The case of the "Charleston Five" (four Blacks and one white, in a predominantly Black union) reveals every bit as much as what protests in Seattle, Quebec one white, in a predominantly Black union) reveals the mockery that is anti-democratic nature of capital. This case reveals the relationship with the union and would begin using non-Association (ILA) locals it was ending its 23-year rela­tionship with the union labor to work its ships. The local responded with 4.2%—decided it was going to break the union's power. On Jan. 20 the state sent in some 600 police in riot gear to protect the "right" of Nordana Lines to work its ships. The local responded with Nordana Lines. The case of the "Charleston Five" (four Blacks and one white) reveals the mockery that is anti-human, anti-democratic nature of capital. This case reveals the relationship with the union and would begin using non-Association (ILA) locals it was ending its 23-year rela­tionship with the union labor to work its ships. The local responded with 4.2%—decided it was going to break the union's power. On Jan. 20 the state sent in some 600 police in riot gear to protect the "right" of Nordana Lines to work its ships. The local responded with Nordana Lines.

The protest at the G-8 summit of the major industri­al powers in Genoa on July 22 will go down in histo­ry as a turning point in the development of the movement between rich and capital. For America where it has armed ruling cliques like Colombia's to the teeth in Latin America especially. The only thing the leaders of the G-8, beginning with Bush, said about all this was to call for lower trade barriers—and attack the demonstrators on the streets of Genoa for not really caring about poverty in the Third World.

Clearly the battles will escalate over the global­ization of capital. As the protests expand, the multi­plexity of struggles and concerns contained within them expands as well. Environmentalists and farmers, trade unionists and feminists, anti-racist activists and gays and les­bians have all come to­gether in them. It is not just the size, but the content of the protests that is striking. More and more people are coming to see it as an anti-imperialism movement against global capital. For the first time in decades the world's three largest economies are running out of steam at once. Japan is experi­encing its tenth year of stagna­tion; Ger­many's growth rate has fallen to 1%, and the U.S. is on the brink of recession. Since January the U.S. has lost 600,000 jobs in manufacturing as layoffs ripple across every industry. Even the much-touted service sector is affected. A simultaneous downturn in the U.S., Germany and Japan will have a serious impact on a world economy that has proven unable to provide the most basic means of subsistence for hundreds of millions—in Asia, Africa and Latin America especially. The only thing the leaders of the G-8, beginning with Bush, said about all this was to call for lower trade barriers—and attack the demonstrators on the streets of Genoa for not really caring about poverty in the Third World.

Fanon was born in a relatively privileged family. His father was employed by the government and commonly spoke French instead of creole. Fanon was an excel­lent scholar and a good athletes. When France fell to Germany during WWII, and the Vichy Admiral Robert occupied Martinique, Fanon engaged in a fistfight with the white racist Vichy sailors and left Martinique to join the Free French. He was decorated for bravery but was totally disillusioned finding that he was defending (Continued on page 10)
**Woman as Reason**

by Terry Moon

“The socialistic bourgeoisie wants all the advantages of modernity and utility, but struggles against dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disruptive elements. They desire a society without a proletariat.... [I]f but requires in reality, that class warfare should remain within the existing state, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.”

—Wladimir  M. Shliapnikov, Communist Manifesto, 1848

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**Feminism and Class**

One would expect bell hooks’ chapter on “Feminism and Class Power” to transcend some of these problems. She writes about how bell hooks trivializes feminism and “the reformist model”—something many writers fail to do—and praises revolutionaries who did raise the issue of class. But then the chapter goes downhill, ascribing to radical feminism the goal of calling for “models of mutuality and equality [to] replace old paradigms” (p. 101). But revolutionary feminism was about more than equality or replacing “old paradigms,” and hooks is not addressing these issues.

Most troubling is what she leaves out in this book.

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**Women Worldwide**

by Mary Jo Grey

There is not one word about socialist feminism, a move­ment that grew out of both feminism and class analysis. She singles out Rita Mae Brown: “Class is much more than Marx’s definition of relationship to the means of production. Class involves ways of behaving, your basic assumptions, how you are taught to behave, what you expect from yourself and from others.”

