

# When ARCHIVES are not Past, but are LIVING

The Direct Relationship of  
Marxist-Humanist Archives to Marx's Humanism,  
Which Created "Revolution in Permanence"  
As Ground for Organization

By

MICHAEL CONNOLLY  
National Co-organizer  
News & Letters Committee

Published by

The Detroit News & Letters Committee  
1249 Washington Blvd. #1740  
Detroit MI 48226



When Archives are not past, but Living; the Direct Relationship  
of Marxist-Humanist Archives to Marx's Humanism, which Created  
"Revolution in Permanence" as Ground for Organization --  
by Michael Connolly at Wayne State University, March 22, 1984

### Introductory Note

We have one title for these final two classes in the Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas: "Marx's 'Revolution in Permanence' as ground for organization and self-development of each individual as universal freedom." The readings for the classes include the culminations of all three works in the Marxist-Humanist trilogy of revolution--the last chapters of Marxism and Freedom (M&F) and Philosophy and Revolution (P&R), and the crucial penultimate chapter of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (RLW/LKM). But please keep in mind that for Hegel, for Marx and for Marxist-Humanism, every genuine culmination is both summation of all that has gone before and point of departure for new beginnings.

We will be tracing the self-determination of an idea--the idea of "Revolution in permanence"--from its birth and development by Marx, through its (long night of neglect) to its re-creation and development by Marxist-Humanism in our own age. And precisely because we cannot be satisfied with conclusions alone, and now want to practice methodology for today's freedom struggles, we want to take that journey with the aid of the Marxist-Humanist Archives, the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, housed here at Wayne State University in Detroit.

Listen to Marx in 1844, at the moment of birth of his "new continent of thought":

*"The whole movement of history is -->*  
The whole movement of history is, on the one hand, the actual act of creation--the act by which its empirical being was born; on the other hand, for its thinking consciousness, it is the realized and recognized process of development.  
--"Private Property and Communism"

It is no accident that Marx returns to this precise point in his greatest theoretical work, Capital, in the chapter on "Machinery and Large-scale Industry," as he critiques both those who fail to see the material basis of life in production, and those who fail to see the weak points in "abstract materialism" as it excludes what he calls "history and its process." Nor is it any accident that in each of the three works of Marxist-Humanism we have studied in these classes, Raya returns to this same passage in Capital, yet each return uncovers a fuller view of Marx's Marxism. In the chapter in M&F on "Automation and the New Humanism," it is concerned with "Different attitudes to automation" as the autoworkers and miners wildcatted, while union leaders and radical intellectuals viewed the new technology as "progress." In P&R, it illuminates Marx's early and sharp critique of Darwin, and underlines the great distance between their perspectives on human development. In RLW/LKM "history and its process" opens the section on Marx's Ethnological

16697

Notebooks, in which we see how Marx's determination to hold fast to the "ever-developing subject," the human forces of revolution, disclosed not only his differences with bourgeois anthropologists, but how his philosophy of revolution diverged from that of his closest collaborator, Engels.

Marx's magnificent 1844 description of the movement of history as the "act of creation" and the "process of development," is thus not alone something for Marx's day. It points as well to Marxist-Humanism's act of creation, its process of development, from the 1941 birth of the theory of state-capitalism to REVLKM and beyond. It is that methodology that I hope to illuminate here.

I 1843-4-187582 with some post-KM Rev. 1/905  
Part One - Marx's Philosophy of "Revolution in Permanence" and its Disappearance in Post-Marx Marxism.

"From Critic of Hegel to Author of Capital and theorist of 'Revolution in Permanence' is how Raya titles Part III of RIMLKM, and in beginning with the nearly unknown Marx of 1842 we are given the opportunity to see how Marx's earliest critique of Hegel is sharpest when he discovers a division between Reality and Reason. "Totality" in Hegel, he says, consists of two hostile worlds, "each side utterly opposed to the other." In turning against this alienated world, Marx comes to argue that not only the product of labor has been alienated, but the activity of the human being. By the time we reach Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays, Marx is not only involved with actual workers' struggles, but subjecting the whole basis of all human relations, including those of Man/Woman, to ruthless criticism. Marx's break from Hegel becomes as well a return to the Hegelian dialectic--"the dialectic of negativity as the moving and creative principle." Marx sought, and discovered, human subjects to transform reality, bearers of that dialectic.

Thus, the path to permanent revolution for Marx meant both singling out "negation of the negation" as key to all dialectic, and a singling out of human subjects of revolution. This is the context in which Marx's first reference to "permanent revolution" appears--in his 1843 article "On the Jewish Question." Far from simply endorsing "civil rights" Marx there demonstrates how total an uprooting is needed to establish human relations for all. Throughout this whole period of the birth of Marx's "new continent of thought," the critique of old is never separated from the projection of the new society as the "self-development of each individual as universal freedom." Thus the 1848 Communist Manifesto is not only the history of class struggle, but the projection of "an association in which the free development of each is the precondition for the free development of all."

