the University of Michigan recently. It was a large crowd of 3,500. (The scab paper states "up to 1,000." Are they still counting Black people as 3/5 of a person?) The crowd was diverse: older folks and college students including the African-American fraternities and sororities who stepped and rapped to the delight of the other marchers.

It completely filled a seven-lane road and it took me a while to work my way to the front of the march. I saw NAACP ladies in fur coats. Many in the crowd were sports fans and/or alumni proudly wearing their blue and gold: one lady said she and her friend had been on campus exactly 30 years ago when it all started.

Churches marched under their own banners, as did the Detroit City Council and several Arab-American organizations. SEIU had a sizable contingent. I saw a hand-made sign "I support U. of M." When I came close I found a group of young people in green jackets (from arch-rival Michigan State University) holding the sign.

A large number of Arab Americans, including many college students, carried signs in English and Arabic "Arab Americans support affirmative action." A group

abroad.

In a country founded by immigrants, that brutally colonized and suppressed its indigenous population, it is an absurd concept that the only divisive elements that currently exist in the country are those that are new arrivals to its shores.

It is typical, however, that such racially and culturally discriminatory concepts are discussed, given that the U.S. is one of the few countries in the world that does not believe that its citizens need to understand any other language but English, when the education systems of most countries require their students to be bilingual or multilingual.

"FROM MANY, ONE"

The glue that has always bound America and made it unique was not English, but rather the talents, skills, ideas, and cultural individualism that was blended and interwoven into the American psyche. Among that cultural individualism was language.

Language—and access to one's cultural language—is an inherent right, not a privilege, and supporters of such measures like the NLA and similar concepts should remember that this country was allegedly founded because of a distinct and direct desire that rights—not privilege—should prevail.

To abrogate one's language, one must also abrogate this cultural heritage, and it is those different heritages interwoven, intertwined, interdeveloped, which have created the much-lauded melting pot of U.S. society and which supports the fundamental principle of the country, *e pluribus unum*—Latin, one might add, that translates: from many, one. In a time of war, we must be attuned to the direct aspects, as well as underlying subtle notions that might be ignored in light of the overall "visible" themes so that not only people, but cultural rights, will not become casualties of war.

of Native Americans also participated.

The Left did attend, and were kept busy with people eagerly buying "No War" signs. The march had been well publicized on Black radio stations but not on the main TV news channels. I heard conversations about the need for Detroit to spearhead this campaign; how great it was to see so many different people; and many discussions about the war stressing Saddam Hussein's history of crimes against his own people.

It concluded with a rally on the U.S. courthouse steps where Rev. Charles Adams, former president of the Detroit NAACP chapter, urged all to "Get on the Bus—with Us" to rally at the Supreme Court in Washington on April 1.

Though white faces were scattered among the predominantly African-American marchers, I wondered where were those who had come out against the war two weeks ago when it was 22° colder? It goes to show how if the anti-war movement were sensitive to Black issues, both these movements would gain important strength. A mass outpouring like this creates a new dimension, both individually and collectively.

—Susan Van Gelder

Language as a right

War, resistance, and the shift in global politics

(Continued from page 1)

Chirac's refusal to support Bush on Iraq has more to do with France's declining power in Europe due to EU and NATO expansion. The more the EU expands into Central and East Europe, the more decentralized it becomes and less subject to French and German control. Chirac sees an independent stance vis-a-vis the U.S. on Iraq as a way to reassert French power in Europe at a moment when many newer EU members feel beholden to the U.S.

France's position also reflects a contest with the U.S. over influence in the Third World. On Feb. 20 leaders of 52 African nations attending a French-African summit in Paris endorsed the French position opposing war on Iraq.

While this is not the first time France has taken a position that conflicts with the U.S., what is new today is that it has the support of Germany. With the absence of any external military threat, Germany's rulers are less willing to go against the massive opposition to war among the German masses.

The positions of Chirac and German Chancellor Schroeder, however, have so far not had the effect of bolstering French and German influence in the EU as much as bringing to the surface long-simmering rivalries within it. The governments of Spain and Italy don't mind seeing their role in the EU augmented at French and German expense, given the increasing importance of their economies. They have supported Bush, despite mass opposition to war at home. Blair's Britain, meanwhile, always wary about Franco-German domination of the continent, has become Bush's most trusted and energetic ally.

The rulers of the 10 nations in Central and East Europe that were approved for EU membership in December 2002 have also rallied in support of Bush. They view total support for U.S. dictates as a way to counterbalance French and German power (France's economy is larger than that of Spain, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic combined, and Germany's is 50% larger than France's). Romania and Bulgaria are a long way from reaching the EU's conditions for membership; its rulers view total support for U.S. acts as a way to jump-start their way into "new Europe" via NATO.

Bush's actions have brought to the surface the fault-lines of European enlargement, which long preceded his drive to war against Iraq. The result is rising tension between the U.S. and France and Germany on a scale not seen in 50 years.

Bush cronies like Richard Perle of the Defense Policy Board have declared that the U.S. should abandon "romantic, nostalgic notions of the U.S. and members of



Anti-war protest in Turkey.

the EU as allies working to achieve a common policy." And Secretary of State Colin Powell stated: "The [Atlantic] alliance is breaking itself up because it will not meet its responsibilities."