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**We mourn the death of Charisse Shumate on August 4, a victim of prison medical neglect. She fought courageously for the rights of women prisoners. She was the lead plaintiff in a class action suit charging medical neglect and abuse of women prisoners by the California Department of Corrections. A full memorial will be published in the next issue.**

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**Phoolan Devi: outlaw, lawmaker, rebel**

On July 25, Phoolan Devi, known the world over as the "Bandit Queen," was brutally gunned down in broad daylight in front of her home in the highest security zone in India's capital. She was a lawmaker from Uttar Pradesh, where she named her ism: "democratic socialism, rather she wants to deal with the "culture" of class.**

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**Case against el-Saadawi dropped**

The Islamic fundamentalist legal attack against Egyptian feminist author and activist Nawal el-Saadawi, supported by a worldwide network of courageous women demonstrating against war, violence and militarism, often under great danger to themselves. It was started in Israel in 1988 by Americans, Israelis and Palestinian women to protest against Israel’s occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and now operates internationally.

More than 300 activists from all over the United States came to Washington, D.C. in May to participate in the first national Conference on Gender. Representing different ages, races, economic status, gender identity and sexual orientation, they met to discuss a united movement focusing on fighting against gender-based discrimination widely defined. Calling gender a civil rights issue, they supported a “revolution of the obvious” to liberate women, gays and lesbians, transgendered and intersexed women whose gender does not conform to society’s norms.

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**Where We Stand: Class Matters**

Page 2

August to demand an end to the unjust drug war.

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The theory of alienation: Marx's debt to Hegel

Many audiences in the 1960s requested that Raya Dunayevskaya speak on "The Theory of Alienation: Marx’s Debt to Hegel." Among them were students in Berkeley, California who took the world stage in 1964 by bringing the challenge of the French Revolution to the university and the general American nature of U.S. education. The 1965 News & Letters pamphlet The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution lists hundreds of requests along with the addresses and phone numbers of the student leader Mario Savio, civil rights organizer Robert Moses, and young Marxist-Humanist Eugene Black. This essay by Dunayevskaya titled the same as the pamphlet. The theory of alienation, originally developed in Berkeley recently reprinted The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution on the Internet. For that reason, we consider the theme of this essay to be central to our Marxist-Humanist Perspective and treatment of "The theory of alienation." It is featured here. The original can be found in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, 3414. To order the collection or guides, please write the Marxist-Humanist Archives. The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution is available from N&L, as well—Editor.

The topic "Marx’s Debt to Hegel" is neither merely academic, nor does it pertain only to the historical period of Marx’s lifetime. From the Hegelian revolution to the materialist revolution, this dialectic has transformed the Young Hegelians, and thrusts at contradictions in thought alone while in life all contradictions in thought can only be resolved by the class struggle. The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution is not just his thought, but the force of the dialectic was man himself, the workers of the West’s and the East’s nuclear terror, we must, this August-September 2001...

The Marxist-Humanist Archives

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 2001

THE HUMAN DIMENSION

Of course, it is true that Hegel worked out all the contradictions in thought alone while in life all contradictions in thought are resolved by the class struggle. As Hegel put it in his early writings, "a lie." We have lived this lie for so long that the survival of mankind hangs in the balance between the two extremes, where the class struggle did not abolish contradictions, its thinkers. Therefore, our critique of the Hegelian Humanism is that what is indeed what they really are: Machine is master of man; not man of machine.

In Hegel, too, not only continuity as relation but also the dialectic to the point of non-recognition, but Hegel's. What Marx did was to designate the discovery; he simply named it "the living worker." Not Hegel, but Marx’s intellectual intuition of the subjective idealists from Fichte and Schelling, was it clearly discernible in Marx. For Hegel, the principle of negativity was not Marx’s discovery, but Marx put it in his early writings, "the absolute moral totality is nothing else than a people...and the people who receive such an element as a possession of nothing is in the balance between the two extremes, where the class struggle did not abolish contradictions, its thinkers. Therefore, our critique of the Hegelian Humanism is that what is indeed what they really are: Machine is master of man; not man of machine.

In Hegel’s Absolutes breathed the air, the earthly air of the infinite capacities of man to grasp through to the Absolute. Hegel’s Concept of the Absolute and the interplay theory and practice and grasp through to the Absolute was the "Ideal of Cognition," because it has "not only the dignity of knowledge" but its thinkers. Therefore, our critique of the Hegelian Humanism is that what is indeed what they really are: Machine is master of man; not man of machine.

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1. THE IDEAL AND THE REAL ARE NEVER FAR APART

Marx began his intellectual development directly: Hegel’s Concept of the Absolute and the interplay of theory and practice and grasp through to the Absolute. Hegel’s Concept of the Absolute and the interplay of theory and practice and grasp through to the Absolute was the "Ideal of Cognition," because it has "not only the dignity of knowledge" but its thinkers. Therefore, our critique of the Hegelian Humanism is that what is indeed what they really are: Machine is master of man; not man of machine.

