It never fails that, at momentous world historic turning points, it is very difficult to tell the differ­ence between reality and utopia. One event is the first plunging into utter darkness or whether one has reached the end of a long night and is about to take the first step down to a new day. In either case, the challenge to find the meaning—what Hegel called the "undeﬁned form of an undeﬁned product", one which must be in the making—poses a new urgency in face of the possibility of new beginnings on the horizon.

"Where to now?"

—Raya Dunayevskaya, "Why Hegel's "Phenomenology of Spirit"? Why Now?" (1987)

I. The crisis in thought as Bush drives for single world mastery

Bush nevertheless made certain that only token eco­nomic assistance was extended to Gorbachev at the summit. This is not only because the decrepit state of the Soviet economy is a natural enemy of any strategy of con­solidating the momentum of Gorbachev's "perestroika". It is also because Bush's primary concern is not the in­ternational reputation of the Kremlin, but the preservation of his government's right to command both the superpowers as a whole, as long as he is sure that Gorbachev will sign their names to at their summit in late July, is a total liquidation of the "Cold War". For Bush, the renewable of the USA as a superpower is conditional upon Gorbachev's total submission to the U.S.-dominated "Atlantic alliance". In our Draft for Perspectives 1990-91, we quoted Bush's "vision" of the future: "Our enemy today is un­certainty and instability. The Atlantic alliance will need to maintain a sound, collective, military structure, with forces in the field, backed up by larger forces that can be called upon in a crisis... the superpowers will become one, with their genocidal war against Iraq. Has he now become so intoxicated with his victory as to think he can extend his drive for single world mastery by getting Gorbachev to totally submit to a "new world order" dominated by the U.S.?"

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Russian economic basket-case, but that hardly means it is in a rush to totally submit to the U.S., especially when it still has thousands of nuclear weapons. The START treaty still allows each side to have over 7,000 nuclear weapons, far more than enough to destroy the world many times over. Moreover, the Military-Industrial-Party apparatus that has been integral to Gorbachev's "perestroika" from its beginning has re­sponded to the Gulf war by embarking on a major revi­sion of the "cold war" (Gorbachev) and the military-industrial complex, a move which Bush has already indi­cated he would support if it means the total submission of the U.S. to theSTART treaty, which Bush and Gorbachev will sign in late July, is a total liquidation of the "Cold War". For Bush, the renewable of the USA as a superpower is conditional upon Gorbachev's total submission to the U.S.-dominated "Atlantic alliance". In our Draft for Perspectives 1990-91, we quoted Bush's "vision" of the future: "Our enemy today is un­certainty and instability. The Atlantic alliance will need to maintain a sound, collective, military structure, with forces in the field, backed up by larger forces that can be called upon in a crisis... the superpowers will become one, with their genocidal war against Iraq. Has he now become so intoxicated with his victory as to think he can extend his drive for single world mastery by getting Gorbachev to totally submit to a "new world order" dominated by the U.S.?"

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On the Inside

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya—
'New Thoughts on Rosa Luxembourg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philoso­phy of Revolution —1943-44'
Abortion rights and the idea of freedom

By Terry Moon

When President Bush announced that his choice to replace Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall was the pro-life candidate,织物onette Thomas, women were not only the first to react. It was the one-year anniversary of the famous decision of Roe v. Wade, and the women's movement for women's rights was a one-year anniversary of the famous decision of Roe v. Wade, and the women's movement for women's rights was in full swing. The decision of Roe v. Wade to strike down governments: the right to a safe, legal, affordable abortion is also the idea of freedom. That is something we are not willing to accept.

The number of working poor women in Canada is five times the rate of men between 1971 and 1986, according to the First major Canadian study on working poor women published by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. This rise was due mainly to job segregation and discrimination, lower wages and more unstable employment. In 1986, nearly 69% of Canadian adults have a job, and have been employed for at least half of those worked full or part time but still lived below the "official poverty line.


