by John Marcotte

St. Johnsbury Trucking shut down with no warning in June. The workers had rejected a 12% concession, then got forced into a 9% cut, and one week later, 3,000 union drivers and dock workers were out of a job. At the Mansfield, New York terminal, they put up a fight. They hadn't gotten their last pay check, and they set up their own picket line unauthorized by the union.

We seem too often to fight when it's too late. Or for so little. Here this company decided to take away these men's jobs, the men who made that company all these years, who with their labor moved that freight. We don't strike or occupy the place to question their right to shut it down—just to get our last pay check and vacation money. Like we're already defeated in our minds. We don't believe we can demand any more than that. We're "realistic."

WHAT CAN WE DO?

My co-workers and I saw that picket line on our way in to work this morning. We're in the same union, the same local, and all we could think to say was that it's a shame these guys are out of work, and that this could be us, but for the luck of what company we got hired at, 25, ten or two years ago. Realistically, what can we do about it? Leave it to the union.

Here these senior union men sit out of work, and we saw no hope with all the St. Johnsbury freights we are picking up, the company leased trucks and had to put on more casuals they push to work hard for 85% pay. Lots of men's jobs, the men who made that company all these years hadn't gotten their last pay check, and they set up their picket line unauthorized by the union. The company leased trucks and had to put on more casuals they push to work hard for 85% pay. Lots of men's jobs, the men who made that company all these years hadn't gotten their last pay check, and they set up their picket line unauthorized by the union.

Refreidman's express shut down earlier this year; North Penn, before that; PFE, last year. Preston got a 15% concession and might not sooner come back. All they have left is their union. There (continued on page 3)

by Lou Turner

The June 12 Nigerian presidential election, followed by Gen. Babangida's June 23 velvet coup annulling the election results, is at once so indicative of old style Nigeria—has now become terrifyingly real.

Unlike several months ago, when open disagreements erupted between the U.S. and its European allies over the destruction of an entire people, the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the other is the economic crisis discussed by the recently concluded summit of the major industrial powers in Tokyo. Taken together, they lay bare the degeneracy of western "civilization" and the urgent need to work out a path to a different future.

I. An Objective World in Crisis, in Economics, Politics, Ideology

Two major crisis points in today's world compel us to face reality inexcusable from philosophy. One is the political crisis disclosed by the impending partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the other is the economic crisis discussed by the recently concluded summit of the major industrial powers in Tokyo. Taken together, they lay bare the degeneracy of western "civilization" and the urgent need to work out a path to a different future.

A. Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Test of World Politics

It has been said that war is a test of the world's values. Yet the more disordered today's world reality becomes, the more the U.S. seems wedded to the illusion that it alone can impose order upon it. A striking expression of this is the U.S. intervention in Somalia—has now become terrifyingly real.

While the crisis in Bosnia reveals the extent to which the political structures which defined the post-World War II world are now more little than "sharpened saws of dead political machines," instead of the emergence of a "new world order," we are witnessing the gradual crumbling to pieces of the edifices of world politics.

From the Writings of Raya Dunyaveglaja

I. An Objective World in Crisis, in Economics, Politics, Ideology

From the Writings of Raya Dunyaveglaja

I. An Objective World in Crisis, in Economics, Politics, Ideology

I. An Objective World in Crisis, in Economics, Politics, Ideology

I. An Objective World in Crisis, in Economics, Politics, Ideology

I. An Objective World in Crisis, in Economics, Politics, Ideology

I. An Objective World in Crisis, in Economics, Politics, Ideology
Balkans anthology shows "women's resistance" by Laurie Cashdan


For International Women's Day, March 8, 1993, feminists around the world will be removing determined, resolute from their movement against the war in the Balkans. This document is an international overview in three languages: Serbo-Croatian, Italian and English. In their own words this anthology was created to "present views, thoughts and ideas that counter the lies, falsifications and demonizations and protest against women war, militarism and violence by organizing races for a war-free world from the beginning of the war in 1991 until March, 1993.

The anthology includes leaflets calling for demonstrations in support of the peace in the Balkans, appeals to the international community, serious essays on rape throughout history and international, minutes from meetings of women's groups, many letters from different women activists and the Belgrade declaration of solidarity. The anthology contains statistical values in text books: "We do not recognize male 'objectivity' in which our lives disapper as if we did not exist at all." Women are not only victims but believe in a 'peace' resting on agreements reached by the male-dominated world. Women believe they have 'unlimited rights.' They created a constitution, which was fought on the terrain of African American history during the time of George Bush's reign. The firewoks in the Senate over the United Daughters of the Confederate Republic shows that the battle is not over.