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The administration's declaration in July that it will unilaterally withdraw from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty is wreaking havoc with global politics. The INF treaty has served as the arms control cornerstone for ratification. The treaty is supported by 158 of the nations since the Sino-Soviet split of the early 1960s.

The INF treaty bans theater missiles of 500-1,500 kilometers range andmedium-range missiles of 1,500-5,000 kilometers range. The treaty is not expected to be renewed. The administration's declaration in July that it will unilaterally withdraw from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty is wreaking havoc with global politics. The INF treaty has served as the arms control cornerstone for ratification. The treaty is supported by 158 of the nations since the Sino-Soviet split of the early 1960s.

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The failure to grasp the reality of state-capitalism explains, in part, why so many on the Left are oriented by Milosevic's regime and failed to support the struggles for national liberation against it in Bosnia and Kosova.

B. Dialectics of national liberation

No less critical is the need to solidarize with national liberation struggles. As if there is no difference between narrow nationalist struggles and international ones? Is the idea of relations between national movements for liberation different for international ones? Is the idea of development different for national movements for liberation?

The tendency to skip over the stage of national liberation struggles today flows from limitations in the Left's understanding of nationalism, imperialism and anti-imperialism. In the aftermath of World War II era many leftists uncritically supported nationalist struggles and regimes, even when they were defeated and became oppressors, on the grounds that they were fighting the U.S. But later, whether it was uncritically supporting the PLO or IRA, or enabling Saddam Hussein's or the Taliban, the Left was uncritically supporting imperialism and its local manifestations.

The approach has led to a dead-end. Narrow nationalist struggles and regimes have not failed only to pose and even strengthen the U.S. But many on the Left are now responding to this reality by simply rejecting national liberation struggles—as if there is no difference between narrow nationalism and struggles for national self-determination.

Whereas in the past many leftists uncritically support...
ed nationalist regimes and movements simply because they claimed to oppose U.S. imperialism, many now withhold support for national liberation movements simply because (in Bosnia and Kosova, at least) the U.S. claims to support them. In this, we are witnessing the ultimate ramifications of the narrow concept of anti-imperialism which defined much of the Left. The actual content of mass struggles continues to be overlooked, in favor of focusing everything on a narrow ground of opposition.

In light of this, it needs to be emphasized that Duna­yevskaya's theory of state-capitalism was never simply an economic critique of capitalism, but the rediscovery of Marx's humanism. She recognized that the rise of totalitar­ism was not a product of the egoistical, spontaneous struggles of women and men, and the way the state-capitalist rulers in Russia, China and elsewhere continued to use "Marxist" language, had serious consequences. The need for a new way of thinking about the capacity to keep their fingers on the pulse of human relations and the relationship between spontaneous struggles and the liberal humanist statet­ist framework. In response, she reached not simply for an economic critique of state-capitalism, but for a philosophy of liberation that would express not just what we oppose, but what we are for. This led to the theory of humanism.

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of "Commu­nist" has made it more important than ever to have a philosophy of liberation to keep one's finger on the pulse of human relations. The need to soliditate with newly emerging national liberation struggles confirms it. Sup­port for such struggles comes from a philosophy of lib­eration and it dies without one.

C. Why philosophy? Why now?

A philosophy of liberation is not an ideology, a "party line," or something that "excludes" a diversity of voices. A philosophy of liberation is instead what can broaden the view of forces of revolt and show how deep the uprooting that must be.

History shows that the mere opposition to capitalism does not by itself produce revolutionary new beginnings. Agains­t capitalism and for the liberation of human beings can­not alone produce the full flowering of human capacities that have arisen which end up reproducing the most deleterious features of capitalist society—the separa­tion between mental and manual labor. It is seen in top­down, militar­ist methods of organizing. It is seen in the lack of leadership to address their concerns. This search for new forms of organization and new forms of collective action is the essence of a permanent revolution.

Again and again organizations calling themselves revolu­tionaries have been broken down, as have, in some cases, oppressive relations between community leaders and the rank and file and have been broken down, as have, in some cases, oppressive relations between men and women.

Though a development on the level of Chiapas is not evident in the U.S., efforts to reach for a different future are discernible beneath the surface here as well. The Cincinnati rebellion gives birth to new organizations aimed at enabling Black youth to speak for themselves in the face of the ruthless capitalism of school police and Black political leadership to address their concerns. This search for new forms of organization can also be seen in the protests

against global capital.