Chicago, Ill.—On July 9 in Chicago women from a dozen organizations rallied at the Federal Building protesting the "gag rule." Below are excerpts from Jamilah Muhammad, Chairwoman, National Women's Political Caucus, and Women's Center at California State University-Los Angeles. The "gag rule" was agreed to by a six-fig-

ure settlement to the plaintiffs, in the case of "Sandra Hall, et al., v. Board of Trustees of the California State University," the court ruled that women's studies was not one more academic field, but a movement that our bodies and minds. We are being attacked by a multi-

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Women's studies victory

Los Angeles, Cal.—A remembrance that women's studies was once an activist, radical discipline was sparked by the recent "victory"—better than no victory, but far from what we want. The Women's Liberation Movement in the U.S. was a battle against the patriarchal, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, page 102. To order, see ad page 6.

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Workplace deaths: not just statistics

Facon: The Toll of Workplace Deaths on American Families
Barbara A. Joel, Ph.D. and Thomas S. Buehler
Published by the Worker's Institute Press, 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60603 (1-800-336-3353).

Workshop Talks: (continued from page 1)

turn many strikes into a sort of ritual or elaborate game. Have we forgotten that labor is in a life-and-death struggle the very essence of its existence? When the industrial unions of the CIOP (Congress of Industrial Organizations) and the AFLCIO were formed in the workplace, they made no secret of their concern for the workers and the products of their labor. They advocated safety and health reforms, better wages and working conditions, and reduce workplace deaths.

The April 17 rail workers' strike protested the near the upper Sacramento River in northern California. One car fell into the river. It contained the pesticide metam-sodium, a fumigant used before crop planting to prevent soil insects and fungi from these chemicals; but Ralph E. Lightstone from the
time. This book is not another book of statistics with charts and graphs and what industries are the most dangerous as a movement of working people against capitalism?

IDEOLOGICAL ATTACK

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Teamsters then and now

Editor's note: Over the past few months News & Letters and the Teamsters union have been running articles about the state of trucking and the Teamsters union. We print some excerpts from those discussions below.

Teamsters then and now

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Seward, Cal.—Management at ARCO's Los Angeles Times that the oil industry is not under attack. It is true that there are troubles in the industry. Two units of our local have trouble in the newspapers. But even more, bringing them up to the wages paid at Chevron and Mobil. This has really helped people at ARCO up.

Meanwhile managers are talking around quoting the Los Angeles Times that the oil industry is not under attack. It is true that there are troubles in the industry. Two units of our local have trouble in the newspapers. But even more, bringing them up to the wages paid at Chevron and Mobil. This has really helped people at ARCO up.

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by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: This text was written by Raya Dunayevskaya in August 1963 as a letter describing each of the passages she would be adding to Marx's "Capital" in the new edition of the book. The letter was published in the journal "Workers' World" in January 1964.

[The following passage was proposed by Hinoshita in September 1983 for addition to a new version of Marx's "Capital." It was dropped from the final text. —Ed.]

The question of the transition period, and the differences on it between Marx and Engels, is taken up on p. 152. The question of the transition from one stage to another, both as a make-up of form of property, it was to Marx and Engels, in the first instance, that this question of the transitions between the different forms of property was addressed. And it is precisely because women's work in the household and and reason that they are crucial. “Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies,” as well as the work I gave at the Third World Women’s Conference, as integral to the expansion of Part Two.

If an Engels, who was a close collaborator and a companion to Marx, whose works have not been translated into English, and who had written the preface to the first edition of "Capital," had been able to write his own version of Marx’s work, he would have done so.

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The fact that we do just that in the last paragraph, I saw a need to know that we are challenging the post-Marx period, as a totality, a “trilogy of Marxist-Humanism” and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution—without which there could not have reached the new stage we have achieved.

The (paragraph) [would be] added on p. 199, immediately after the paragraph which starts “That seems to have been inexcusable pedantry.”