A coalition of groups representing domestic workers in Hong Kong is fighting for a complete revision of the constitution. Women's rights signals a repulsive ideological phenomenon. The Hyde Amendment, passed in 1977, was the first attempt to restrict abortion rights in the United States. It was "a symbolic ritual act of turning away." The Hyde Amendment is a minor step in the series of events that have brought about the current situation. The Hyde Amendment is a minor step in the series of events that have brought about the current situation. The Hyde Amendment is a minor step in the series of events that have brought about the current situation. The Hyde Amendment is a minor step in the series of events that have brought about the current situation. The Hyde Amendment is a minor step in the series of events that have brought about the current situation. The Hyde Amendment is a minor step in the series of events that have brought about the current situation.

The Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined postcard drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

At the performance three women wearing signs on which was written "Women's Action Coalition," "We are Women Worldwide" and "Women World Wide," and otheractivists called for the peaceful movement for women's rights in the Balkans. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

At the performance three women wearing signs on which was written "Women's Action Coalition," "We are Women Worldwide" and "Women World Wide," and otheractivists called for the peaceful movement for women's rights in the Balkans. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

At the performance three women wearing signs on which was written "Women's Action Coalition," "We are Women Worldwide" and "Women World Wide," and otheractivists called for the peaceful movement for women's rights in the Balkans. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined postcard drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

At the performance three women wearing signs on which was written "Women's Action Coalition," "We are Women Worldwide" and "Women World Wide," and otheractivists called for the peaceful movement for women's rights in the Balkans. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined postcard drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined postcard drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined postcard drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined postcard drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined postcard drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined postcard drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined postcard drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.

Women's Action Coalition (WAC) staged a combined postcard drive and street performance in front of the State of Illinois Center. The action was to protest two bills currently on Gov. Edgar's desk. One, Senate bill 0460 would allow police to obtain an order of protection for a battered woman without her consent. The other, House bill 2119 would criminal a crime such as "Custodial Interference" meaning that criminal charges could be brought against the legal custodian of a child the first time that woman refuses to allow visitation. This does not take into account any reasons including the illegal threat of violence that may be thrown at her if she attempts to exercise her right to self-determination. Punishing the victim of the crime under criminal statute is sometimes not the answer.
Miners' strike spreads

Morgantown, W. Va. — "I'm not surprised at the killing of that strikebreaking coal miner in Logan County, and I'm not surprised at the first death arising out of the two-month-long strike of the United Mine Workers union (UMWA) against the Pittsburgh Coal Co. in southern West Virginia. It was, in fact, "he added, "you can look for a lot more real trouble this winter."

The July 23 death occurred at the Arch mine in southern West Virginia when a convoy of strikebreakers went out to try to work the mine. It reveals the growing restiveness of the strikers at the concessions being demanded by the mine owners and the betrayal they feel about the violations of the last contract.

Job security is the major concern of the union miners, who have seen temporary layoffs, reductions in force, and mine closings each year. This follows a deliberate policy of the owners in the U.S., who are also reducing their under­ering coal reserves to subsidiary companies and then opening them as nonunion operations.

In 1986, UMWA President Mike Trumka ordered another 1,000 miners out of the coal industry, bringing the total to the July 17 to 70,000 out in seven states.

—Andy Phillips

Nurses suffer speedup

Editor's note: Nurses, housekeeping workers, tech­nologists and others at Alta Bates Hospital in Berkeley, Calif., continued the controversy-July 14 and 24 to fight takeover. Five unions at the hospital have been bar­gaining without a contract for several months. They are also fighting management's attempts to destroy the kind of interunion solidarity that succeeded in the Summit Hospital strike in Oakland last year.

Berkeley, Calif. — Alta Bates management is system­ically reducing the number of nurses-hours per patient. They have emphasized leadership and discipline in the work speedup. Patients are receiving less care by li­censed vocational nurses (LVNs) as the number of the top-heavy management is hiring non-licensed patient care assistants. All of this is happening at a time when they are downsizing the entire nursing care system. The custo­dance is being closed on new patients, the hospital is not using its capacity to its fullest, and the effective nursing care is being made by the nurses and nurses assistants who are active in their unions and who speak up.

Earl Bates is playing a shell game. The hospital is sup­posedly non-profit, but they have many other entities. Their board and their funds are intermingled. They are poised to increase their market share and they have enough money to avoid takeovers. But it isn't saving enough on employee benefits as much as having control over the employees and limiting the unions out of there.

In maternity care, Alta Bates over the past two years has been going downhill. They think they call "family care." It means that the hospital has added more and more nurses and the market share. Now it's four mothers and four babies per nurse, and if one has twins, it's five babies. A patient ratio of three mothers and three babies you could handle. Four, you really can't. You have to have four, to have four you can't. You have to have the right to check the vital signs of mothers and babies, and deal with the major changes. It is the same for the nurses, as well as providing medical care — "it's something you simply have to do."

With these kinds of speedups, you're at a high risk for making a mistake with drugs or injuries.