This made it easier for Russia—which has nothing to gain and much to lose from a U.S. war against Iraq in the way of oil contracts and a \$20 billion debt owed to it by Hussein—to also threaten to veto a war against Iraq in the UN Security Council.

These intra-capitalist rivalries pose a huge challenge for the anti-war movements, because nothing would do more to channel them into a reformist, non-revolutionary direction than for the movements to follow the latest incarnations of neo-Gaullism. The more anti-war movements tailend existing state powers, be it France, Germany, or any other power in the UN, the less likely they are to pose any real challenge to world capitalism.

IMPACT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

Bush's rush to war has also led to increased conflict with Turkey. The Turkish parliament's March 1 failure to approve positioning 60,000 U.S. troops there for an invasion, even after being offered \$30 billion in economic inducements, was a stunning setback for the administration.

U.S. relations with Turkey have been severely strained. Turkey will not even allow U.S. jets to take off from NATO bases in the country, permitting only flights over its airspace. Over 95% of its populace opposes war on Iraq, and the U.S. pressure—it would not be wrong to call it bribery—to get it to agree to its mandates earned it few friends, even from within Turkey's political establishment. Murat Mercan, a member of parliament, said of U.S.-Turkish relations: "The relationship is spoiled. The Americans dictated to us. It became a business negotiation, not something between friends. It disgusted me."

The U.S. setback on Turkey is especially striking since the U.S. burned up a lot of political capital to secure its cooperation, as seen in its promise to allow the Turkish army to occupy northern Iraq to keep the Kurds in line. The U.S. also promised Turkey that it would make sure that the Kurds don't get control of the Mosul and Kirkuk oil fields. Kurdish groups were furious with the U.S. over this.

As bad a deal as the Kurds will get from the war, the Palestinians are destined to make out worse. Today is not like 1991, when the U.S. had support from many European and Arab regimes in the Gulf War. Because of this Bush Sr. had to pay at least lip service to Palestinian desires for self-determination after it was over.

The situation is different now, when the U.S. and Britain are taking on Iraq virtually alone. Bush's entire approach indicates that he will give a green light to Israel's Sharon to do as he pleases in his continuous war against the Palestinians. This despite the "road map" plan, which calls for forming a Palestinian state in three years. This will not amount to much. First, because the divisions between the U.S. and some of its allies means that the so-called quartet—the U.S., UN, EU, and Russia—will be unable to put collective pressure on Israel. Second, because Bush insists that before any negotiations begin all violent acts against Israel must cease—the same demand Sharon has been making for two years to prevent any meaningful discussion

from taking place with the Palestinians.

The peril facing the Palestinians is further underlined by Sharon's new government, which includes the National Union Party. It favors annexation of the West Bank and expulsion of the Palestinians from the occupied territories.

Israel's rulers hope that U.S. war against Iraq will allow it to reshape the Middle East in its image. Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz said that after the U.S. takes care of Iraq it should go after Iran, a greater threat to Israel: "We have great interest in shaping the Middle East the day after a war."

Most ominously of all, members of the Bush administration have begun to openly talk of the war against Iraq as a "pilot project" for future U.S. wars of intervention, possibly against Iran and North Korea.

WAR IN EAST ASIA?

Sensing that it may be next on Bush's hit-list, North Korea's decrepit Stalinist regime has upped the ante by restarting its nuclear reactor at Yongbyon and challenging U.S. spy aircraft. Bush, who refuses to engage in direct talks with North Korea, responded on March 4 by sending 24 B-52 and B-1 bombers to Guam, in striking distance of North Korea. Though he says the U.S. doesn't plan to invade North Korea, he has not ruled out a preemptive air strike on its nuclear sites.

These moves are causing consternation in South Korea. Over 21 million South Koreans live in the "kill box"—the Seoul metropolitan area, in reach of North Korea's 13,000 artillery pieces. Another Korean war could kill over a million people—and that's without counting the use of nuclear weapons.

This is creating serious tensions between the U.S. and South Korea, which wants to form a Common Market with North Korea. South Korea's President Roh Moo Hyun recently said in a speech to the Korean Federation of Trade Unions, "Koreans should stand together, although things will get difficult when the U.S. bosses us around." An advisor to Roh added, "If the American policy is simply to wait for North Korea to make a huge mistake, there is no future for the alliance and no future for the American position in East Asia" (See *The New York Times*, Feb. 25).

On Feb. 24, China, Australia and South Korea urged the U.S. to enter into one-to-one talks with North Korea. Bush refuses. Relations with China are becoming strained. Japan has moved closer to the U.S. position, worried about China's growing power in East Asia. Whether we look at West Europe or East Asia, the U.S.'s drive for war threatens to unravel the whole structure of global politics.

A CHANGED WORLD

The U.S. war against Iraq is rooted in its drive for single world mastery. It's been with us since the end of World War II, when the U.S. contended with Russia for world domination. By 1991 the collapse of the Soviet Union forced one side to drop out of this drive for world domination. Yet the U.S. continued its drive, unencumbered by competition from another superpower.

At the time some thought the U.S. would create new global institutions to deal with this changed world. However, it didn't happen. Though there was a lot of talk after 1991 that NATO had lost its purpose, the collapse of the post-World War II world didn't lead U.S. rulers to create any new imperial architecture. The same institutions that served it during the Cold War, like NATO, were preserved, only now expanded into Central and East Europe.