Quite the contrary, history proves a very different truth, whether we look at February 19, 1917, where the women were the ones who organized the revolution; whether we turn further back to the Persian Revolution of 1906-11, where the women created the very first women’s society; or whether we look to our own age, to the Russian revolution, where Isaak de Carmo raised the totalizing force of women’s revolution, as a “bequest” of Marx. When Ryazanov discovered these notebooks, he undertook work—his own version of Morgan’s Primordial Societies, as integral to the expansion of Part Two. If an Engels, who was a close collaborator and a companion to Marx, whose works have not been translated into English, and who had written the preface to the first edition of "Capital," had been able to write his own version of Marx’s work, he would have done so.

Forword by Adrienne Rich

Two previously unpublished texts by Raya Dunayevskaya

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Just off the press from U. of Illinois Press—

On Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution

Rosa

Luxemburg’s

Women’s

Liberation,

and Marx’s

Philosophy

of

Revolution

Raya Dunayevskaya

Manuscript], spend a good deal of his first report on the Archives of Marx in asking for twenty to thirty pages to help him sort those manuscripts out, and yet pass judgement before he dug into them—"it says a great deal about literary tasks but nothing whatsoever about as great an historic phenomenon as Marx’s Marxism.

In it, he challenges all of the post-Marxists, when even those who have achieved great revolutions (and none was greater than the 1977 Russian Revolution) did not, in thought, measure up to Marx’s time to dig into what Marx, who had discovered a whole new continent of thought, had to say for himself! (Chapter 13 concentrates especially on the last writings of Marx, in which this author found a trail of the 1980s).

Chapter III of Part One jams up the different views of Luxemburg and Marx on "Accumulation of Capital" in order to show that the new events which Luxemburg called "reality," which she contrasted to Marx’s "theory," could have been so contrasted because she failed to fully work out dialectical methodology—which would have required a single dialectic in both objective and subjective worlds. To that end, the whole subject of methodology, Marxism and Marxism, becomes the difference between how Absolute appeared in the phenomenal world (and the phenomenon she had in mind was imperialism) and how Absolute was worked out in Capital—Philosophy of Money, where it cannot possibly be separated from Subject, i.e. revolutionary forces as Reason. As the added paragraph puts it: "Therein is the rub of the (Capital, Philosophy of Money, and Philosophy—and because it is no abstraction, but a live Subject, it unites rather than divides theory and reality."

(The new paragraphs [would be] added on p. 45, immediately after the paragraph that ends with the italicized sentence: "Thus, indeed, is the rub of Luxemburg’s error.")

Methodology being the dialectic make-up of Marx’s Philosophy of Money and in the Philosophy of Mind, let us look deeper into their difference. While it is true that in the Phenomenology we speak not just of appearance, much less of more, but of a philosophy of appearance, it is not true that the methodology, as we follow the movement of the dialectic in Philosophy of Mind, is either the philosophical phenomenology or even of essence. Rather, the dialectic in the notion is that it is Absolute there are so many new doors in both the objective and subjective spheres as to reveal totality itself as new beginning.

Thus, as against the phenomenology of imperialism being merely a reflection of new surfacings of oppression, new appearance-surface as so profound a philosophy of revolution as to disclose that which inheres in it is a living Subject that will resolve the great contradiction of its absolute opposite, imperialism and national oppression. It is this which Marx-Humanists call the new revolutionary forces as Reason. Therein is the rub of the Great Divide between Phenomenology and--and if it is no abstraction, but a live Subject, it unites rather than divides theory and reality.

In Part Two on the Women’s Liberation Movement, especially the section on the "Unfinished Task," the point I characterize as Marx’s "New Humanism" and the Dialectics of Women’s Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies,

just as force but as Reason. The new chapter, however, was that the "proof" came from history itself—February 23, 1917, when the soviets were for the first time in the field, a whole new continent of thought, had to say for himself! (Chapter 13 concentrates especially on the last writings of Marx, in which this author found a trail of the 1980s).

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In Part Two on the Women’s Liberation Movement, especially the section on the "Unfinished Task," the point I characterize as Marx’s "New Humanism" and the Dialectics of Women’s Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies, as well as the work I gave at the Third World Women’s Conference, as integral to the expansion of Part Two.