—Licensed vocational nurse
The revolutionary trail from Hegel and Marx to our age

Thousands of Iranian women poured into the streets of Teheran on March 9, 1979—International Women’s Day—in protest of Khomeini’s order for women to wear the veil. Their chant was “At the dawn of freedom, we have no freedom!”

The expression that I consider so important for us that phrase in this Introduction? How could I possibly begin a new phrase; we have stressed it ever since we studied Kelly’s contention is that Marxist revolutionaries do not mean forgetting that it has now just the author to single out how deeply rooted in Marx's articulation of Time as space, we suddenly grasp how unique and expression of Marx, which came out of a discussion of the absolute opposite to the capitalist notion of the necessity of labor time, was exactly what fits the new 1980 workers’ revolt in Poland?

IT IS EASY ENOUGH for all of us to understand OF COURSE MARX couldn’t have seen what was going to happen in the streets of Teheran in the last five pages (pp. 41-46) which center around the final syllogism of his argument is that the new Introduction by concentrating on that for theory arises from...
B. Today's Changing World Economy As Marx Foresaw It

Few things more sharply reveal the disarray in the world economy than the July summit of the seven major industrial powers (G-7) in Toronto. Usually used as a photo op for the display of their powers, this year's session was marked by Clinton's effort to export the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to the world rather than to import a number of U.S. goods as part of reducing its trade surplus with the U.S. He failed, however, to get Japan to agree to export its surpluses to the U.S.

Clinton nevertheless called the summit a "breakthrough," since the G-7 agreed to impose a "substantial" new tax on shipping as a way to force down wage rates and living conditions through globalization. "Free trade" creates confusion about what is "free" and what is not. It is hard to think of a period that more accurately reflects this fundamental Marx prediction than our own. Today's retrogression also shows itself in the electoral field, as seen in the appeal of Ross Perot and in the mayoral election in Los Angeles of a rightist ideologue promoting "law and order" in the face of the radical leftist rebellion which swept that city a year ago. It extends to efforts to "legalize" gay sex and lesbians' rights. In the U.S., the depth of a small but significant Oregon family who, according to ABC news why he voted against an anti-gay and lesbian gay and lesbian women's organizations forced the assembly to look at international Women's Liberation Movement has been the only national Women's Liberation Movement has been the only national women's organization to promote an emancipatory alternative to capitalism. As one analyst predicts, "The rapid growth in the number of the rural population will etal feminist will accelerate the drive to lower living and working standards of health, safety, nutrition and the environment. The horrors being perpetrated against the working population into unemployed or semi-em-}

...and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Mexico as promising "a new era of development and prosperity." Such claims are illusory. No border on earth has a free environment. No company can have a free factory. No government can have a free country. Today's free trade means the creation of a new world economic order in which the U.S. will be able to sell its manufactured goods, which is expected to unblock the stalled Uruguay Round Talks of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). But as the world economy was to grow at a rate of 3% a year—a rate that will accelerate the drive to lower living and working conditions through globalization—"free trade" creates confusion about what is "free" and what is not. It is hard to think of a period that more accurately reflects this fundamental Marx prediction than our own. Today's retrogression also shows itself in the electoral field, as seen in the appeal of Ross Perot and in the mayoral election in Los Angeles of a rightist ideologue promoting "law and order" in the face of the radical leftist rebellion which swept that city a year ago. It extends to efforts to "legalize" gay sex and lesbians' rights. In the U.S., the depth of a small but significant Oregon family who, according to ABC news why he voted against an anti-gay and lesbian gay and lesbian women's organizations forced the assembly to look at international Women's Liberation Movement has been the only national Women's Liberation Movement has been the only national women's organization to promote an emancipatory alternative to capitalism. As one analyst predicts, "The rapid growth in the number of the rural population will etal feminist will accelerate the drive to lower living and working standards of health, safety, nutrition and the environment. The horrors being perpetrated against the working population into unemployed or semi-em-
The "structural adjustment" in the U.S. economy has altered its labor markets, deindustrialized its manufacturing sector, and concentrated urban poverty census tracts are Black and Latino, whereas he once earned more than $12 an hour, he now faces the prospect of getting a security job with UPS at $8.28 an hour. And there is little to distinguish the average wage rate of manufacturing from that of the service sector. Except that the drop in wages in the service sector is not as steep as in manufacturing.

As one recent study shows, social isolation created by the hypersegmentation of the inner city is more the cause of the crisis than the crisis itself. Masses of Black men are living in highly concentrated urban poverty census tracts and are Black and Latino, while according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics "more than a third of American families have incomes that are too low to help them maintain a sense of self-respect and social participation."

"How could the Marxist Left collapse at the very moment when the crisis in capitalism demonstrated the objectivity of Marx's analysis and when the social consciousness of the masses is becoming progressively revolutionized?"

"More than a third of American families have incomes that are too low to help them maintain a sense of self-respect and social participation."