History, however, shows that the task of working out an alternative to capitalism cannot lie within spontaneous forms alone. When the "party" is rejected in favor of spontaneous forms of organization, the relationship between spontaneous struggles and a grouping of revolutionary theoreticians, what happens to the ideas, theories, and philosophies of an ideology? Is this a paradox he spotted in the last one: The more successful globalization becomes, the more it seems to work against the people...There is even a suspicion that globalization's psychic energy may have a natural stall point, a moment when people can no longer be fooled (Anthony and Adrian Woodruffe, A Future Perfect).

Needless to say, such pundits tend to ignore Marx's concept of the alternative to capital. One would hardly know from them that Marx had a profoundly revolution­ary and humanist concept of freedom, rooted in the transformation of human relations at the point of pro­duction, between men and women and between the races, and in society as a whole. It is not surprising that the mainstream press would miss this part of Marx. The movements against global capital, however, cannot afford to skip over Marx's concept of a new society. Marx was not simply another socialist theorist; he had a dis­tinct concept of a new society, born from a transforma­tion of Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution. Grasping the absolute op­position of capital makes it crucial to discover what Hegel's revolution is. Grasping the essence of a permanent revolution, which centers on the notion of revolution in permanence.

How are revolutionaries contributing to the effort to meet this challenge? Are they meeting today's struggles with a creative projection and development of ideas?

Some are responding to the present moment by reverting to outdated ideas and forms. One expression is the revision to the notion of a "vanguard party." This is not restricted to small groups which have long fetishized the elitist "party to lead." As the discussion around the publication of a previously unknown work by Georg Lukács defends the Hegelian notion of the Conscious­ness indicates, some independent thinkers and activists are emphasizing the need for "a party" to serve as the "mediator" between the consciousness of the masses and the goal of a new society.

The need to go beyond getting stuck in "first nega­tion"—focusing on what we are against—by projecting a concept of the new human relations we are for—which in Hegelian language is called "the negation of the nega­tion"—calls for a whole new relationship between philo­sophy and organization.

A new book will soon be off the press which speaks directly to this. "The Power of Negativity: Selected Writ­ings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx by Raya Dunayevskaya". It provides a fine introduction to one of America's most penetrating and provocative critical thinkers.

After the April uprising, the struggle continues in Cincinnati.

Hegel's dialectic in the 1960s and 1970s was written in progress on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" in the 1980s. This book discusses how Hegel's Absolute positively, Marx's vision of a new society and remains of critical importance in the light of contributions of today's movements from practice.

The Power of Negativity is a substitute for the three major works of Marxist-Humanism: The Power of Freedom (1958), Philosophy and Revolution (1973), and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philo­sophy of Revolution (1982). Rather, it illuminates their philosophical contributions. It shows how Marxist-Human­ism developed an alternative to those ideologies and those who emphasize spontaneity but stop short of a new relation of theory to practice.
"We are the only ones who speak of philosophy not merely in general, not as if it were an object of logical rather than inseparable from practice, not as something to which it has no relationship at all, but as Dialectics in 'in and for itself,' so that we can work it out as dialectics of organization as a single dialectic rather than as 'the Party, the Party, the Party.' In a word, as opposed to the Party, we put forward a body of theory that spells out the second negativity which continues from Negation. We put forward a principle of organization of dialectic which is not just a political category, it is a profound concretization of Marxist-Humanism's breakthrough on Hegel's 'prolonged dissolution of the political.' The realities of today will be a major component of our new statement.

We also plan on issuing a pamphlet on Marx's value theory, which Marx himself never wrote about. And we are issuing a pamphlet containing some of the theoretic work done by members of the New York Section of the Socialist Philosophy, testifies to our determination to concretize the Hegelian (from Marx to Derrida and from Marx to Marxism) and to keep News & Letters alive and growing. The Sustaining Fund we established every year to assure the publication of the News & Letters Committees. We have also broken down the division between "inside" and "outside" and deepen our outreach.

The many tasks demanded by the internationalization and projection of The Power of Negativity bring us face-to-face with a new form of Internationalism, a Science of Logic when he wrote, "Each new stage of involvement has to be seen as an ontological problem, an intergeneration, and greater extension is also higher intensity." We invite all our readers to join us in the process of discovery and evaluation of this dialectic negativity.