As Marx summed up the 1848 revolutions he wrote his 1850 Address to the Communist League which ends with the appeal to the

proletariat: "Their battle cry must be: The Revolution in Permanence!" He was posing that (1) the struggle would never again be fought with the bourgeoisie; independent proletarian organization was demanded; (2) that the workers needed to seek new allies, beginning with the peasantry. Above all, what stood out was the method -- that the next stage of revolution takes as its point of departure the highest point reached in the last, and that was true in thought as well as in activity.

Yet to many in the Communist League, permanent revolution seemed to mean only a short-hand way of justifying precisely the endless insurrection conspiracies Marx opposed. By (1852), the Communist League (CL) disbanded at Marx's insistence, and 8 years later, when Marx writes to a friend, "I had in mind the party in the eminent historical sense," he actually belongs to no party at all. By the time Marx writes the Critique of the Gotha Program in (1875) he is even willing to put his own great International Workingmen's Association behind him when he says it was "no longer realizable in its first historical form after the fall of the Paris Commune."

The key is that whether it was the Communist League (CL) after (1848-50) or the International Workingmen's Association (IWA) after the (1871) Paris Commune, Marx's relation was to revolution as the determinant, and to a form of organization that would now have to arise with the full expression of the highest stage reached. The organization had to encompass all the new Subjects of revolution and act as the bearer of philosophy of revolution, or it would become both fetish and obstacle to further development. Marx's own agenda after 1848 led from the Taiping Revolution to the Grundrisse's Absolute Movement of Becoming. His agenda after 1871, from an examination of man/woman relations to a new view of the peasantry, and from the French edition of Capital to the Critique of the Gotha Program's (CGP) projection of the inseparability of philosophy and organization, is what we call today the trail to the 1980s.

As Raya puts it in Ch. 11 of RL/LKM, "It wasn't the phrase 'permanent revolution' that was the proof of the concept, but the fact that in the constant search for revolutionary allies the vision of revolutions to come was in no way changed." Thus, even though Marx did not use the phrase in his last decade, Raya concludes that: "the greatest concretization of the philosophy of revolution, and its re-connection with the deep roots of the concept of permanent revolution first developed in the 1850 Address, came in the last years of Marx's life and the study of the pre-history, as well as the history, of humanity." (pp. 161-2)

Unfortunately, the phrase "permanent revolution" did mean something in the case of Leon Trotsky, even though originally he did not even call his 1905 theory of Russia's path to socialism that. In the Afterword to Ch. 11, we see that not only was Trotsky's

80001

16699

theory of permanent revolution bereft of any self-developing Subject, but his implacable hostility to the peasantry meant there was no theoretic preparation for the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution or today's Third World revolutions. Neither, we see, was there any connection to either Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence," or to organization questions, to which Trotsky applied, not "permanent revolution," but his theory of conciliationism, which he even extended to the non-development of his own original insights.

Neither was "revolution in-permanence" seen as ground for organization by Rosa Luxemburg, even when she raised the question of spontaneity and the party, only to fall victim to the fetish of organization when she denounced the Second International as a "stinking corpse", yet hesitated to leave it in 1918. And Lenin, who alone did seriously return to the Critique of the Gotha Program, did so as preparation for smashing the bourgeois state, never viewing that document as a projection of the inseparability of philosophy and organization, and allowing his vanguard party concept to remain in a separate compartment from his philosophic re-organization.

One could certainly call Trotsky's or Luxemburg's insights in the period of the 1905 revolution a "flash of genius". But unless "revolution in permanence" is spelled out as going on to develop those insights, and not alone to differentiate oneself from others and then "stop dead" (as Hegel said of Kant), it becomes debris associated with Marx's theory only in name. And it was to clear away that debris that Raya had to first write the "Afterword" on Trotsky, before even one word of Ch. 1 of RLVLM could be put to paper.

II Burke & H-H: Our Page

Part Two-- How Marxist-Humanism Developed "Revolution in Permanence", as ground for organization and self-development of each individual as universal freedom, in our age

Note: Referenced to works in the Marxist-Humanist Archives in the pages that follow are indicated by microfilm page numbers, as shown in the "Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection".

1. Marxian and Freedom

The post-World War II world has been filled with revolutions, including very centrally, revolutions in the Third World. Yet insofar as the theory of permanent revolution was known, it was as Trotsky's theory, tied to the rejection of the peasantry, and unconnected to any grounding in Marx's Marxism, his "New Humanism." How then, did Marxist-Humanism uncover and re-create that theory and ground for organization in our age?