Today, however, institutions like NATO and the UN are coming under severe strain. Whereas in 1991 U.S. rulers chose to stick with the old international institutions despite the new reality, by now those institutions are crumbling under the weight of the U.S.'s incessant drive for single world mastery.

What underpins such changes is U.S. military power.

(Continued on page 10)

Two prisoners' views of American gulag

Pontiac, Ill.—Former Illinois Governor Ryan's decision to pardon over 150 inmates surprised us all. Here in Pontiac is where most of Death Row is housed. When we go to the yard, we are all separated by cages but nonetheless we communicate.

Two of the guys that received pardons went home as free men from Pontiac. Now they are on the cover of newspapers and they have the media's undivided attention. I hope they not only expose the injustices of the justice system but also the brutality of Pontiac and other prisons throughout the state.

Before the former governor made his decision, Rev. Jesse Jackson came down here to speak with the Death Row inmates. But whenever someone like Jackson or any media comes around, they don't let us go out into our cages for our yard time. The reason is that the warden as well as his foot soldiers know that this place is psychologically torturing guys and a lot of them here belong in some type of mental facility for the proper treatment. This is their way of keeping the truth about Pontiac in the dark.

Just think how Pontiac would look if the media came down here and saw guys outside in their single man cages. They would see guys mentally disturbed, running around in freezing weather, naked, screaming at everybody. They would see guys who still don't have coats for the freezing weather because Pontiac doesn't issue them like they're supposed to. The outside cages are barbaric to look at, so Pontiac hides the truth about them. Something is seriously wrong with the system.

Corcoran, Cal.—some countries it's the practice to cut off the hand of a thief. The thief is then left to ponder his stump and weigh the positives and negatives of stealing again. Of course, he may starve if he does not steal. And what employer would give work to an inferior, one-handed man and a known thief.

In this country it is not the removal of the hand but the removal of life—captivity. Do disproportionately long prison terms not scar the mind as effectively as any trauma? Is even the "released" prisoner—who is under the thumb of the government, known as the parole department—ever again allowed true freedom or opportunity?

The answers are secondary, minor concerns to those that gain from such a situation. To give freedom is to lose control. As population grows, so must control. As our government gains power at the expense of our civil liberties, they are more and more able to impose their goals, which they disguise as ours.

As we watch violent crime rise we are left to wonder why the state no longer focuses on rehabilitation. The throw-away policy is not effective or humane, yet they intensify it by building more prisons, implementing inhumane, disproportional sentences.

A major lie has been imposed on the public concerning "criminals." They say criminals are not like us, they are vastly different, they are sick and incurable. They say we must lock them away and forget.

There are two main issues that create a criminal. One type is those effected by their environment. Another is the mentally ill.

Remember that prisoners include drug dealers and drug users, and thieves/robbers in the majority numbers. But they are in the most part poor citizens to begin with.

The rest of the prisoners make up murderers, sexual predators and abusers of their fellow man. This category seems less connected to social status, so can often (though not always) be attributed to mental illness. Most could be helped or cured, some in a short amount of time, some in years, some never. But to group them all together as incurable and useless bodies is a crime in itself. To see the citizens as a manipulatable mass, and the sum of many different people, is truly to abuse them all.

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Mexico's campesinos hit NAFTA

A new agrarian movement has arisen in Mexico in response to the suffering caused by nine years of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The single largest mobilization so far has been the Jan. 31 march by over 100,000 campesinos in Mexico City, demanding the revision of NAFTA. Numerous other land seizures, road blockages and hunger strikes in many states have been taking place for several months.

The movement has been characterized by its extension from Chiapas in the south to Chihuahua in the north, and the fact that it has arisen from below, without involvement from political parties. It is also not restricted to indigenous communities. The government has failed to force a split in the movement during recent negotiations, aimed at drafting an "Acuerdo Nacional para el Campo" (National Agrarian Accord).

The aim of campesino organizations is that any accord will substantially rewrite the sections of NAFTA that deal with agriculture, while the Fox administration, which one day extols NAFTA and the next admits to its devastating effects, wants any new laws to avoid even mentioning NAFTA.

As of Jan. 1, 2003 the penultimate phase of NAFTA went into effect. This stage cuts all taxes on agricultural imports except beans, rice and dry milk, which will be affected in the final phase in 2008. One example of this is the end of a 59% tariff on imported U.S.



Mexican farmers protest

chicken. Mexican chicken producers say they'll be cutting 30,000 jobs this year alone, due to inability to compete with U.S. manufacturers where costs of production are 68% less.

The Fox government's own figures show that as of 2001 52% of Mexico's eight million people living off the land are poor, compared to 35% in 1992. In 1995, one year after NAFTA began, Mexico still had an agricultural trade surplus with the U.S. of \$581 million; as of 2001 it was a \$2.1 billion yearly deficit.

Fox denies there's a problem, despite the fact that the U.S. violates NAFTA's core requirements by continuing to pay huge subsidies to U.S. agribusiness. According to the Frente Democrático de Chihuahua, the rural producer in Mexico gets \$720 a year in subsidies; in the European Union it is \$16,000 and in the U.S., \$21,000. This type of imbalance is what NAFTA was supposed to erase, but instead the agreement is being used to lay waste to the Mexican countryside.