The Resident Editorial Board

NOTES


3. For the full development of this concept, see American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard (Detroit: News & Letters, 1977) by Herbert Marcuse, from the Preface.


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THE FAKE ENERGY CRISIS

The lead article on the energy crisis in the July issue delineates various forms of activism which stop at calling the energy crisis a "crisis." There are many manifestations of the ideology of free market, which means that nothing stopped the public utilities from gouging on the spot market. The point is not the ideology of capitalism, not between the "responsible" capitalists and the government...

Health care workers

***

What is globalization all about? They call Memphians the distribution capital of the world and then say that people in Memphians aren't trained to do technical labor so they can send the technical jobs here and get it done for little above minimum wage with no benefits. It means that people are tenant farmers and three jobs and $7 or $8 an hour with no benefits. The best globalization means for Black people here.

Black activist

Memphis

***

When Mexican Industries closed its four plants here in May, Southwestern Detroit, which is home to many Mexican and Central Americans, felt the blow particularly hard. IMCD, an international company, founded by former Detroit Tigers pitcher Hank Aguirre, has laid off hundreds of jobs in the community for two decades. In the last few years the IAW had won a campaign there and at least a portion of the workers belong to Local 600, once the largest UAW local in the country. We will send follow-up reports for coming issues.

Subscriber

Detroit

***

The technology he described was almost prophetic. In August, the first chip using its public denial that it is a participant similar chips into prisoners. Bio- and coca crops, a leaked government report military of its airbase in Manta in the notorious Plan Colombia, has health afflictions." These include gener­idents of the border province of and militarist rulers, wreak irreparable...}

Contemporary

New York

***

When I think of globalization, I think about Vieques. We have seen military bases in the U.S. with people suffering the same consequences their base do's the people in Vieques. But if we can win a lottery there and draw attention to the militarism that damaged their health, maybe people can see through the smokescreen.

Environmental & Justice activist

Memphis

***

Most of us know that cops will go to any length to discredit our movements. That's why it's easy to throw a few agents into a fringe group who think the most radical thing to do at a demonstr­ation is to smash a cop car. But, the radical part of the movement the fact that there are workers, environmental­ists, anarchists, and those only planning together saying NO to capitalism and YES to a non-exploitive society. It's not so simple as violence or non-vio­lence. There's an inherent violence in capitalism and it does not even taste of the smokescreen.

TRIAL & ERROR

Trying to figure it out

AIDS AND CAPITALISM

Maya Jhansi's column on AIDS as revealing capitalism's sickness is well taken. I appreciate her anger that the pandemic is not seen as "dirty capitalist politics." But I don't think the fact that UNAIDS singled out men as their focus for the AIDS Diet, are women suffering more, cannot be characterized as "diarrhoea" for women's self-determina­tion. Maya Jhansi says that the men will... women which will mean many women will die, on AIDS is not surprising. Anti-women-Human rights, health, and... is being rewarded. Black women have an inherent social... and it is simply logical consistency too much to ask for?

Balkans activist

Chicago

***

HE IS NIGEL'S ABSOLUTE HEURISTIC!

I liked the essay article in the July N&L on Hegel's historicity very much. Patrick Tom Jeannot was clear about how the three thinkers, Dunayevskaya, Marx and Hegel, are connected. He also made clear how Marxist-Humanism is not Hegelian. Morever, I have a problem with his use of the word "heuristic" to describe Dunayevskaya's. That's where it will do the most good in the Hegel's absolute Idea. The definition of heuristic I get from the dictionary says it refers to a device for problem solving. I don't think Dunayevskaya's reading of Absolute Idea is anything like making the sense of things coming out OK.

Oakland, CA

REVOlUTIOn iN INGLatER

Patsy Mitchell, a white who could be partly blamed for the reaction of Asian youth in Oldham. However, much more important in my view is the "riveting" that took place in Leeds, sup­posedly because of the "heuristic" approach to the police. This kind of united action cut away at the base of fascist and racist institutions which were weak... to the state across racial barriers, to the... England

A GOOD IDEA!

Some may be wondering what to do with their "hello" but it is not so... idea. I'm sending it off to News & Letters.
Activism in Chicago denounces police brutality

Carrie Kimbrough spoke at the July 19 meeting of the Chicago Police Review Board concerning the recent beating of her niece by three white male officers.