16700

19781



-5- 15. 30th  
CR

It begins with what Raya called "a paean of praise to break-ups and splits," when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed and Raya insisted that Russia could not possibly be considered a workers' state, while Trotsky continued to base his analysis on the property-form of nationalization. In working out her analysis of "Russia as a State-Capitalist Society," there was as well what the pamphlet, "25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S." calls the "germ" of Marx's Humanism in her study of one of Marx's 1844 Essays on the role of labor. (See #87)

But it is the period (1949-53) that is singled out in both the 25 Years and the Archives Guide as the "Historic Re-emergence of Marx's Humanism". In that period we can see how Raya, at one and the same time, was listening to the thoughts of rank-and-file miners on strike <sup>against</sup> automation, translating and studying Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, and engaging in her own direct encounter with the Hegelian dialectic. In our forthcoming pamphlet on that 1949-50 miners' general strike, it is clear that philosophy--the Marxian Hegelian dialectic--both anticipated and emerged out of the actual events.

The point I wish to stress here, however, is that in order to fully re-connect with Marx's legacy, the breakthrough had to be not on his ground alone, but on completely new ground for our age as well. Thus the 1953 Letters on the Absolute Idea, which Raya wrote in the weeks after Stalin's death and before the East German workers' uprising, had to encounter Hegel's dialectic at a point where neither Marx nor Lenin had gone. Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" broke off before it reached Hegel's Absolutes and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks disregard the last paragraph of the Absolute Idea in Science of Logic. Further, no one, not Marx nor Lenin nor even modern Hegel scholars had examined the three final syllogisms of Philosophy of Mind, which Hegel added to his work only in the last months of his life. It is here that Raya both discovers a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory and focuses on the final paragraph (577) as the "Self-thinking Idea," the single dialectic that emerges from actuality and from thought.

A new divide in Marxism

Address Ch. 1 of par and see why Raya calls these 1953 letters "a new divide in Marxism." In a sense one could call them our Address on Permanent Revolution, for they opened up a process in thought that led to such a view of new Subjects of revolution, and such a perspective of a new kind of organization that the supposedly "quietest" 1950s really became "a decade of historic transformation." The new kind of organization--News & Letters Committees--born in 1955 established at once its uniqueness in both newspaper and organization, as Charles Danby, a Black production worker, became editor, and each issue included a "Two Worlds" column by Raya. The stories directly from the shops and picket lines, the new questioning by workers, were what dictated that our very first <sup>of</sup> pamphlet (#2431) be the publication for all to study of Raya's

The quietest  
1950s  
never ended as it continues

to see the 1950s  
1950s

16701

1948-49  
-1950 } 1953-55 | 1955-57

translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks and her 1953 Letters on the Absolute Idea.

Far from objective events being used to "prove" what the breakthrough in thought had already shown, the period that followed was one of constant deepening and development of the fledgling tendency, Marxist-Humanism. The very next month after that first pamphlet was published, the Montgomery Bus Boycott broke out. Denby's Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal re-tells its story focusing both on the critique of union and Black leaders and radicals who failed to support it, and on the relationship between spontaneity and organization which the boycott illuminated. (Everyone knows Denby's favorite expression from that chapter: "Few can look out upon a calm sea and tell when a storm will rise and sweep all filth to the shore.")

When we reach the description of the Montgomery Bus Boycott in M&F, Raya states that "The greatest thing of all in this Montgomery, Alabama spontaneous organization was its own working existence." Not only that, but she concludes that the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Hungarian Revolution's workers' councils have together established the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory as a new world epoch. M&F was the work that, together with the Hungarian Revolution, brought Marx's "new Humanism" out of the archives and onto the historic stage. The two are not separable, just as the writing of M&F was not divided from the discussions on the draft of it with miners, autoworkers and students. If you want to see the single dialectic emerging from actuality and from thought in that period, read Olga's 1956 letter to Raya on West Virginia miners discussing the draft of M&F (#2523). But nowhere is that world-historic moment of the mid-1950s better posed as a new beginning for yet deeper digging than in the concluding paragraphs of M&F:

The worker is right when he demands that work be "completely different, and not separated from life itself," and that "thinking and doing be united." Once the theoretician has caught this, just this, impulse from the workers, his work does not end. It first then begins. A new unity of theory and practice can evolve only when the movement from theory to practice meets the movement from practice to the-  
(p. 287)

## II. Philosophy and Revolution

By the late 1950s, early 1960s freedom movements were not only bursting out in East Europe and Africa, but a new generation of revolutionaries was being born right in the USA. N&L began to publish a stream of pamphlets, flowing out of the work of M&F, to concretize its perspective for those struggles: Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions; Workers

60721

WBA

16702

✓ Battle Automation; Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves; The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution, and the path-breaking work on the American revolution, American Civilization on Trial. In the fall of 1960 and winter of 1961, when WBA had just come off the press and linked workers' revolts to the new questioning and activism by youth, and when the civil rights movement's sit-ins were sweeping the South and speaking for themselves in N&L, at that moment Raya decided to write summaries of Hegel's works (#2806) and sketch the very earliest outline of what would be P&R. She calls it "Subjectivity of Self-liberation" and exchanges letters with Herbert Marcuse on its direction (#4316). The author of Reason and Revolution, one of the leading scholars on the dialectic had written: "I cannot see why you need the Absolute Idea..." He was to go on the very next year to publish his One-Dimensional Man, with its assertion that technology had absorbed all workers' revolutionary subjectivity, and thereby ironically to show how necessary is the Absolute Idea for discerning concrete human forces of revolution in our age. Raya's six page answer, is, to my mind, among the most illuminating expositions of the concreteness of philosophy for today's political analyses that I have ever read. It demands further study.