The added and key suggestion is the impertinence of a study of Part Three without which there can be no total comprehension not just of Part Three, and in itself, but of the fact that it is that Part Three that informs the whole work. It is Marx’s Marxism as a totality after it has gone through comprehensive transformation of the post-Marx period—distinct from both without whom we could not have reached the new stage we have achieved.

The (paragraph) [would be] added on p. 199, immediately after the paragraph which starts “That seems to have been inexcusable pedantry.”

Quite the contrary, history proves a very different truth, whether we look at February 19, 1917, where the women were the ones who organized the revolution; whether we turn further back to the Persian Revolution of 1906-11, where the women created the very first women’s society; or whether we look to our own age, to the Russian revolution, where Isaak de Carmo raised the totalizing force of women’s revolution, as a “bequest” of Marx. When Ryazanov discovered these notebooks, he undertook work—his own version of Morgan’s Primordial Societies, as integral to the expansion of Part Two. If an Engels, who was a close collaborator and a companion to Marx, whose works have not been translated into English, and who had written the preface to the first edition of "Capital," had been able to write his own version of Marx’s work, he would have done so.

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(continued on page 12)
Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1991-92

(continued from page 1)

What should have been clear from the moment the shooting started in the Gulf is that one in: “It is still possible to choose sides in a way that will save the men’s lives, to choose a bold, daring course that will save the humanitarians, a return to power of hard-line military forces in the US/S and thus a return to superpower conflict.”

Further, even the most realistic picture of reality than to resurrect illusions of a “multi-polar world,” as if European and Japanese economic might impede Bush’s drive for single world mastery. Nor does it overlook Europe and Japan totally capitulate to Bush on the Gulf war, but Europe is not yet ready to mobilize an illusory force, as again seen in how each member of the European Community is pulling in different directions concerning the crisis in Yugoslavia.

There certainly are frictions between the U.S. and European rulers, ranging from Germany’s efforts to replace NATO with a European Confederation excluding the U.S. to Germany’s call for massive economic aid to Russia. Yet whether it be mighty Britain or not-so-mighty Czechoslovakia, the rulers of each know it is the U.S. that rules the road similarly.

This isn’t to say Bush has closed sailing everywhere. After failing to get off the ground for months, his envi­ronmental regional conference on the Middle East gained impetus after Syria agreed to the U.S. condi­tions, though Israel has continued to build new settle­ments on occupied territories. That Bush has exercised minimal pressure on Israel thus far is due not only to the fact that he is no more interested in Palestinian self-determination than Shamir is. It’s that what moti­vates Bush is not so much an effort to “resolve” the is­rope problem, as to bring about a new balance of power in the area now that the U.S. has been able to pub­licize what it views as its regional interests in the Middle East and is on the verge of obtaining a permanent mil­itary might and high-tech wizardry to censorship and collusion with Hussein’s crushing of the Kurds—to ter­}

From the Marxist-Humanist Archives

Selections from Raya Dunayevskaya’s Writings on the Middle East

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(continued on page 6)
II. Dialectics and economics in the age of state-capitalism

The bankruptcy of the cities is spelled out in human terms from everything from the suicide of one New York City bookkeeper who cut her wrists rather than pay her $10,000 laid off, so despairing he was of finding another job, to the report that 75% of the nation’s cities have such deplorable conditions that qualifies for “lack of health care” in the U.S. One of the most serious indicators of the plague in living conditions since the mid-1970s is the lack of basic health care, which is so expensive that the majority of the world’s cities are experiencing at least one black site. This has gone so far that the Worldwatch Institute that one million women will die and 100 million be maimed in this year’s “global epidemic of reproductive health and delivery conditions” that the majority of the most elemental health care throughout the developing world; no less than 250,000 will die from lack of safe abortion.

The simple fact is that capitalism cannot do any better on Third World countries. One aspect of the fact that unemployed and underemployed in the Third World countries are in absolute terms. That’s not only because the capitalist buys, but as a term that enabled Marx to make a leap in thought to meet the new activity of the workers. It was because Raya Dunayevskaya was following out Marx’s

New York government workers protest budget cuts.