At the Mexico City march one campesina woman from Chiapas had this to say: "Prices on our products are going down every day. When we arrived in the capital for the march, we found that a cup of coffee costs seven pesos. In Chiapas we sell a kilo of our coffee for two pesos. We don't agree with this government that's ruining our lives. We came here for a solution, because they say Chiapas is a lost hope, that we're condemned to suffer, but we're marching to change that."

—Mitch Weerth

Discontented masses shun elections in Iran

Iranians not only have lost their belief in the ballot and reform efforts of President Khatami, but are also looking for an alternative outside of the Islamic regime. Low urban voter turnout for the nationwide local council elections March 1 is evidence of this.

While voter turnout was as high as 95% in rural areas, it was only 10% to 12% of eligible voters in Tehran and other major cities like Isfahan in central Iran. Low turnout also indicates a serious crisis for the legitimacy of the conservative Islamic regime which insists that voting is a religious duty. In short, the low turnout has seriously damaged the Islamic regime's hope of maintaining power with limited reforms.

During the last 24 years the Islamist regime has tried to blame outsiders, especially U.S. imperialism, for its own failure to respond to any demands by the Iranian people. It has been suppressing the working people of Iran. A recent labor law, for instance, exempts workshops of 10 employees or fewer from the minimal rights stipulated in the labor law, affecting millions.

Furthermore political, economic and social condi-

tions are unalterable for all Iranians. And today almost 70% of the Iranian population lives in absolute poverty. This fact, along with the lack of any political and social freedoms, constitutes the main reasons for disbelief in the ballot.

People have few illusions about this regime, as many are mobilizing against it. At the same time, Islamic fundamentalism is a reactionary force that, unlike in the past, Western powers led by the U.S. are not going to tolerate.

In that context, the Iranian government is trying hard to maintain its position in the region. That is why they supported the U.S. in its war against the Taliban in Afghanistan. The Islamist regime in Iran also does not mind if the U.S. overthrows Saddam Hussein. In fact, they are looking for a greater role in the next Iraqi regime especially through Iraq's Shi'ites.

At the same time that the U.S. government is going to war against Iraq, Bush's cabinet is keeping a close eye on the Iranian opposition movement because the recent events can yet affect the whole Middle East.

—Ali

Socialist scholars

New York—Over 2,000 left activists, teachers and students attended the 21st annual Socialist Scholars Conference at Cooper Union in New York City March 14-16. This was the site of a memorial meeting for Karl Marx on March 19, 1883, attended by a vast throng of working men and women.

At the present meeting, however, there was barely any mention of Marx or socialist revolution. The speakers addressed largely strategic issues under the conference's title, "War Without End? The Left Responds!"

Buoyed by the people-power shown in the worldwide anti-war demonstrations, the conference was livelier and attracted more youth than in previous years. Leslie Cagan, a major organizer for the Feb. 15 demonstration here and a co-chair of Committees of Correspondence, noted that the Left would have to play catch-up with the populous anti-war protesters.

The U.S. was repeatedly referred to as an empire. The connection between worldwide capitalism and imperialism was recognized but the mediations were not adequately theorized. Lenin's work on imperialism—and that of the Monthly Review School which is based on that work—was criticized as outmoded. There was disagreement as to whether the UN could serve us as an institution for monitoring and enforcing codes of international behavior.

Tariq Ali of *New Left Review* saw a shift away from the post-Cold War policies of Clinton-Blair which were justified in terms of a blend of national self-interest and ethical concerns. Similarly, Gramsci expert Joe Buttigieg saw the emergence of a new Right which not only took advantage of 9/11 to pursue its already-set agenda but which now pursues a maximalist program with scant regard for democratic process.

As in the past, the conference was Eurocentric. There were few sessions devoted to issues of African Americans and Hispanics and a decreased attendance from those groups. The aspirations of the Kurds for self-determination were barely mentioned.

Two panels were held on dialectics, both very well attended. Bertell Ollman, Paul Paolucci, and David Harvey spoke at a panel on "The Philosophy of Internal Relations in Marx's Dialectical Method."

Another panel, "The Hegelian-Marxian Dialectic and the Transcendence of Capitalism" (sponsored by News and Letters Committees) featured Russell Rockwell, who spoke on Hegel's "Idea of the Good" in contemporary Marxist theory; Randy Martin, who discussed Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* as calling into question the privileging of the amelioration of inequality as the core goal; Andrew Kliman, who presented a succinct discussion of the dialectic of capitalist crisis; Peter Hudis, who spoke on the relation between Hegel's dialectic method and his concept of "absolute negativity"; and Joel Kovel, who argued that an ecologically aware approach to the world situation would entail a "change in our whole manner of being."

Several other panels addressed women's rights and religious fundamentalism in the U.S. and Middle East.

—Eli Messenger

Lead-editorial: War on Iraq, mass resistance, and shifting alliances

(Continued from page 9)

But the U.S.'s unprecedented military power does not necessarily translate into global dominance. As the ongoing war in Iraq shows, the U.S.'s effort to negate all limits to its drive for war ends up creating other limits which become real barriers to achieving U.S. global dominance.

As Michael Ignatiev has argued, it is a fatal mistake to confuse global power with global dominance. The U.S.'s global military power actually tends to undermine U.S. global dominance, as it leads more nations and peoples to resist U.S. dictates. (See "The Burden," *New York Times Magazine*, Jan. 5, 2003.)