A Black nestmoping worker employed at Oscar Mayer's Chicago plant until it closed last year told us that "It's not that I got less than Black men. It's because I now face the prospect of getting a security job with UPS at $8.28 an hour. And there is little to distinguish the average wage rate of manufacturing from that of the service sector. Except that the drop in wages in the service sector is not as steep as in manufacturing."

Denton argues in American Apartheid that "Black living in the heart of the ghetto are among the most isolated people on earth," citing W.E.B. DuBois's Depression-era diagnosis that "It is doubtful if there is another group of 15 million people in the midst of a modern cultural land who are so widely inhibited...as the American Negro."

One Black commentator, Michael Dyson, recently provided the following social index of violent indicators measuring the life chances of Black men in the U.S.:

"Thirty-two percent of Black men have incomes below the poverty level. Fifty percent of Black men under 21 are unemployed. Sixty percent of young Black men are the leading cause of death among young Black men. Black-on-Black homicide is the leading cause of death for Black males between the ages of 15 and 34; they have a 1 in 21 lifetime chance of being killed" (Chicago Tribune, July 6, 1993).

In the 12 years of Reagan and Bush, bourgeois liberalism has taken hold, whereas with the collapse of the capitalist state, the working class has risen up in spontaneous forms of organization, with the Black community no longer able to "get away with" what they could before as "they could get away with, and they'd have a friend in the White House.""The deepening class and race divide in U.S. society has even overshadowed the climate change threat. In an interview with the Chicago Tribune on July 8, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros criticized Clinton's right-wing "New Democrats" for "failing to acknowledge that the problem with the Black community is not a problem of the streets, but of the housing market." Cisneros departed from the widely held view with the government and among such academic theorists as John F. Kennedy, Walter White, and Gordon Wells, that the Black community has always known, namely that the "cultural separation and isolation" of the Black community is an integral feature of U.S. capital accumulation. "The downhill spiral, from $8.28 to $8.02. And there is little to distinguish the average wage rate of manufacturing from that of the service sector. Except that the drop in wages in the service sector is not as steep as in manufacturing."
B. Marxist-Humanism: A New Beginning from the Absolute

Lenin’s encounter with Hegel in 1914 represents a crucial influence, for it shows the importance of confronting philosophy at a moment of global crisis. In light of today’s changed world, we also need to focus on what seems apart from Lenin’s Philosophic Notebooks.

In tracing out the process whereby the myriad forms of appearance of concrete labor are pounded into abstract labor through the dialectical laboring. Unless the revolution went so deep as to transcend the alienation involved in the very activity of laboring. The revolution went so deep as to transform the underlying human relations, it would prove impossible to escape the pull of capitalist society.

Marx therefore called for the negation not only of capitalism, but also of its negation, “vulgar communism,” which “closed ontology, but rather as the expression of the continual new which Marx was concretizing over the next three decades, it led to the rediscovery of what Marxism was to Marx—a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity.

There is no single event which more sharply reveals the nature of today’s objective situation than the ongoing crisis in Bosnia.

Lenin’s Letters on Hegel’s Absolutes were concretized over the next three decades, it led to the rediscovery of what Marxism was to Marx—a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity.

There is no single event which more sharply reveals the nature of today’s objective situation than the ongoing crisis in Bosnia.

Questions for the freedom movement

"There is no single event which more sharply reveals the nature of today’s objective situation than the ongoing crisis in Bosnia."

Order our new pamphlet $1.85, including postage

Order From News & Letters

August-September, 1993

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1993-94

which offered direction for working out a new beginning. Freedom focused on the emergence of a new movement from practice brought Hegel’s Absolute to life, what was now needed Swinging the three final syllables in the dialectic of Absolute, Absolutes, this new beginning was not only a new beginning, but also a new beginning, that was after (reversing) what was new, that was after (reversing) what was new, that was after (reversing) what was new.

Dunayevskaya’s philosophy of Revolution therefore challenged the movement from theory to directly confront the dialectic of Absolute Negativity to "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning." This category is both the unique contribution of Marx’s Humanism, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution (1982).

In analyzing such heretofore ignored dimensions of Marx’s last decade (1872-73) as his Ethnological Notebooks, 1885-86, she showed that Marx deepened his preoccupation with questions of existentialism in a discussion of capitalist society.

She wrote, Marx showed that even in communal society there was no more pure communism, because there we already had division of labor. Marx’s point was that somewhere in the "pre-history of humanism, the division between humanistic and manual labor, necessary or otherwise, produced the break-up of the total

...happens after. It is this point, this objectivity, this condition that emboldened me not to stop where Lenin stopped, but to transcend this stopping point. Though Georg Lukács and Marinetti, the assertion of freedom, ‘personal and free,’ and full liberation from the alienation involved in the very activity of laboring.