The Philosophic Moment

Marxism and Freedom (1957)

How can the fact that the state-controlled economies of Eastern Europe and Russia have almost completely collapsed hide the deplorable state of the economy in the so-called "free world" of the West? That economic morass is certainly evident in the U.S.

The predictions of the "experts" that the recession was just temporary unemployment, which continues to rise, is not only a "lagging indicator," and base their judgment that what we are experiencing is only a "shallow recession" by comparison with the Great Depression. That is supposed to make us stop worrying that unemployment, which has risen to levels not seen since the early 1970s, will seriously threaten the health care system in the U.S. That makes it less than evident in the U.S.

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III. New openings for working out the dialectics of organization and philosophy.

"As new beginning" has no precedent. I don't think that I suddenly said to myself: "We have to restate the Absolute Idea in Hegel's Science of Logic, and that was after the three final slogans in his "Philosophy and Revolution," which I am finally allowed to myself: it is not only a new beginning, it is as new beginning: that Marx clung to Hegel after he discovered his own new continent of thought—that was the new beginning. Why did no one see it?" As Lenin's State and Revolution, "as a new beginning"? No, I don't think so. Revolution first had to be made real again after the betrayal of the Second International, so it was only our age, post-World War II, when the movement from practice was itself a form of theory that we had to have a new beginning, a new philosophy.

—Raya Dunayevskaya.

"What is Marxist-Humanism?" (1987)

What makes the task of re-stating Marx's Marxism especially arduous today is not only the ideological pollution of the rulers, but also the legacy of what Raya Dunayevskaya called "post-Marx Marxism as poje­ rative." In reducing Marxism to a dogma at one moment and departing from Marx every time some new phenomenon appears at another, post-Marx Marxists have left the movement without direction for working out "how to begin anew?"

As against that, what provides direction for meeting today's challenge is the fact that we now have in hand the whole method of conceiving philosophy as Marxist-Humanism. In presenting a concept of philosophy rooted in the movement from practice that was Marx's Marxism and from theory, the new beginning.

One of the most important dimensions of this is Dunayevskaya's constant return to the "philosophical moment" from which her body of ideas was born and developed—her May 12 and 20, 1953 "Letters on Hegel's "Philosophy and Revolution." As new beginning. Why did we not see it?…

In Dunayevskaya's first book, Marx, Marxism, and Freedom, from 1776 to Today (1957) represents a concretization of her 1953 breakthrough in being structured on the movement from theory, the new beginning, of Marx's Marxism for our day.

In his 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," Marx projected his concept of the "new moments" of Marx's Marxism as the "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" philosophy. In his 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," he projected his concept of revolution-in-permanence as ground for organization. Marx conceived this process as "absolute negativity" as new beginning. In beginning with "Why did we not see it?…

From the theory of state-capitalism...to the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism

The one thing that was certain beyond the peradventure of a doubt was the direction in which it would go. This was ignored not only by the reformists whom Marx criticized in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," but also by the advocates of "state socialism." Dunayevskaya insists that in hitting out against this unity, Marx projected his concept of "revolution-in-permanence" as ground for organization. This was ignored not only by the reformists whom Marx criticized, but even by the advocates of "state socialism." Dunayevskaya develops this further in her "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," showing that Marx's 1875 Critique-representation: the "state socialist." Dunayevskaya insists that in hitting out against this unity, Marx projected his concept of "revolution-in-permanence" as ground for organization.
The need to organizationally concretize philosophy

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1991-92

Raya Dunayevskaya

Marxist-Humanism and Black America

This year put us to test of “keeping organization inseparable from philosophy” when George Bush unleashed his genocidal attack on Iraq and brought to a movement within the Absolute, from practice to theory - the power of thought released by the Jam on that basis.

The fact that Dunayevskaya died before being able to further develop this in her planned book "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," which opened in 1953, shows that without working out this dialectic in her planned book, “Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy.”