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF WAR

Few issues have received less discussion than the economic ramifications of the war. A study by William D. Nordhaus says that the cost of military action, occupation, and reconstruction in a war with little Iraqi resistance would be \$120 billion, while if things get complicated the cost could be \$1.6 trillion. By the end of the war's first week, Bush was ready to ask Congress for a \$75 billion emergency appropriation to fight the war.

All this is occurring just when the economy is facing serious problems. From 1997 to 2000 (the height of the much-touted "boom") the rate of profit in the non-financial sector in the U.S. fell by 20%. Since then profit rates have fallen further. If profit rates are falling, what keeps the economy afloat? The answer in part is that the Federal Reserve has pushed interest rates so low that there's been a frenzy of household borrowing that has so far kept the economy going.

However, another key factor is the influx of foreign capital. In the mid-1990s the U.S. decided to push up the value of the dollar. To reduce the value of their currencies relative to the dollar, foreign capitalists bought up U.S. assets in treasury bonds and equities. A flood of foreign capital poured into the U.S., prompting a rise in the stock market. Even as profit rates fell, the value of stocks soared. This led to a wave of financial speculation. Yet when the disconnect between overvalued stocks and falling profit rates became evident in the past two years (which corporations tried to cover up through fake accounting) the bubble began to burst.

This indicates that U.S. capitalism has still not

extricated itself from the problem which confronted it with the 1974-75 global recession—a sharp decline in its rate of profit. Profit rates remain at historic lows; in the past five years the rate of profit in the manufacturing sector has fallen by 42%. Though that has been papered over in part by an infusion of monetary capital from overseas, there's no assurance that this will continue in perpetuity.

What is Bush's response? 1) Return to massive budget deficits, à la Reagan, which creates pressure to cut spending on social programs, and 2) cut the taxes of the rich à la Reagan, like the tax on corporate dividends. Both are aimed at redirecting social wealth away from workers so that the rich can invest more funds in the stock market and reinflate the speculative bubble.

Here may lie the basis of Bush's arrogance that he can do whatever he wants regardless of world opinion. He imagines that if the bubble is reinflated through tax cuts and budget deficits, and if the value of the dollar remains strong, foreign capital will have little choice but to continue to invest in the U.S. no matter what anyone thinks about U.S. policy in Iraq.

The U.S.'s unprecedented military might does indeed have economic consequences, as it leads foreign capitalists to view the U.S. as the safest haven for their investments. The U.S. is now more dependent on foreign capital than at any time in the past 50 years. Many in the administration imagine that by projecting total military power the U.S. can forever dominate the world economy, even though that "dominance" is dependent on investments from capitalists overseas.

Some have argued that one reason for Europe's decision to adopt a single currency, the euro, is that it hopes one day that the euro will replace the dollar as the world's currency, allowing Europe to reap the economic benefits that now accrue to U.S. capitalists. Is it any accident that the European country that's been most averse to accepting the euro—Britain—is most closely allied with the U.S., while those who have pushed hardest for the euro, France and Germany, are most critical of the U.S.? However, before one rushes to conclude that world capital is about to break up into

contending continental blocs, keep in mind that euro or no euro, Europe is not a single, unified entity. Many European countries are willing to follow U.S. dictates at any price, though they are a far smaller part of Europe's economy than Germany or France.

In a word, there is no national capitalist solution to the U.S. drive for war. The only solution can come from masses of people who refuse to accept war and the cutbacks in health care, education, social services, and living conditions that are already accompanying the war in Iraq.

Such continuous anti-war resistance has never been more critical. If the war is drawn out, it will be essential for the movement not to die off. If the war is brief, it will be no less important for it to continue to develop since a relatively brief war will embolden Bush to later go after other regimes with even more disastrous consequences. Never has it become more urgent to make sure that the voice of the "second America" is heard!

Pointing out the second world in each country as the only true source of resistance to Bush's drive for war is not where our work ends. It is only where it begins. For history shows that unless such resistance becomes wedded to a positive vision of a new society to replace capitalism, the movements will not truly succeed. There is no more important task than developing a dialogue within the movement so that this can be worked out for today.

—March 25, 2003

For our ongoing analyses of the war in Iraq, see the News & Letters website: newsandletters.org

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Outpouring of outrage at home as war starts

Chicago

March 20, the day after Bush started bombing Baghdad, 15,000-20,000 anti-war protesters blocked Lake Shore Drive (LSD) in the largest anti-war demonstration here since the early stages of the Gulf war.

The huge, spontaneous march began following a rally by a few thousand in the Federal Plaza, overwhelming the Chicago police, and picking up thousands of students from downtown campuses, people leaving work at 5 p.m., shoppers and baby- and dog-walkers.

There were groups of high school students who had walked out of school earlier in the day. One girl from Niles West

said that a friend had just earned a three-day suspension. A Whitney Young student said, "We sat in today, because we already walked out two weeks ago." Many of the young people there had heard about the demonstration on the radio and made their way downtown.

A police spokesman had to admit that "with a crowd that size there was nothing we could do." For a stolen moment the cry of "Peace!" became real—became power—as the march, which appeared on the raised, twisting section of LSD as a literal rainbow bridge of people curving out of sight in either direction, moved north toward the Gold Coast.

There was tremendous support from passers-by, and even from the treacherous drivers stuck on LSD. A couple of sympathetic cars even crept along within the march with the passengers flashing the peace sign.