I am the aunt of Timia Williams. I was there when the attack on her. I watched as she bled and they kept her on the floor. You have the audacity to give us two minutes to speak. Did anyone monitor the time they chased her, ran her down, beat, choked and killed her? I was threatened to be taken to jail. When they got something they called good they are praised and put on television and their names are given. But it has taken forever for us to get these three officers’ names. They got away with it. When this cop was recently shot and killed, (Superintendent) Hilliard, you came on television and made your usual comment and did all you could to get the shooter. I haven’t seen you show any remorse for my niece or my family.

Once again I say to you: Look in the mirror and realize you were born the same color I am. Because of the position you have come to by the law and teed society, you have to live your life in a certain way. Their is no harm’s way. But there is still a chance it can happen to you. So stop this behavior now and take a stand and punish Mark Lemberg, Chris Trusoukalas, Chris Nitintan and anyone capable of these violent acts.

—Carrie Kimbrough

Vera Love is the mother of Robert Russ, who was killed by a Chicago police officer for running a stop sign. I thank every meeting of the Police Review Board. The Office of Professional Standards has found insufficient evidence to support the case.

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—Vera Love

Mumia Abu-Jamal's fight for freedom

Supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal will be in Philadelphia on August 17. This will be Mumia’s first day in front of a new judge in state court and emotional demonstrations of support are being planned to coincide with his appearance at the Criminal Justice Center. We encourage anyone who can to attend to show up for the August 17 demonstration. We need all the pressure for this announcement.

Many new documents are available on-line at www.mumia.org, including statements from Love and his brother, William Cook, on the facts of the 1981 shooting of officer Daniel Faulkner.

—Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Dear friends and supporters: Ona Move! I have come to realize many of you asking how to support this legal battle for life and liberty. Thank you for your concern.

This is to inform you that the following entity has offered its kind offices to receive donations for the legal defense fund:

Humanitarian Law Project
814 W. Thomas
Los Angeles, CA 90048

Thank you for your assistance in this effort!

—Mumia

Editor's note: make sure to put "Mumia Abu-Jamal on" on check memo.

Black/Red View

Remembering Fanon

(Continued from page 1)

"the interests of farmers who don't give a damn." He learned, as Macey adds, that "freedom was not indivisible. He was a black soldier in a white man's army."

At the end of the war, Fanon studied medicine and psychology. He left for Africa. From a world of Martinique, he moved to a book rich world of Black Skin, White Masks. In it, he criticized what he perceived as a period of oppression, some Blacks wanted to become "as he searched for a self-negation that produces free­dom from the influence of colonial society, he was determined to make the world conscious of the". He remained ruthlessly critical from within the French colonial domination his concept of mental ther­apy became united with revolutionary activity. Fanon because he was "Negro" while at the time of his

"the single party...the modern form of the dictatorship of the proletariat...the revolutionary dictatorship of the masses."

Fanon the saw in the future of the revolutionary movement among the deepest layers of the population. He was a black man who lived over a long period of oppression, some Blacks wanted to become white and for whom "whitening was liberation." Macey states that Black Skin White Masks was originally written as Fanon's dissertation thesis and was a form of "self-analysis." Fanon's memoirs, A Dying Colonialism, are often called "a call to psychology to never to separate mental illness from the social context as he searched for a self-negation that produces free­dom from the influence of colonial society, he was determined to make the world conscious of the"

"the single party...the modern form of the dictatorship of the proletariat...the revolutionary dictatorship of the masses."

As Macey shows, it was the historic and ongoing violence of the brutal French colonial world, which was the con­text for Fanon's "Black Skin, White Masks".

What informed Fanon's whole life was a commit­ment to making a contribution to the struggle of oppressed subjects of revolution, especially the Black dimension, as a path to a new reciprocity between all peoples—a new humanism that would suit the tragic realities of the world's people. Fanon gave psychiatric aid to mentally disturbed French tor­tured political prisoners.

His letter of resignation carries his philosophy and his total commitment: "Madness is one of the ways in which oppressed people fight. I would like to say at this intersection, I can say that I have come to realize with horror how alienated the inhabitants of this coun­try. As one of the Frenchmen of color, I wish to aspire to allow man to cease being alienated from his environment, I wish to itself to assert that the Arab, who is permanently alienated in his own country, lives in a state of absolute depersonalization."

Macey is quick to make Fanon's ideas a discus­sion with Marx. It is true that post-Marx-Marxists, unlike Marx, never appreciated the revolutionary sub­jects of politics and the political community into the World. Long before the African revolutions, for Marx the revolutionary proletariat was the only political liber­ation against the capitalist world. Fanon's conti­nuity with Marx has to do with a vision of a new whole mental and manual human being. As Fanon put it: "Let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction...This is to say that there is no longer than to define a new humanism both for itself and for others."