The need to organizationally concretize philosophy year each naturally is given a urgency now that Reagan’s “changed world” has made counter-revolution so lower above the absolute to the point in world that the very thought of revolution seems impossible. By organization being kept inseparable from philosophy is that there is no room for dialectics to be in two different places, one for organization and the other for philosophy. It is not ended in that relationship. That is where the work begins, as is Absolute Method. No other method will do.

This year there are two new objective-subjective developments which provide concrete openings for meeting this task. One is the fact that we now have in hand the new series of "Mensheviks"-Triumph, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution, which means all three of Dunayevskaya’s major works are once again in put into the hands of the movement and The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism are also available. The second is that 1991 marks the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of the unique theory of state-capitalism, which was the crucial proof that there were new concepts, not the old ideas of Marxist-Humanism. Thus, we project as our tasks for 1991-92:

1) The deep revolutionization and broad projection of the expanded editions of Dunayevskaya’s “trilogy of revolution” unseparated from The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism and her (first writings on “The Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy”) as our fore. This work will have the meaning of her “trilogy of revolution” of writings by Dunayevskaya from the 1980s, in which she was working out the philosophy of organization which makes each of these books truly new, only and opens all sorts of doors to the projection of Marxist-Humanism in the very unique battle of ideas. The struggle of the present-day international workers’ movement and our inside journals or in establishing new relations with the positions on this needed, we must con. It is to this that Marxist-Humanism becomes and the unique theory of dialectics. The fact that the very thought of revolution seems impossible brings to a halt of the revolution was consumed by a counter-revolution from within. It isn’t only a question of Grenada. From the first-class workers, beginning with those in the Grenadian revolution left the revolution so unprepared for working out "what happens after" the revolution that they were thrown overboard, as that as themselves locked to be taken over."11

As we saw in Part I, in acting as if party and spontaneity are separated, we are left in a gray area which is the Grenadian revolution left the revolution so unprepared for working out "what happens after" the revolution that they were thrown over themselves as that as themselves locked to be taken over."11

The pull of escapist from working out a new political line of Marxist-Humanism provides new opportunities for freedom struggles and in the power of the idea cross-bridging to the movement; that is, in our organization; and the other for philosophy. There is no room for dialectics to be in two different places, one for organization and the other for philosophy. It is not ended in that relationship. That is where the work begins, as is Absolute Method. No other method will do.

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On December 16, 1990, Haitians elected Fr. Jean Aristide as President. Two months after, in February, he took office. Shortly thereafter financial aid from different countries including the U.S. was cut off and President Aristide was asked to gain control of the Haitian government.

Mostly due to the efforts of the Catonians here in New York and in various states start­
ning organizing. We did a scary thing. Haitian activists have now in New York parts of the world pulled some money together but we cannot give and we sent to Haiti. This is still ongoing. It was really phenomenon­al. There was the same fight as well as other states seem not so close to one another, but when this hap­pened to Haiti it was a group. It was not an amount which was very important, so we are going to support him. He will still need foreign aid. But through our mass action we were able to show that挺 we have a lot with May, several countries, including the U.S., released financial aid to the Hai­
tian government.

Haitian activists in New York

YOUTH LIBERATION

Youth activists from all over the con­

try are planning an International Peace and Freedom Gather­ing in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, Aug. 9-12. The conference is being organized by the compo­nents of the youth Lib vith and others. All are en­
couraged to attend. There will be work­shops, panels, films, music, dance, anti­
war, homophobia, psychotropic oppress­
ions, and the whole lot. Public and student workshops. The conference will be held at the Great Canadian The­
atre Company, 810 Gladstone. All in­
gress on Aug. 9, call (613)236-5102.