More is my leg out  
FHA

For Marxist-Humanism, the new posing of philosophy's crucial nature came immediately, as Kennedy launched the Bay of Pigs invasion and Raya began her Weekly Political Letters. They take up some 250 pages in the Archives, and whether they are on Cuba or Africa or the U.S. civil rights movement or the anti-nuke protests, their deep grounding in the study of the dialectic is evident.

Indeed, by the time the struggles of the 1960s had shown the insufficiency of the revolutionary act alone, and France 1969 had ended with an "arrested" revolution, Raya re-organized the form of P&R to make "Why Hegel? Why Now?" Part I of the book. You can follow this development yourself, since all the draft chapters and letters on the book, which were circulated for discussion, are included in the Archives. But once the decision to "turn the form of the book around" had been reached, what it meant was the launching of a dialogue with precisely those "New Passions and New Forces" she was later to single out in Chapter 9. Thus, 1969 saw our sponsorship of the "Black-Red" conference in the midst of the Black caucuses in the unions activity (#7338) and 1971 saw the founding conference of Women's Liberation-News & Letters (#7355). In each, the subject for discussion was not alone the state of the movement, but how "Why Hegel? Why Now?" illuminates the path from activity and revolt to full social revolution and a human society.

Becky  
B Chit  
Morgan  
P. L. C. (1969)  
R. L. W. L. K. M.  
act

Philosophy and Revolution, 1973, stands as the turning point in the development of Marxist-Humanism, and, I would argue, was central to the re-creation of Marx's philosophy of permanent revolution. Nothing helped me see that more than the very first letter Raya wrote as she began her work on RLWLKM, June 30, 1978.



Absolute  
12/5/68

-8- AT as New Beginning

"Now, let us get down to our age and see how difficult it is to grasp that 'Absolute Idea as New Beginning.'

First, it appears as the unity of theory and practice. Reread MEW, where I certainly had already grasped the break-up of Absolute as the movement from practice as well as from theory, for them to unite as revolutionary practice for our age. In there the central part which will lay the ground for our age as the age of absolute contradiction of transformation of the first workers' state into state-capitalism, does take up all of Marx's works: philosophic, economic, historic and political. And what do I call it? 'Unity of Theory and Practice.' Not only that. I, in a footnote, thank Marcuse for his seminal work, Reason and Revolution, by saying I agree with him that Marxism went neither with Left Hegelians, nor what became of Hegelianism as that was transformed into opposite by the Right.

Why, however, could I not have made myself so clear to myself as to see that, much as I learned from Marcuse, we were not only on different planets 'politically' but philosophically? The answer is in fact that until P&R, until my own return to Hegel, straight and the new era of the 1960s incompleted in 1968, and new forces of liberation: AS REASON—Labor, Black Dimension, Women's Liberation, Youth—no new stage of cognition could become concrete and profound. And it is when I also began, with that new phrase, 'new continent of thought' to see that not only was it unity of theory and practice, but new beginning—new continent; new world view, and that not only as internationalism—worker has no country; the world is his country—but humanism. (#64321)

The point I want to make here is that no one from Marx's death to today has posed Marx as "philosopher of revolution in permanence," let alone moved to re-create that philosophy for our age and task, especially the task of working out form of organization. Even we, in MEW, did not do so explicitly. But P&R, so departed Absolute Negativity, Marx's point of departure, by posing it "as new beginning," that now, Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence" did find its concrete, explicit expression with RLWLKM.

Listen to what Raya singles out in Hegel as he sums up Philosophy of Mind the first time; that is, before he adds the three final syllogisms:

It is precisely in this last section on philosophy that he attacks the very concept of system: 'They are most accurately called systems which apprehend the Absolute as substance. . . they represent the Absolute as the universal genus which dwells in the species or existences; but dwells so potently that these existences have no actual reality. The fault of all these modes of

for Marx only  
for  
of  
I believe  
all other  
V. I. Lenin  
= 2000 or  
Party

16704

16704

of thought and systems is that they are too short of defining substance as subject and as mind. (p. 35)

Can't you just hear, in that quote from Hegel, echoes of Marx striking out against Mikhailovsky for system-building, for ignoring the actual movement of "history and its process" in constructing a "historico-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being supra-historical"? Whether as property-form or as form of organization, the system as fetish, as obstacle to human freedom, is what the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic refuses to bow down to. Yet even this is still posed negatively, as what we are against. It is only with Raya's analysis of Hegel's three final syllogisms in the context of P&R that we are able to begin to work out the positive expression of "Self-thinking Idea," of "revolution-in-permanence." Again it is inseparable from the new age opened with the revolutions of the 1950s:

The new frontiers opened with the end of illusions, with the start of revolutions within the successful revolutions, with the permanence of self-development so that there should end, once and for all, the difference between the individual and the universal. (P&R, p. 285)

It is that "permanence of self-development" within each one of us in the freedom movement that alone can end the aborted revolutions of our age and open the path to "universal freedom."

III Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

Almost as soon as P&R was off the press, the new revolutions of the 1970s began to appear world-wide, stretching from Portugal/Angola/Mozambique through Lebanon, South Africa and Iran to Nicaragua and Grenada. The "hunger for philosophy" depicted in P&R was met by new forms of truncated Marxism, whether "Goco-ist" or even "narrow" of religion and socialism, while the new global Women's Liberation Movement challenged the incompleteness of every revolution, whether in Portugal or Iran. Our activity involved not only support of, and participation in those revolutions, but the publication of such pamphlets as Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought; Working Women for Freedom and Latin America's Unfinished Revolutions, each of which had its origins in P&R.

At the same time, "Why Hegel? Why Now?" continued to unfold and deepen. Two documents from the Archives in this period, demonstrate, I think, the way P&R itself was re-concretized as preparation for the explicit development of Marx's "Revolution in Permanence." These are "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," a lecture given to the Hegel Society of America in 1972 (#5631) and "Our Original Contribution to the Dialectic of Absolute Idea as New Be-

*Handwritten notes:*  
1970s  
from Mozambique to Brazil & Grenada  
Portuguese Revolution  
1972  
1973  
1974  
1975  
1976  
1977  
1978  
1979  
1980  
1981  
1982  
1983  
1984  
1985  
1986  
1987  
1988  
1989  
1990  
1991  
1992  
1993  
1994  
1995  
1996  
1997  
1998  
1999  
2000  
2001  
2002  
2003  
2004  
2005  
2006  
2007  
2008  
2009  
2010  
2011  
2012  
2013  
2014  
2015  
2016  
2017  
2018  
2019  
2020  
2021  
2022  
2023  
2024  
2025

10071

16705

ginning" (#5622), presented in April 1976. I want to mention the dates because the Hegel Society presentation, with its stress on the "consequential" final syllogism, "Self-Thinking Idea," summed up P&R, Ch. 1 in one way; while the presentation in April, 1976 was given as we had asked, "Will the revolution in Portugal advance?" and singled out the dimensions of Africa, of women's liberation and of philosophy as the human powers that alone could drive the revolution forward.

As with the revolutions of the 1960s, Raya now launched a new series of analyses of world events, beginning with the Portuguese Revolution. Only now, instead of being called "Political Letters," they were explicitly "Political-Philosophic Letters"--and the change in name was another way of showing that we did not alone single out "Forces as Reason"; we also viewed philosophy as force of revolution. Far from viewing philosophy as an internal matter, we now began publishing our Draft Perspectives theses in N&L for all our readers to join in the discussion. Finally, that was extended even to the publication of draft chapters of RLWLKM in the paper.

The same decade of the 1970s that was filled with revolutions, especially in the Third World, saw as well the publication of Marx's works as a totality for the first time. The transcription of Marx's Notebooks on Ethnology and on Russian and Indian peasant society focused attention on Marx's last decade. The convergence of new global economic crises, the rise of new freedom movements, especially the Women's Liberation Movement, and the availability for the first time of Marx's work as a totality, provided the impetus for RLWLKM. The freedom movements were posing new questions on form of organization and on the relationship of technologically backward lands to advanced ones. Yet when we come to Ch. 8 in RLWLKM, we see that it is titled, "The Task That Remains to be Done: The Unique and Unfinished Contributions of Today's Women's Liberation Movement." After the tragedy of Grenada, we would have to place an emphasis on the "unfinished" contributions, not only of the WLM, but of the "30 years movements from practice that were themselves forms of theory"--all of them.

In Ch. 8, Raya points out the two most serious errors of today's WLM: as 1) failure to see Rosa Luxemburg as feminist and revolutionary; and 2) the attempt to reduce Marx to a single "discipline" (anthropologist, economist, etc.). And it is Engelsian Marxism, whether in the Origin of the Family as covering up Marx's concept of Man/Woman; or in Anti-Dühring as reducing the Marxian dialectic to a form of positivism, that is seen as crippling all movements.