At the end when many of us had melted away into the sidestreets and the night, the police reasserted themselves and trapped the remaining demonstrators. Over 400 were arrested, many charged with misdemeanors.

One of those arrested told me, "There was no order given to disperse. In fact, they wouldn't let us disperse. We were completely surrounded by police in riot gear. We were arrested without probable cause and many of us were held without charges. The men were taken to lockups on the far South Side and the women to the far West Side." A class action suit for wrongful arrest is contemplated.

This march didn't stop the war, but it did provide a small glimpse of what could be, as one chant had it: "This is what democracy like! This is what your dreams may look like!" And the millions around the world who have demonstrated against the war will continue to be a factor in the calculations of all parties.

—Guy Debureau

New York City

A huge anti-war rally took place in the middle of New York City March 22. The organizers (Peace and Justice Coalition) claimed 250,00 participants; other estimates ranged from half that number to a million. About 100 people were arrested when the police attacked them, supposedly for refusing to disperse when the "legal" time to demonstrate was up.

In contrast to the Feb. 15 demonstration, which tied up the East Side for hours because the city prohibited any marching, this time we were allowed to march and rally, but only for four hours. The march route down Broadway was completely filled from 42nd Street to 8th Street. At the north end of the assembly area we had to wait over an hour just to begin marching. By the time we reached the end point at Washington Square Park the time was up and the police herded us away from the park.

I was surprised at the upbeat mood of the participants, who shouted, drummed and danced in much the same manner as at pre-war demonstrations. Again, the banners and signs were hand-made and inventive. They were predominantly simple calls for peace and criticism of the U.S. government, including protests against our increasing loss of democratic rights. "What do we get from a president we didn't elect? A war nobody wants?"

I was glad to see a few signs that condemned Saddam Hussein as well: "Bush and Saddam both equal Hitler"; "How can a dictator remove a dictator?"

New York's internationalism was evident. We met demonstrators from Greece, Australia, Spain, North Africa, and Trinidad, each with signs proclaiming their countrypeople's anti-war sentiments, and condemning their own governments if those governments backed

Bush. We also saw signs demanding the U.S. change its policies in regard to, and stay out of, Colombia, Palestine and Puerto Rico.

—N.Y. News and Letters Committee member

San Francisco

From early morning on the day the war started thousands of people made their sentiments known by blocking traffic, blocking the Pacific Stock Exchange, various big businesses' headquarters and making it as "no business as usual" as possible. The protests were decentralized: some concentrating on one target, others

picking different places in the city. The result was that as one protest dissipated because police were arresting most of those who were blocking entrances, another a few blocks away another was beginning.

Filipinos for Global Justice Not War (FilsGlobe) and

Asian & Pacific Islanders For Community Empowerment (APIForCE) led a hundred demonstrators to the Filipino Consulate in San Francisco to protest the Arroyo regime's support for Bush's attack on Iraq. The contingent tried to break through Market Street whose intersections were blocked for miles with protesters and police. The riot cop line where FilsGlobe chose to cross opened up to allow half the group through, then suddenly closed up. The cops had been using such divide and weaken tactics all morning in their failed attempt to prevent a shutdown of San Francisco.

Many protesters stayed in touch with others through creative use of wireless technology. However, if you weren't "linked" and did not get arrested, you stayed at one demonstration for a while, then walked down a block or two and joined another group of several thousands. It is impossible to say how many participated in the protests because it was so decentralized, but on that first day police arrested over 1,400 people.

During the day many youth, high-school and college students participated. There were also student actions in all cities around the Bay Area. College and high school students held a spirited rally at U.C. Berkeley, occupying Sproul Hall for a time.

During the evening rush hour the police presence was immense. Police in riot gear, blocking intersections and access to the bridges, making whatever the protesters did that much more disrupting.

The protests continued on March 21 and March 22. While at previous marches many were still hopeful that we could avert the war, now everyone was focused on

the effects of war, both on the Iraqis and those at home. There were signs like "Got milk? Iraqi children don't!" and "Got rights?" as well as visual reminders from 1991 in the form of pictures of Iraqi victims. Young people in the stage sang about not wanting to kill or be killed in this war. There was a lot of discussion about the need for the movement to continue on a deeper basis in the face of the consequences of this permanent war abroad and at home.

Detroit

The first bombs to hit Baghdad became the signal for the nationwide mobilization of anti-war demonstrations, including Detroit, where pre-planned arrangements by a coalition of groups—labor, radical, civic, social, religious, ethnic and student (both high school and college)—drew over 1,000 demonstrators to an anti-war rally at the Broadhead Armory.

Flyers put out by the groups prior to the bombing established that the demonstration would be held between 4-6 p.m. on the day of the attack, but many gathered there before the designated time and were joined by hundreds more who came to the site when they got out of work.

Similar, though smaller, demonstrations were held in suburban communities and on campuses, including Wayne State, Wayne Community, Michigan and Michigan State universities.

Whereas there had been some concerns raised that with the outbreak of war protests would decrease, just the opposite has happened and it seemed that more people were galvanized to demonstrate their protests after the bombardment of Baghdad. Many were horrified by the scenes of devastation they saw on TV depicting the carnage resulting from the bombing.

Protest demonstrations are continuing daily throughout Michigan, with demonstrators here gaining strength from the reports of massive demonstrations continuing to expand and grow in numbers and frequency.