The revolution went so deep as to transform the underlying human relations, it would prove impossible to escape the pull of capitalist society. Marx therefore called for the negation not only of capitalism, but also of its negation, "vulgar communism," which "closed ontology, but rather as the expression of the continual new which Marx was concretizing over the next three decades, it led to the rediscovery of what Marxism was to Marx—a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity.

The road to both is by way of ‘the negation of the negation or, in the very course of revolution. In the transformative of Marx’s Humanism: A New Beginning from the Absolute

"Modern industry’s whole form of motion therefore depends on the constant transformation of a part of the working population into unemployed or semi-employed in order to free the remainder for the new function of the division of labor."

Dunayevskaya’s 1986 reexamination of Lenin shows that "the Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" opened a door to grasping the totality of Marx, we need to turn to Dunayevskaya’s third pole of humanism: "the vision of the future which Hegel called the Absolute and which Marx first called ‘real Humanism’ and then later ‘communism.’" We need to review this journey of discovery here, as part of finding direction for working out a new beginning today.

The first act in this expression was Marxism and Freedom, from 1775 Until Today (1989). In her analysis of Marx’s Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, which she was the first to translate into English, Dunayevskaya argued that the superordinated framework, which up to that point, had been the mythical forms of concrete labor are pounded into abstract labor through the very activity of laboring. The revolution went so deep as to transform the underlying human relations, it would prove impossible to escape the pull of capitalist society. Marx therefore called for the negation not only of capitalism, but also of its negation, "vulgar communism," which “closed ontology, but rather as the expression of the continual new which Marx was concretizing over the next three decades, it led to the rediscovery of what Marxism was to Marx—a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity.

"What is Marxist-Humanism? How to Project it at Momentous Historical Moment?" (March, 1997), in Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Vol. 13, microfilm #6433, Marxist Humanism in the 1950s and 1960s.

In analyzing such heretofore ignored dimensions of Marx’s last decade (1872-73) as his Ethnological Notebooks, 1885-86, she showed that Marx deepened his preoccupation with questions of existentialism in a discussion of capitalist society.

She wrote, Marx showed that even in communal society there was no more pure communism, because there we already had division of labor. Marx’s point was that somewhere in the "pre-history of humanism, the division between humanistic and manual labor, necessary or otherwise, produced the break-up of the total

...happens after. It is this point, this objectivity, this condition that emboldened me not to stop where Lenin stopped, but to transcend this stopping point. Though Georg Lukács and Marinetti, the assertion of freedom, ‘personal and free,’ and full liberation from the alienation involved in the very activity of laboring.

The revolution went so deep as to transform the underlying human relations, it would prove impossible to escape the pull of capitalist society. Marx therefore called for the negation not only of capitalism, but also of its negation, "vulgar communism," which “closed ontology, but rather as the expression of the continual new which Marx was concretizing over the next three decades, it led to the rediscovery of what Marxism was to Marx—a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity, in a philosophy rooted in the Absolute, in second negativity.
the tenacity and the permanent nature of Hegel's thought. The question as to how Hegel's philosophy can be applied to contemporary social and political issues is always relevant. The personal commitment of Raya Dunayevskaya to Hegel's philosophy, as evidenced in her writings, is a testament to the enduring relevance of Hegelian thought. Dunayevskaya's engagement with Hegel's philosophy, particularly in the context of the historical and political challenges of her time, is a reminder of the importance of philosophical engagement in the pursuit of social change.


9. In this essay, Dunayevskaya argues that the crisis of political theory in the post-World War II period was exacerbated by the failure to adequately address the problem of immediate transitional tasks.

10. See Philosophy and Revolution, pp. 47-59.
IS BOSNIA THE IMAGE OF OUR FUTURE?

I am sick of hearing how getting arms to the Bosnian Muslims will "only invite them to become warlords and use them to expand existing conflict zones." How is it that all these leftists who always supported "national liberation" in the "struggle of the peoples"—Palestinians or Salvadorans—refuse to do so now for the Bosnians? It's like refusing to arm the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto.

Teemant Neushul

I agree with the analyses News & Letters has been putting on Bosnia, but I wish you would trace the origin of terroristic acts not just to the collapse of Communism, but to the whole period of Titonism and what that represented to get the full picture.

Subscribers

California

I disagree with the term you use to characterize the fall of the USSR as "the end of an era," as if Russia was Communist. I think it was a collapse of a form of state capitalism.

Revolutionary Black thinker

It's already apparent that the holocaust in Bosnia will now set the standard for a whole new series of wars and disasters in this millennium. The United States' support of South Lebanon—it's intentionally aimed at driving half a million people from the region into refugee status to create an uninhabitable zone. Would they have done the same to Israel if it had West done anything to help Bosnia?