Precisely because the revolutions of the 1970s raised such new questions on forms of organization, and on the relationship of theory to practice which that stunted Marxism could not answer,

16706

Raya concludes:

We must return to Marx--the whole of Marx. Without his philosophy of revolution, neither Women's Liberationists nor the whole of humanity will have discovered the ground that will assure the success of the revolution. (RLVLKM p.109)

Crucial to that return has been the re-examination of the Critique of the Gotha Program (CGP) as described in the beginning of this talk. We had seen the CGP in M&F, right within the concluding chapter. There it is posed as the basis of the new society in which labor is liberated from the twin tyrannies of Automation and the Plan and becomes "itself the first necessity of living." In RLVLKM, CGP is seen as Marx's projection of the need to never divide philosophy from the question of form of organization, beginning with "ending the antithesis between mental and manual labor." One might argue that this is exactly what News & Letters Committees has strived to do from its birth, with our form of organization, our form of newspaper. Yet in grounding ourselves explicitly in Marx's "Revolution in Permanence" as form of organization, we are now saying something much deeper about the "self-development of the individual" and the relation of each of us to the Marxist-Humanist Archives.

#### IV Living Archives

With apologies to P&R, "Why Archives? Why Now?". In part I think the answer has come from our experience with the archives of Marx, with what it means to have the totality of his work. We have seen how it took the Russian Revolution to get the 1844 Humanist Essays, the Chinese Revolution to get the Grundrisse, and our own age of Women's Liberation and Third World revolutions to finally see a transcription of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks. But it isn't a question of quantity. Rather it is one of "embryo and process", of what it means to "hear Marx thinking", when you, in a very different age, have to work out new problems he could only see in outline as they first appeared. The movement suffered from not having Marx's archives.

In 1969, when P&R was in draft form, and the revolutions of 1968 had proved the insufficiency of the act alone, Raya didn't confine herself to circulating the chapters and to holding the magnificent Black-Red and WL-N&L conferences. She also began the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection--our Archives-- and insisted that it be made available far and wide. Raya's collection remains to this day the only one with a requirement that it be made available to all who wish to study it, with no restrictions or "proof of scholarly intentions" required. It is now available on microfilm in over 30 libraries across the country, and several overseas. We have added to the Archives three times since, bringing it up to

1981 on the eve of RLWLKM.

Since then, we have had not only the finished work, but all the additions to it made after it was published. We have the new introductions to AAR and ACOT; Marx and the Third World and the PPL on Grenada. We have Perspectives Theses from 1981-84 and the new Constitution of News & Letters Committees we adopted last year. And by this spring we will have in our hands the pamphlet on the 1949-50 miners general strike. This year we will add again to the Archives, and as preview to that I want to very briefly speak about two of those additions: the article in Praxis, and the paragraph added to p. 180 of RLWLKM.

The Praxis article, "Marx's New Humanism and the Dialectics/Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies," is not entitled "Marx's Concept of Man/Woman." Or more precisely, Marx's concept of Man/Woman, his view of the revolutionary power of the "feminine ferment" can not be understood outside the development of the "whole of Marx," his new continent of thought. Here you see the way each Subject of revolution emerges as a new category when the objective situation and the subjective response of Marx's Marxism correspond, and only then. Or, to put it another way, no single force of revolution--not workers, Blacks, women youth, peasantry--can claim to be decisive when separated from reason. "The whole of Marx,"--his totality--is the determinant here. We can see it when Raya looks at her own sketch of Marx on women's liberation (pp. 106-7 of RLWLKM) and asks what Marx did in the 1850s (the one decade not described there)--and finds both his activity with the women workers on strike at Preston, and his support of Lady Bulwer-Lytton, who was thrown in prison for daring to oppose her aristocratic-politician husband. And we can see it when Raya lashes out against those like Mikhail Vitkin, who now praise Marx's last decade, only to deride his first 30 years of work as "Euro-centered."

In the addition to p. 180 of RLWLKM, the argument is not with Vitkin, but with Engels. Raya was dissatisfied with simply saying "it was no accident" that Engels skipped over the Asiatic Mode of Production in his Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. What becomes clear is that Engels skipped over the AMP because he could neither see the communal form under despotic rule, nor the origin of divisions between chief and ranks in the primitive commune. Both stemmed from a unilinear view of human history, an abstract materialism which never fully grasped "history and its process." One might almost say that Engels' view is not so far removed from the unilinear concepts of Mihailovsky; or at the least that Engelsianism laid the ground for property-form--rather than production relations with their revolutionary duality--to become equivalent to "socialism" for post-Marx Marxists. Doesn't Trotsky's insistence that nationalized property made Russia a workers' state "despite all," stem from this, just this, Engelsian divergence from Marx's Marxism?



But let's return to the addition to p. 130 to see the positive expression of Marx's Marxism as we are re-creating it today. Frankly, it is this sentence that--for better or worse--motivated the form of this presentation, because it speaks so explicitly of the whole of Marxist-Humanism's view of Marx:

Marx transformed what, to Hegel, was the synthesis of the 'Self-Thinking Idea' and the 'Self-bringing forth of liberty' as the emergence of a new society. The many paths to get there were left open.

It is our task --each one of us-- to travel those many paths so concretely that the "self-development of each individual" becomes inseparable from the realization of "universal freedom." If we do that, we will not only grasp the meaning of "history and its process," we will live it.