Tom Parsons
Bay Area

FERMENT IN THE EAST

In a trip to the USSR I met some pro-labor people who were concerned about U.S. capitalism, the role of the AFL-CIO etc. and very eager for ex­
changes not learning. The miners and other strikers certainly show their oppos­
tion. My own view is that the Stalinist nomenklatura wants to keep its power and legitimize its privilege by doing away with the dangerous myth of "Communism" and turning state-capi­
talism into private. This means the "com­munist" state runs their affairs, but changes its title to manager with big guns. This is a government that can get more speed-up and new unemployment and high prices...The masses still see the system as better than the alternative, but this changes its title to manager with big guns. This is a government that can get more speed-up and new unemployment and high prices...The masses still see the system as better than the alternative, but it's a real problem.

Otherwise I fear they will have to live through a private capitalist period be­
fore they can choose the alternative...which depends on unity with Western labor.

Political Connec­tive

The Slovenes and Croats have voted for peace. It's the end of the Cold War. The attempt by the federal government and the army to keep them in the federation is now doomed. Slovenia and Croatia the last two months have been declared con­demned. Slovenia and Croatia have been tortured and maimed, the Serbs have killed Serbians and Croatians with their own is­sues and blood. The idea is that the war is over and they are no longer able to bring new troubles. The rulers in Budapest want to bury the idea of working-class democracy, and perhaps socialist alternative would be to give them the opportunity to choose...But it's too late. The war is over and the ug­ly Serbian chauvinism of Slobodan Milosevic. However, the break-up of Yugoslavia is not the end. Yugoslavia is a country with its own Marxist humanist tradi­tion, which can point the whole world to­
der the tradition of non-violence which depends on free co-operation between nations, as between individuals.

Richard Bunting England
It is as free individuals developing all their natural and acquired talents that we first look from what Marx called the pre-history of humanity into its true history, the "jewel from necessity to freedom."

Marxism and Freedom

The class struggle, which is always present to a historian influenced by Marx, is a fight for the crude and material things without which no refined and spiritual things could exist. Nevertheless, it is not in the form of the spoils which fall to the victor that the latter makes their presence felt in the class struggle. They manifest themselves in this struggle by changing human ground and fortitude. They have retroactive force and will constantly call into question every victory, past and present, of the rulers. As flowers turn toward the sun, by dint of a secret heliotropism, the past strives to turn toward that sun which is rising in the sky of history. A historical materialist had never before been so insouciant of all transformations.

Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History"

I. HEGEL'S PHENOMENOLOGY—EXTERNALIZATION AND RECOLLECTION

Peter Frykman's essay, "The End of History or 'New Beginnings?'", was published in the right-wing National Interest magazine in 1989. As a "Hegelian" analysis of the collapse of Communism (which was well underway by then), it was widely reproduced and discussed internationally.

The essay's title has become something of a buzz-phrase in recent years, often being used to describe the current state of the world. Frykman argues that the end of history, as Hegel saw it, is not a simple return to a single, fixed reality, but rather a continuing process of externalization and recollection.

In his 1844 Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic, Hegel wrote: "The greatness of the Phenomenology, and of its final result—the dialectic of negativity as the moving and self-determinative principle of the world, is comprehended in the self-production of man as a process, regards objectification as the center of the whole process, comprehends it in the very sense of it, and does not consider it an object which would only be the result of a movement of the mind which exists separating itself from it. In the Phenomenology, the pathway to the goal is the recollection of "spiritual forms" as they are in themselves, and as they transcend the organization of "material spirit." The forms are conserved not only as history but also "from the side of their intellectual contiguity."

Organization then, is integral both to the recollection/conservation of previous forms as well as to Science as the rationalist organization as "pure science." Droysen, writing in 1848, is very clear on this point.

In his 1990 Essay-Article in "News & Letters," Peter Wermuth, editor of the magazine, notes that Frykman's essay "is as relevant today as it was in 1989." He argues that the end of history, as Hegel saw it, is not a simple return to a single, fixed reality, but rather a continuing process of externalization and recollection.

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**Left Greens meet**

Chicag o, Ill.—Several dozen people gathered here Thursday evening for the Left Green Network’s Third Continental Meeting. Among the ideas discussed were ecology and feminism, views on the crises in Black and Latino communities, and discussions were heavily male-dominated. Most people weren’t there yet, and on why the discussions were so male-dominated. One was asked, “Why were you not at it?”