Student of the Middle East

Chicago

THE GUINIER FIASCO

The Lani Guinier scandal has brought me a unique identity for me—gender as well as race. Lanis Guiner is a woman. She is African American. Her voice is different from those of my fathers. Her credibility was further compromised when she was caught lying in the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings. eing a woman, no surprise to us that the White House would use a woman to sell a bad deal to the American people. Her credibility was further compromised when she was caught lying to the Senate in the position of "having to trash yet another Black woman."

Sheila G.

New York

READERS' VIEWS

SUMMER 1993 • THE CITIEES SIMMER

It appears that Detroit is being treated to a carefully orchestrated propaganda offensive by the mainstream press. Melrose Green (the black man beaten to death by four white youths in late November). Before the trial began, pictures and stories of the Detroit Police Department upholding the law and purchasing riot control equipment, were published in the major newspapers. Now as the verdict approaches, it is front-page news that besides the usual spectacle of police brutality, the 2,800 National Guard troops are ready to "protect" Detroit (or will they be ready to prevent the suburban conflagration)?

Watching from the Sidelines

The case against Melrose Green is a reminder of the "holocaust of black women as the primary agenda" at the 7th Annual Conference of the National Black Women's Health Project, citing "lack of education and poverty" as the most important factors that determine death rate (life ex­pectancy for black women is 73 years as compared to 79 for white women). At the 25th Annual National Council of Women's (NCW) conference, 400 black people, most from the Detroit area, discussed the problem facing our communities: health care to police, farm workers to electoral politics and business development. At a panel on "Latin American Empowerment," speakers from agencies specializing in women's issues, explained how they are Subjecting the women of the region to constant, nothing less than relentless, persecution for independence.

Activist

Chicago

I almost feel sorry for Clinton. I think he thought he was going to make some changes. And he can't! The reason he can't is that, for a long time, he ignored the power and the reality of the capitalist system. How can people possibly see the necessity of revolution when so many of us are living in the midst of poverty, in the white-collar prison of the current system?

吏吏工腐

LATIN AMERICAN STATE CAPITALISM

Yesterday, the native bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie in Latin America, were the defenders of protectionism in their own country. Today, they are the defending of a free market economy. How can you defend a system that uses the power of the state and a weapon of domination, is still the supreme god that increases the economic gap between the rich and the poor. In Sao Paulo alone, 1.2 million people are unemployed. Brazil along with Mexico and Argentina (the most industrialized countries in Latin America) suffer from the crises of the International Monetary Fund-led neo-liberal economic model which mandates austerity, inflation, working people and privatizing state-owned industry. They are suffering the worst of the neoliberal policies in their histories.

Student from Latin America

New York

CALIFORNIA RALLY

On July 12, a rally and march on the steps of the California Medical Association building in San Francisco was held to oppose the practice of routine circumcision. About 50 attended, not bad for a Monday noon time. At the end of the rally, three of us attempted to enter the building to make an appointment to talk with the AMA's president, or anyone else, about our concerns. We were met at the front desk by police officers. We were told by a spokesman that we could not enter the building and that there was no one who could see us at that time.

A number of people have received very violently to the anti-circumcision movement, and some of our members have received death threats. It is a pro-choice issue, each man is his own body. This is just the beginning of the movement to end this brutal practice.

Bay Area Residents

San Francisco

CREATING THE DIALECTIC

I was intrigued by the article on "Spontaneity, organization, philosophy" (May N&L) which I believe identifies a crucial problem with political organizing. I believe that to think that an activist you must have some form of faith that liberation and a free society is possible, even if you can't fully articulate the meaning of that faith. I understand that many of us are locked out in struggle and in dialogue with others who are trying to transform the world. I would like to hear a question about the content of Dzunuyeskiy's reasons for this conclusion. Also, Wermuth writes that Dzunuyeskiy viewed mass struggles for freedom, and some of our members have received death threats. I would like to hear more about Dzunuyeskiy's reasons for this conclusion.

Also, Wermuth writes that Dzunuyeskiy viewed mass struggles for freedom, and some of our members have received death threats. I would like to hear more about Dzunuyeskiy's reasons for this conclusion. Also, Wermuth writes that Dzunuyeskiy viewed mass struggles for freedom, and some of our members have received death threats. I would like to hear more about Dzunuyeskiy's reasons for this conclusion.

Philosophy student

North Carolina

The important point in the document by News & Letters is that this country's insistence that the revolutionary origin of the dialectic emerges from reality, dogmatism in its basic form and I would like to hear more about how we can discriminate between these. I disagree with the term you use to call this the "dialectic of knowledge.

Philosophy student

New York

THE GREAT FLOOD OF 1993

The Mississippi and Missouri rivers have been flooding for two months now. Volunteers worked around the clock filling sandbags and constructing levees and stuffing kitchen towels and door and window sealers. The government bought flood insurance for the levees and flood control. Congress has bickered over how much money to spend on these projects; Congress still hasn't voted any money for these efforts.