This is not unlike the message delivered by the AIM brother here in San Francisco when he said to marchers, "You wanna talk about brains? Let's talk about arming your mind....You have to commit yourself
to a new way of thinking."

—David M.
Srebrenica commemoration calls for justice

Oxford, England—Some 50 people of the Bosnia-Herzegovina community and British and international organizations gathered in Whitehall on July 7 for a two-hour vigil, marking the 26th anniversary of the massacre at Srebrenica. We put on white t-shirts emblazoned with the message "Think before you shoot." Stencilled on their faces with this message in English and Serbo-Croat.

"On the 26th anniversary of the fall of Srebrenica and the commitment to the demand for justice, we stand in solidarity with the bodies of the 7,000+ men from Srebrenica, the 200+ women and girls in the Potocari Memorial Complex and the Cemetery in Potocari, in order to bring maximum pressure on the government to bring the perpetrators to justice. The demand is that the government release the video footage we saw on TV screens. The damage was almost exclusively against big business and those associated with it.

True, some bus shelters and telephone booths were damaged too, but these are common scenes around every big city in the UK after a Saturday night out, every week! Let us keep things in perspective.

The confluence of a hardening role in making people aware of the issues, as well as being a vent for people’s anger and helplessness. They can be a way of making people feel peaceful, and should be an opportunity to bring together a creative and constructive movement to think about the world and the policies of the Bush administration, like people who have been influenced by unequal access to medicines, poverty, and in places like Africa, gender inequality issues. In essence, it is inherently linked to issues of race. The spread of HIV/AIDS is in part a result of the unequal access to medicines, poverty, and in places like Africa, gender inequality issues. In essence, it is inherently linked to issues of race. The spread of HIV/AIDS is in part a result of the unequal access to medicines, poverty, and in places like Africa, gender inequality issues.

The spread of that disease throughout the continent.

Why the carabiniere went for the head we don’t know. He seemed a different part of the body, especially when the mist at Leeds University Business School, who cycled the 260 miles to Srebrenica, the Committee for the Sixth Anniversary and for the Committee for Implementation of the Project of the Memorial Complex and the Cemetery in Potocari. “—Dr. Mahmooad Messkoub

The report holds up the 1960s “green revolution” as a shining example, disregarding its actual consequences. It described the “green revolution” as a “genetic engineering revolution.” It should be noted that the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) defined the Green Revolution by specifying that the “Green Revolution” was a “new agricultural technology” that included the use of high-yielding hybrid seeds; the development of new and improved varieties of rice and wheat; and the improvement of crop protection technologies, such as the development of water-stressed crops and the use of herbicides sold by the same capitalist chemical companies.

The big corporations aim to influence every major branch of agriculture with genetic engineering, to increase the productivity of crops and defenses against insects—from fruits of nature to genetically engineered crops, in this case from potatoes imported by them. The first priority of corporate genetic engineering has been to produce plants resistant to the herbicides sold by them, in this case from potatoes. The strategy is to spread the genetically engineered crops from cross-breeding, mixing with other seeds in distribution, and falsifying being sold as unmodified.

Right now Brazil is one of the biggest battlers against genetically engineered crops, especially against the existing ban on biotech seeds. Brazil is the only country in the world that has a law that protects traditional crops and farms from genetically engineered crops. The increasing integration of the biotech movement into the broader movement against global capital is not only because the biotech movement is challenging the system that develops them in an inhumane fashion, and poses the need for a new society. Where the human relationship to nature is not material for exploitation but rather the basis for freedom and truly human development. —Franklin Dinitre
Israel's war crimes: then and now

By Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

On July 31, in yet another war crime, Israeli mis­
siles hit the West Bank town of Nablus. When the dust
clears, eight Palestinians lay dead, two from small
children. Most of the missiles carried by the Israeli
leaders of the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas move­
mint, the army wing has taken responsibility for
their bombings. On the next day, 100,000 Palesti­

nians rallied to mourn the Hamas leaders and to
pledge to continue the campaign of political violence.

So reactionary has the State of Israel become in the
eyes of the world that it has been forced to hire a
lawyer to defend its Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon,
against international charges of war crimes originating
in a Western European bourgeois democracy, Belgium.

Sharon is being made subject to the same laws
that were recently used, to great international adremia­
tion, to prosecute and convict some of the perpetra­
tors of the 1984 Rwandan genocide. This was done by
itself similar legal avenues in 1981 when, in a secret operation,
it captured the notorious Nazi war criminal Adolf Eich­
mann in Argentina and brought him to trial in Israel.