*"The press is the ruthless language and manifest image of the historical spirit of the people ..."*  
— Karl Marx

Subscribe to  
**News & Letters**  
Only \$2.50 per year

Send coupon to: News & Letters  
2832 E. Grand Blvd. Rm. 516  
Detroit, MI 48211

Enclosed find \$2.50 for a one year subscription to  
N&L

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Since then  
3/22/84  
we have  
Loony & Future  
Mr. & Dialectics  
35 for 50 (actually)  
1/2 part M&L  
mid-1940s  
52, 53 unpubl'd.  
Org. Document

**A Trilogy of Revolution**  
Three Marxist-Humanist works by  
**Raya Dunayevskaya**

- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
- Philosophy and Revolution — from Marx to Mao and from Hegel to Sartre
- Marxism and Freedom — from 1776 to today

Order from News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (\$16.95)  
 Marxism and Freedom (\$16.95)     Philosophy and Revolution (\$16.95)

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

This book buy  
1/5  
Holly M&L box  
not only as  
analysis of others  
actions & thought  
but Our Own  
Document

16709

10501

**A History of  
Worldwide  
Revolutionary  
Developments**

**25 Years  
of  
Marxist-Humanism  
in the U.S.**

**by Raya Dunayevskaya**

**National Chairwoman,  
News and Letters Committees**

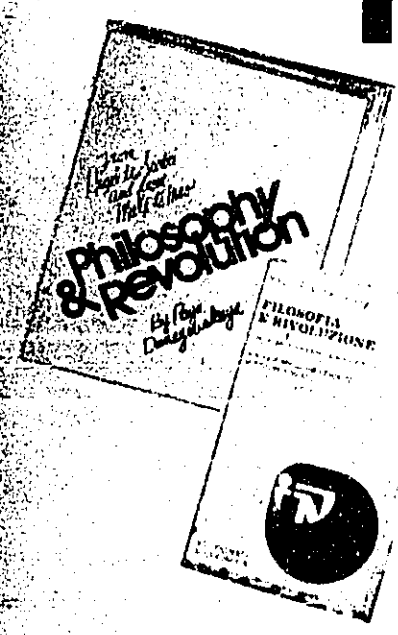
**Price: \$1.50**

**A News & Letters Publication**

**16710**



*RR*  
*PLS Molly Joaks*



A history of worldwide revolutionary developments

# 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

by Raya Dunayevskaya,  
National Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

## Prologue:

**New stage of production,  
New stage of cognition,  
New kind of organization**

Ever since I began preparing for the celebration of May 5 as the birth-time of history—Marx's new continent of thought—I have been rethinking the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. There was no way to sum up 25 years of the birth and development of the News and Letters Committees, as well as News & Letters as paper, without taking account of the philosophic breakthrough on the Absolute Idea as containing a movement from practice as well as from theory. That occurred in 1953. Once the split in the State-Capitalist Tendency, known as Johnson-Forest(1), was complete in 1955, our very first publication reproduced my May 12-20, 1953 Letters on the Absolute Idea along with the first English translation of Lenin's Philosophic Note-books.

In a word, while 1955 saw the birth of News and Letters, both as Committees and as our paper, 1953 saw, at one and the same time, the emergence, in the Johnson-Forest Tendency, of open divergencies towards objective events (be it Stalin's death, the East German revolt, the Beria purge, or McCarthyism), as well as towards the subjective idea of what type of paper Correspondence was to be and what was its relationship to Marxism.

In reaching back to 1953, a new illumination disclosed that we were really talking, not about a single year, but about the period 1949-1954. After all, nothing short of the second Industrial Revolution had emerged with the introduction of Automation in the mines. The actual word, Automation, was not invented until five years later during the wildcats in auto in Detroit. The truth, however, is that Automation did initiate a new stage in industrial production.

And since our age refuses to keep the objective and the subjective in totally separate compartments, it was during that period that I was working on three things at one and the same time: (1) was active in the Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 during the day and evening; (2) Late at night I was translating Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic, sending these translations with covering letters to Johnson; (3) I was working on a book on "Marxism and State-Capitalism." These three activities led to a three-way correspondence between myself, Johnson, and Lee (Grace Lee Boggs).

(1) Johnson (C.L.R. James) broke with Forest (Raya Dunayevskaya), co-founder of the State-Capitalist Tendency, in March, 1955. News and Letters Committees began functioning at once as Marxist-Humanists.

Furthermore, insofar as the year 1953 is concerned, something new has just emerged in re-examining that year. Although we had long ago known that Lee and I had totally different analyses of the March 5th death of Stalin and what we were to do about it, it is only now that I can see the link that connects those differences in 1953 to the period, 1949-51. Because philosophic beginnings, the native ground for Marxist-Humanism which emerged in 1949 (didn't become manifest until 1953, and because the Letters, in turn, contained what politically didn't come to fruition until the actual split of the Johnson-Forest Tendency in 1955 (at which time they were first mimeographed), it is necessary to begin at the beginning in 1949-51.