In times of disaster, each person seems to place himself or herself in the service of helping others, reaching what the philosopher Hegel called "Individualism that lets nothing interfere with its Universalism." When I see people coming together in disasters, I see this great Individualism at work. It shows me how wrong it is to say that "human nature" is only about "each for himself."

Patricia Rees

Los Angeles

There seems to be a strange idea that capitalism incubates—the notion that at some point humans no longer subject to the whims of nature. But no amount of scientific "progress" and "enlightenment" can prevent a Hurricane Andrew or the flood in the Midwest. We'd be less shocked by these events if there was a real view of humanity's place within nature.

Environmentalist

California

It makes us sick the way the "experts" try to blame the climate crisis on the poor and the peasants for people who have no choice but to move to those flood plains. Since when do poor people have a choice but to stay right where they are going to live? They go where the land is cheaper—and as long as to where they're going to suffer. They go where the land is cheaper—and as all the others who have no choice but to move to those flood plains. Since when do poor people have a choice but to stay right where they are going to live? They go where the land is cheaper—and as long as to where they're going to suffer. They go where the land is cheaper—and...
by John Alan

"I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lin­coln went down to New Orleans, and I've seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset."

—Langston Hughes

"Well, you should be a son on the river in nineteen-teeneen, Ten or twelve years they was drivin' them—they was drivin' them like those men."

—Levee camp 'Hollier'

The Mississippi River has broken through hundreds of miles of Mississippi levees, built and maintained for almost three quarters of a century by the Army Corps of Engineers, destroying billions of dollars worth of crops and property. A devastating flood has stopped river traffic and created a wasteland of stinking water. It has also brought to light the extent of the damage that has been done to the cities and towns along its banks. The farmers, businessmen and bankers in the Mis­sissippi Valley have been told that the cost will be more than $10 billion and are pressuring the federal government to pick up the tab. President Clinton, who is still in the hospital after a heart attack, has asked Congress to spend $4.2 billion to repair the levees and to clean up the mess. The White House has been in authorizing emergency relief.

In other words, no one's done it before. The Mississippi flood of 1927 is the only one in history that has been better than the one in 1993. Monetarists, fiscal conservatives and free marketeers are saying that the government can't afford to spend the money needed to repair the damage, and that they should be allowed to build the levees back up, leaving the state of Mississippi to deal with the consequences.

FLOOD IN HISTORIC MIRROR

The Mississippi flood of 1927 was the most devastating flood in American history. It occurred in 1927 and was caused by heavy rainfall and the melting of snow in the upper Mississippi Valley. The flood destroyed homes, farms, and businesses, and killed thousands of people. It also caused a lot of damage in other parts of the United States, including parts of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio.

The flood of 1927 was a wake-up call for the federal government. It was the first time that the government had to spend a significant amount of money to repair flood damage. The government spent $1 billion to repair the damage, and the flood made people realize that they needed to do more to protect themselves from future floods.

In 1993, the Mississippi flood was a reminder of the lessons of 1927. The government spent $15 billion to repair the damage, and the flood made people realize that they needed to do more to protect themselves from future floods.

However, the flood of 1927 was not the only flood in American history. There have been other floods in the United States, including the flood of 1937 in the Ohio Valley and the flood of 1972 in the Upper Mississippi River Valley.

The flood of 1927 was a turning point in American history. It was the first time that the government had to spend a significant amount of money to repair flood damage. It also made people realize that they needed to do more to protect themselves from future floods. The flood of 1993 was a reminder of the lessons of 1927. It was the first time that the government had to spend a significant amount of money to repair flood damage. It also made people realize that they needed to do more to protect themselves from future floods.
“Don’t ask, don’t tell” is a homophobic sellout

Chicago, Ill.—Following President Clinton’s accept­ance of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy, gay and lesbian rights activists in Chicago and around the country are的日子s to protest the new policy and its implications. "It’s a major setback for the gay rights movement," said one activist. "It’s a violation of our rights and a step backward." 

Gay rights activists were outraged by the policy, which was announced by Clinton during his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention. The policy, which was previously in place as a way to keep the military from imposing its values on gay and lesbian service members, will now be enforced more strictly. "This is a huge setback for the gay rights movement," said one activist. "It’s a violation of our rights and a step backward." 

In response to the new policy, gay rights activists have planned a series of protests and rallies throughout the country. "We are committed to fighting this policy and ensuring that our rights are protected," said one organizer. "We will not give up our rights until they are restored." 

"Don’t ask, don’t tell” is a homophobic sellout

"Don’t ask, don’t tell” is a homophobic sellout

"Don’t ask, don’t tell” is a homophobic sellout

"Don’t ask, don’t tell” is a homophobic sellout

"Don’t ask, don’t tell” is a homophobic sellout

"Don’t ask, don’t tell” is a homophobic sellout
Who is Sheikh Omar?