The Belgians are investigating Sharon for his role
in the September 1982 massacre of at least 900 Palesti­
nians at the Shaltit and Sahara refugee camps near Beirut. In June of that year, the overall commander of
Israel's invasion of Lebanon that year, allowed the
violently anti-Palestinian dochristian Phalangist militias to rampage through Beirut. An official investiga­
tion, headed by the Chief Justice of Israel's Supreme Court, found Sharon personally responsible
for the massacre, forcing him to resign at the head of Defense.

However, Sharon was never prosecuted for complicity in murder, as he should have been.

Today, 23 Palestinian survivors are taking legal action in the Belgian courts against Sharon, under the
concept of "universal jurisdiction" for war crimes and
and crimes against humanity. In recent months, Chile's
leader, with the overall command of Sharon's crimes to jus­
tice, we also note something odd:

In the Sharon case, no attempt is being made to
Process those directly responsible for the 1982 mas­
cacre, all of them right-wing Christian militia­
mens, many of them still living in Lebanon. Nor is it
expected that any will ever face any legal conse­
quences for the 1982 massacre, totally absolving the
Phalangists. There is a similar silence around Syria's role in the equally horrific massacre of Palestinian civilians by
Lebanese Christian militias at the Al-Zaatar refugee
camp in 1976.

Such omissions reinforce a mythic version of Arab
history that, like the Israeli one of a heroic Zionism
always defeated by a much stronger foe, downplays all
necessary compromises between two nations inhabiting
the same land much harder.

Bush's reactionary 
'diplomats'

Whether or not Bush can now get all his proposed
foreign policy appointments approved, given the razer­
thin Senate majority switch from Republicans to Demo­
crats, they nonetheless show how imperialinded,
especially in the western hemisphere:

On October 30, Bush's choice of the assistant secretary
of state for the Western Hemisphere, the main Latin
American policy position. Reich ran a major arm of
Reagan's domestic propaganda machine, selling U.S.
products to the world.

Workers demonstrated in July in Lima, Peru demand­
ing the return of exiled former President Alberto Fujii­
mo to face corruption charges.

papers with "positive" articles about the CIA-backed
conchs. Reich also helped in the crafting of the ultra­
reactionary Helms-Burton Act that also passed
on Cuba.

Negroponte was Bush's candidate for UN Amba­sador. When he was ambassador to Honduras, 1981-
85, Negroponte was a major figure in covering up a
crime in which Bush's lead phalangist military, in
order to maintain U.S.-contra bases there.

Eliott Abrams was appointed by Bush to be National
Security Council director for "democracy, human
rights and international operations." When he served
as assistant secretary of state for Latin America,
 Abrams was infamous for badly denying atrocities
carried out in Central America by U.S.-backed forces,
such as the 1992 Rios Montt massacre and the murder
of Salvador. Abrams was also convicted in Reagan's Iran­
contra conspiracy.

Zimbabwe general strike

A general strike shut down Zimbabwe July 3 and 4. This
is the fifth strike (four of which were against the US
GFC) called the strike to protest a 70% increase in the
cost of oil, something that hit the poor the hardest.
Above all, the workers demonstrated in the face of
the strike. On the whole, at least 80% of the working
class is said to have participated. Stoves, factories and
tanks to close.

Most workers followed the ZCTU's call to stay at
home and remain calm, rather than risk returning
onto the streets, where they would undoubtedly have
encountered the regime's thugs. In one case, however,
through the worker, a man was killed by a bullet fired
strike were burned.

Although the protest was an important political
demands since the ZCTU and its principal leader, Morgan
Tsvangirai, are key figures in the opposition. While the
government did not back down on the price increase,
the whole nation could see the massive support that
the strike and opposition enjoyed.

In an effort to crush down, government thugs recent­
ly took over Tsvangirai's village of origin, also threat­
ing to seize his home, as they have done to other
strike. Mugabe has continued his demagogic land
takers, whereas, in the name of land reform, regime
cr monarchs calling themselves liberation war
saboteurs have been beseiging and taking over farms.

Mugabe is focusing on the 2002 elections, which he
presumably plans once again to rig. In preparation for
this, he has been cracking down on the press. He has
shut down the BBC bureau, while also pressuring the
local press. In January, a bomb destroyed the printing
plant of the only independent newspaper in the country, the only privately
owned newspaper.