—R.B.

Los Angeles

Many thousands of protesters marched through downtown Los Angeles to the Federal Building on March 15, to protest against Bush's drive to war on the Iraqi people.

The usual left-radical anti-capitalists were present as well as Veterans for Peace, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Greens and many others, but the size of the crowd suggested that many non-activist liberals and middle class people were present; they are becoming radicalized in opposition to Bush's war machine.

Also among the marchers was a noticeable increase of Asians, young and old, as well as many Blacks and Browns. A week ago, on a day commemorating their mass protest against the Vietnam War, hundreds of Chicanos and Chicanas protested against Bush's war in East Los Angeles.

As in other recent demonstrations, many signs were made by individuals independent of any organization. One large banner read "Impeach George Bush." One woman held a sign saying "After Afghanistan and Iraq, who's next?" Another woman stated, "I'm hoping for a miracle that we can stop this war."

—Protester

Disillusion drives recruits into army

by Brown Douglas

My younger brother told me the other day that he is considering going into the military. It really freaked me out. We're not exactly living during "peacetime." What we're living in now is a time of permanent war, the seemingly endless military conflicts that threaten all life on this planet with nuclear destruction.

My brother's thoughts aren't very different from hundreds of thousands of youth's thoughts in this country today. He said that he felt directionless and stuck doing the same thing day in and day out working the same stupid job. He didn't enjoy or do too well in high school, and college is expensive anyway. He was looking for something to knock him in line and to make him the "best of the best."

This disillusionment of young people translates perfectly into mass numbers of new recruits for capital's standing army, which is always ready to go off to some corner of the world and kill other youth in some other country. The society that breeds this disillusionment is one that also makes sure there are plenty of poor people to add to the ranks to bribe with money for school and the vision of a better life.

What is making youth so directionless and disillusioned anyway? We are supposed to be a source of never-ending creativity, curiosity, and energy. We should be the last ones to be so disillusioned, given the potential road ahead of us. But instead of schools educating and enriching us, they deaden our intellect and curiosity and make us memorize their "facts."

YOUTH

And instead of leaving high school and developing our burgeoning skills, we are forced to either race to get a degree from a costly college or go directly into the workforce to start a life of wage slavery. Capitalism creates a division early on in us that separates thinking from doing, and so our options in life seem to take on that same division.

One thing that we can do to try smashing this disillusionment is learn about and reclaim our history as thinking, creative people. Almost all of the exciting and important social movements that have existed here have had youth—many times youth of color, or young women, or queer youth—as their founders or at least making up a large part of them.

When we look at the rich history of struggle that we have, and see that we can have a huge role in the shaping of our world outside of being in the military and defending a rich minority in interests, maybe it would spur more of us to become activists and thinkers.

Youth are an historical Subject of revolt in this country. But again and again we are sent off to fight wars that are not ours, to gain power that we will never use ourselves, and that will probably be used against us and other oppressed peoples.

If we can become aware of ourselves as subject—as force and Reason for transforming this society—and use our idealism to oppose the existing capitalist, racist, sexist, homophobic order, there may be an end to war some day and the beginning of the true development of humanity.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry

The Israeli army launched a massive air and ground attack on the Gaza strip, starting Feb. 16. This daily offensive, which has employed helicopters, tanks and snipers, has targeted Hamas members as well as many civilians. The Israeli government has chosen a time when world attention is focused on the imminent war on Iraq to launch another deadly and sustained offensive on the Palestinians.

On March 2, Israeli troops raided the Bureij refugee camp in Gaza, destroyed homes and killed at least seven people, including a pregnant woman and her family who were buried under the rubble of their collapsed home. The next day, in Haifa, Israel, a Palestinian suicide bomber blew himself up on a bus filled with students from Haifa University. The bus driver

Rwanda verdicts

The International Criminal Court in Arusha, Tanzania has just handed down an overly mild sentence of ten years in jail, for aiding and abetting the 1994 genocide, to the Seventh Day Adventist Minister Elizaphan Ntakirutimana and his physician son, Dr. Gerard Ntakirutimana. Both of them are members of Rwanda's majority ethnic group, the Hutus.

That year, in the worst genocide since World War II, up to 800,000 people, most of them members of Rwanda's Tutsi minority, as well as some Hutus who refused to go along, or who were suspected of not going along, were slaughtered in a state-sponsored orgy of torture, rape, and murder, down to the smallest infant.

During those days of horror, while the U.S. and the world sat on their hands (there is no oil in Rwanda), hundreds of Tutsis attempted to take shelter in Reverend Ntakirutimana's church. The group even included ministers from his own Adventist denomination. While feigning support, both father and son instead guided the Hutu militias to the church, where they killed nearly everyone. The case has received a lot of publicity because of a letter that six Tutsi pastors sent to Reverend Ntakirutimana, which stated: "We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families."

The case was notable for another reason as well, the involvement of former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark. A longtime critic of U.S. imperialism who frequently appears at anti-war rallies, Clark's support for perpetrators of genocide has received too little attention on the Left. In addition to his work on Slobodan Milosevic's legal team, Clark also serves as the Ntakirutimanas' principal lawyer. After they fled to Texas to avoid prosecution in Africa, Clark succeeded in delaying their extradition for six years, taking advantage of the fact that the reactionary Texas courts tend to oppose international law of any kind.