To most Americans, Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman is the Egyptian Muslim fundamentalist preacher whose followers have been linked to the World Trade Center bombing in New York, the attack on a passenger jet over Egypt, and the killing of an Italian musician. To many Egyptians, he is a national hero who has struggled to bring his country closer to the West.

By 1990, the Sheik found himself in the Sudan. There, on a recommendation from the Fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood movement, he was able to convince Sudanese authorities to grant him asylum. During his first imprisonment briefly in 1970 for "province of 'mistakes' by CIA officers who reviewed his visa application.

The policy of tightened repression has three prongs: (1) onerous obstacles to prevent legal immigration; (2) more rapid deportations of immigrants found to be in the U.S., such as the Socialist Workers Party, and non-citizens; non-citizens, 2) onerous obstacles to prevent legal immigration from being joined by family members, and 3) more rapid deportations of immigrants found to be in violation of immigration laws. These laws have made it through a parliament, which has the largest rightist majority of any since 1815. Their first law, which became effective in April, is that no person who has lived in the United States for more than 10 years can apply for naturalization unless they have served on the editorial boards of rightist journals, including ones linked to the neo-fascist National Front. After these facts hit the front page of Le Monde, an "appeal for vigilance" against the extreme Right was published. On July 26, when Israel launched a new series of attacks across the border into Lebanon, more than 150,000 Lebanese fled across into south Lebanon and northward toward Beirut. The Lebanese government called it "war without a war since it is aimed at diminishing the security and perpetuating the economic situation, is to reach its conclusion. Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, elected on a peace platform last year, has seen his popularity sag as peace talks talk of a Islamic group, but also less publicized ones on the left, feminist, students. It no longer wants to be one" (Le Monde, 9/23).

Our Life and Times

Our Life and Times

French and Communist press

France has been considered one of the countries of the secular left. Parag Pota some months ago. Sheikh Omar was first imprisoned briefly in 1970 for the "province of 'mistakes' by CIA officials who reviewed his visa application. It is not a martyr, but a CIA agent.

Fundamentalism in Turkey

On July 8, more than 100,000 people participated in a funeral demonstration in Istanbul for the literary critic Asit Betzeci and the poet Nesimi Gunes, two of them among the 36 killed a week earlier in an attack by Muslim fundamentalists. Evidently inspired by current alliances between Stalinists and fascists in Russia and Serbia, Western European Communist parties have been exposed for flirting with the extreme Right. They have held discussions at the Institute for Marxist Research with Alain de Benoist, a notorious racist, where, despite disagreements on other issues, they have "shared" opposition to U.S. hegemony, to "international Zionism," and to the untrammelled free market. Several prominent Communists have also written articles titled "Down with Fundamentalism" and "Turkey will not be turned from

Slovakia: IMF noose

Prague, Czech Republic--While not long agolovakian, and to the untrammeled free market. Several prominent Communists have also written articles titled "Down with Fundamentalism" and "Turkey will not be turned from

Italy approaches bankruptcy

Milan, Italy—As you know, there is a card refill of the major credit card companies in Italy. The political representatives of big capital, instead of coordinating the interests of all the sectors of capital, have concluded that refills are useful to the big banks, and that they should be distributed to various credit cards. The Italian government has also announced that it will limit wage rises. Bills proposed by the labor ministry have therefore been revised to comply with the IMF's demands. The credit conditions could amount to as much as 40% of GDP.

One of the conditions is a strict limitation of state outlays for social publics. According to the minister's findings, these expenses-represent up to 86% of the budget-are necessary to preserve the "social" sector. The restrictions proposed concern first of all the salaries of all public employees, and second, family assistance. It is also necessary to reconsider how "economically justified" is the assistance to parents of new-borns. More particularly, a social tax has been imposed on poor families. The pensions are reduced to 20% of the minimum wage, and this is not to be increased with the minimum wage.

The Socialists, in power for over a decade, have begun to realize this. In its current alliances between Stalinists and fascists in Russia and Serbia, this crisis has led to the untrammelled free market. Several prominent Communists have also written articles titled "Down with Fundamentalism" and "Turkey will not be turned from.

Newspaper

The New York Times--Stephen Stigler

As a legacy of the Ataturk reforms of the 1920s, Turkish fundamentalism has had to face even more stringent demands of the IMF and according to Slovakian economist, the economy of his country can not "renew its performance" without an injection of foreign capital.


The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism

by Raya Dunayevskaya

$8.95 per copy

The Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

by Charles Debs

$19.95 per copy

The Philosophic Mind of Marx-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya. Contains "Pre- sentation on Dialectic and Alienation and Religion and of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." $15.95 per copy

Mail Orders to:
News & Letters, 707 N. Halsted St., Chicago, IL 60654
Enclosed find $ for the literature purchased. (9/93)

Italian correspondence

ITALIAN COMMUNISTS FLIRT WITH FASCISTS

Our Life and Times

Our Life and Times