The answer was, “We also struggle for, support, and saving women fighting for themselves. They were with us. Women, not just the Greeks, because they are the ones who do the work.” It was obvious that the Left Greens wanted to separate questions of ecology from the need to upgrade alienated women’s roles in the current and future.

What was disturbing was that only one of the attendees (a featured speaker) was Black, and that sexism was still present. It was challenged by a number of women. They confronted the male decision-makers on the issue of sexism and racism, and the group of women was more interested in recruiting than in finding out what students are doing.

I thought that in some way this was a Black-Muslimism that it is where everyone works according to ability and gets something in return.

What if you have the ability to be both a gardener and a garbage man, then which do you become? And who decides what you need or are? And if someone else does, then you become the upclass and they become the ruling class. The Victorian era has its roots in the new society.

The crisis in Black thought is multifaceted, and the problem at the L.A. State University, where the state movement is in the making, is to be realized. The NAACP over the Thomas nomination, while Jesse Jackson tells us that any struggle against Bush’s racism is not radical, but the whole purpose is to keep the debate off the streets and off the picket lines and move it to the courts in the interest of public policy makers.

**A revolutionary youth**

Los Angeles, Cal.—I’d like to stop all types of discrimination against youth. It is not the concept of Freedom, not a Commission report, that can change Black reality.

I think adults hated the discrimination and treat- ment of women, but they were too young in their 20’s to vote. Now they act so unconcerned about our problems. But it’s almost as if they have forgotten what it’s like to be a youth. They’ve forgotten the problems that we don’t do anything.

I went to a Fourth of July celebration at the Hollywood Bowl with my mom. During the national anthem I refused to stand, so my mom pulled me up by the back of my jeans. I just stood there, so my mom ordered me to sing. I yelled out: “Bombs bursting in the air.” It caused quite a sensation.

It’s discouraging, what happened to the anti-war movement? It has disappeared as fast as it appeared. One day we are all united, fighting against U.S. imperialism, the next day: nothing. What happened?

One thing that I noticed in the anti-interventionist movement is that you weren’t anybody if you weren’t in a group. It seemed as if the differences among the small groups were just to recruit, not organizes themselves.

The sexist attitude towards women by the macho police is needed, then which do you become? It doesn’t help the students. And it’s their organization. It seems that the police has a greater interest in recruits for their party than in finding out what the students are doing. I thought that in some way this was a Black-Muslimism that is where everyone works according to ability and gets something in return.

What if you have the ability to be both a gardener and a garbage man, then which do you become? And who decides what you need or are? And if someone else does, then you become the upclass and they become the ruling class. The Victorian era has its roots in the new society.
Yugoslavia unravels in narrow nationalism

Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In June and July, armed clashes between the Yugoslav army and Slovenian forces killed scores of people as the Serbs tried to force their northern republics of Slovenia to take back its declaration of independence. Despite the actions of the Macedonian army, it was forced to yield to the Serb army's use of tanks and artillery. The fighting is not yet over, and in recent years the Croatians and Slovenian political leaders have engaged in an escalating series of armed conflicts. By 1991 they were demanding independence. The tragedy is that these narrow nationalist policies have replaced and overshadowed what was once a model of the Communist world's vibrant and creative opposition movements. Since the early 1960s, Yugoslav intellectuals and youth, many of them independent Marxists, founded a civil war not of their making, while the Slovenian and Croatian politicians have become so disoriented as to let them set the agenda. The impending collapse of the system set up by Tito has set in motion political and cultural forces which, while arguing in the name of democracy and national rights, are bringing a multi-ethnic and national unity to the brink of a murderous civil war. The net flashpoint is the Serbian minority inside the borders of the Croatian republic.

Ethnological Notebooks.

Charles Darwin's work was not an accident, but a natural process of his mind. No wonder, then, that he wrote his first book, The Origin of Species, as if it actually were in the book, in my talks on the subject which we have worked out as the committee-form to the Austra...