Algeria general strike

A largely successful general strike took place on Feb. 25, called by the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA). It effectively shut down air and rail transport, banks, and the educational system. The crucial oil and gas sector was not affected, however.

Strikers were demanding a raise in the minimum wage, which stands today at \$130 per month, pushing also for changes in the pension and healthcare systems. They also protested continuing unemployment in a society where the official jobless rate stands at 30% overall and at a horrific 50% for workers under 30. Another issue was privatization of the state sector, which is being carried out amid secrecy and corruption.

Israeli troops launch attacks on Gaza

was an Israeli Palestinian and some of the students were peace activists. Sixteen were killed and 55 were injured.

On March 6, Israeli tanks fired a shell directly into a Palestinian crowd during a raid on the Jabaliya refugee camp in Gaza, just when firemen and residents were putting out a fire.

Eighty mostly children were killed and 140 were hurt. The horrible sight was no different from a suicide bombing in Israel.

Two days later, the Israeli military assassinated Ibrahim Makadem, one of the top ideologues of Hamas, by firing missiles from a helicopter toward his car. In response Hamas has threatened to kill Israeli political leaders.

The Israeli government of Ariel Sharon has solidified its extreme right-wing status by forming a cabinet



More than 1,000 Palestinians marched through the refugee camp in Southern Gaza, March 17, where U.S. student Rachel Corrie was killed by an Israeli Defense Forces bulldozer as she protested the demolition of homes. The symbolic funeral showed support for all American peace lovers.

Indymedia Israel

with the National Religious Party which opposes the removal of even a single Israeli settlement from the occupied territories. Together with the NRP and the right-wing secular Shinui party, Sharon's government holds 61 seats in Israel's 120 member parliament.

The Palestinian Legislative Council has created a new post for a prime minister to be held by Mahmoud Abbas, also known as Abu Maazen, Arafat's longtime deputy. While Abu Maazen's reputation is tarnished by his involvement in some of the corrupt financial and political practices of the Palestinian Authority, he has explicitly opposed suicide bombings.

Despite Bush's empty talk of a "road map" to peace, the status of the Palestinians will get much worse now that the U.S. invasion of Iraq begins. The current Israeli government's goal of transferring Palestinians out of the occupied territories is in some ways already underway. House demolitions in the West Bank and Gaza have been carried out at an unprecedented rate since the Israeli supreme court's August ruling which allowed demolitions to be carried out at the army's discretion.

In addition, Palestinian populations living near the Israeli separation wall and those living near Israeli settlements are being displaced through army raids as well as the destruction of homes and agricultural land.

—Sheila Sahar
March 17, 2003

Murder of Serbian prime minister

The unfinished character of Serbia's efforts to move beyond its genocidal past became all too apparent with the March 12 assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic. Shot in the back right outside his office by a sniper from a hundred yards away, Djindjic's fate was similar to those of many of the innocent citizens of Sarajevo during the 1992-1995 siege of that multiethnic city by Serbian neo-fascists.

The similarities do not end there, for the prime suspects today are former members of the Red Berets, an elite police unit under Milosevic, many of whose members committed genocide in Bosnia while serving under the notorious Arkan. However, Djindjic himself had ties to the Red Berets, who finally broke from Milosevic, helping the people's uprising of October 2000 that allowed Djindjic and other more moderate Serbian nationalists to claim an electoral victory that Milosevic had blatantly stolen.

While Djindjic extradited Milosevic and a few other key leaders to the Balkan War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, the two most prominent remaining perpetrators of the Bosnian genocide, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, remain at large. However, under intense international pressure, Djindjic had shown some signs just before his death of moving against some of these figures, including members of the Red Berets themselves. The latter remained heavily involved in organized crime under Djindjic's government.

Djindjic enjoyed only limited popularity among the people of Serbia. Legitimately, there was opposition to his "free market" economic policies. More ominously, there was resentment of his extradition of Milosevic and of the possibility of the same for Mladic and Karadzic, who remain extremely popular among Serbs.

Nonetheless, in a vast outpouring not seen since the death of Marshal Jozef Broz Tito in 1980, hundreds of thousands lined the streets to mourn Djindjic's brutal death. This represented a continuing desire by the Serbian people to move beyond the neo-fascist nationalism of the Milosevic era.

China's labor unrest

Labor unrest has continued to grow in China, especially in the heavily industrialized Northeast, where the state-capitalist regime has allowed aging plants to go bankrupt, throwing millions onto the streets. Workers have marched on government offices and staged sit-ins blocking railroad tracks or airport runways. Most often, the participants are laid-off workers protesting the fact that even their small severance payments have been discontinued. The regime has made small concessions, while also harshly punishing working-class leaders, but this has not stopped the movement.

In January, 300 workers filled a courtroom in Liaoyang, with hundreds more waiting outside. They came out to support Yao Fuxin and Xiao Yunliang, who are facing charges of "subversion" for having helped organize a March 2002 protest of 30,000 workers, one of the largest since 1989. Yao and Xiao, two of the "Liaoyang 4," face the possibility of life in prison, or even the death penalty.

In February, Wang Bingzhang, who has organized support networks for workers from abroad, received a life sentence under new "anti-terrorism" laws. While attending a meeting last summer in Vietnam with labor activists from China, Wang was kidnapped by government agents and brought into China for trial.

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*.