IT IS IMPORTANT that we look at the new stage of production, Automation, and the form of the workers' revolt against ~~the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike~~ in the same way as, in 1953, we looked at the first revolt against state-capitalism and its work-norms in East Berlin. The point is that both stages of production and both forms of revolt were every bit as crucial for the re-emergence of Marx's Humanism in our age, as had been the outbreak of World War II for the birth of the State-Capitalist Tendency. To grasp the divide within the State-Capitalist Tendency as it grappled with the Hegelian dialectic and the historic re-birth of Marx's Humanism, it is necessary to look at the three-way correspondence on Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic as Lenin grappled with the Hegelian dialectic at the outbreak of World War I. Let's follow the sequence of letters that accompanied the various sections of Lenin's work I was sending to Johnson and Lee(2).

On Feb. 18, 1949, I sent the translation of Lenin's notes on the Doctrine of Being. The covering note refers to the "Notes on the Dialectic" Johnson had written in 1948, which had then impressed me very much, but which in 1949 made me call attention to the fact that Johnson "practically skipped over the first book." The same note focused on Lenin's new appreciation of the "self-development of the concept," no matter how "idealistic" that sounds. Lenin had written: "Hegel analyzes concepts which usually appear dead and he shows that there is movement in them. The finite? That means movement has come to an end! Something? That means not what other is Being in general? That means such indeterminateness that Being=Not-Being . . ."

(2) The letters from Feb. 18, 1949 through Jan. 15, 1951 are included in Vol. XIII of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, "Marxist-Humanism, 1941 to Today: Its Origin and Development in America," available on microfilm from the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. 48202. Parenthetical references in this article refer to specific Volumes in this Collection.

*Self 1960 conv. Refm  
to Le opt l  
Report  
of Lee*

*949  
HERE*

*Handwritten notes and signatures on the right margin, including 'Lee', '1950', and '1951'.*

*\* See Bulletin 11/1951 in 50-copy  
Small Mass  
as extension of 1950 Gen. Miners' Party from  
disruption in JPT*

It is with this new appreciation I felt for Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks that a philosophic division started to emerge between the two founders of the State-Capitalist Tendency—Johnson and Forest. My letters to Johnson continued all the way to June 10 before I ever got an acknowledgement of the receipt of any part of the translation. The silence did not stop me from continuing either with the translation or the covering notes.

Thus, on Feb 25 I sent him a translation of Lenin's notes on the Doctrine of Essence, singling out three new points for a "historical materialist" to be concerned with: (1) Suddenly Lenin was emphasizing very strongly the sequence of dates of publication which showed Hegel's Logic (1813) to have preceded Marx's Communist Manifesto (1847), and that to have preceded Darwin's Origin of the Species (1859); 2) Furthermore, Lenin was now emphasizing the genius of Hegel's appreciation, not just of Essence but also of Appearance as against the Kantian impenetrability of the "thing-in-itself"; (3) Lenin was breaking fully with his previous stress on the theory of the primacy of "Causality," now seeing that what is cause becomes what is effect, and vice versa. Instead, he was stressing totality, insisting that: "totality, wholeness, is richer than law." At that point he was underlining the language of certain "definitions" of totality by Hegel, such as "sundered completeness" and the definition of identity as "unseparated difference."

WHEN, ON MARCH 12, I concluded the translation of Lenin's work and sent Johnson the section on the Doctrine of the Notion, my covering note for it no doubt shocked him: "Let me say at the start that although you have entered into this 'conspiracy' with Lenin, the outstanding difference between the two 'versions' (of the Dialectic) is striking. You will note that Lenin's notes on the Notion are as lengthy as those on the Introduction, and Doctrines of Being and Essence combined... although you spent that much time on Notion, and included its practice, the thing you chose most to stop at and say: hic Rhodus, hic salta to was the Law of Contradiction in Essence (but Lenin) chooses to single out the section on the Idea."

I concluded that Lenin no longer "feared" the Absolute seeing it both as unity of theoretical and practical Idea, as the method of absolute cognition, and as criticism of all Marxists, including himself. Here is how Lenin had put it: "Aphorism: Marxists criticized the Kantians and Humists at the beginning of the 20th century more in the Feuerbachian (and Buchnerian) than in a Hegelian manner."

Contrast this to what Johnson and Lee drew from my translation when they discussed it between themselves on May 27: "Previous to 1914 the whole revolutionary movement, the Second International and all the rest of them, were essentially in the Realm of Being. Even Lenin before 1914 was not very conscious of Essence, although the objective situation in Russia drove him to the Logic. The key to Lenin's notes on Logic is this relation to Essence. We today have not only to do Essence, but also Notion, the dialectic of the party." Lenin, they claimed, "is more concerned with self-movement than he is with Notion."

It is very nearly beyond comprehension to find how they could make such a claim in the face of the fact that Lenin's commentary on the Doctrine of the Notion was more comprehensive than what Lenin had



Background for head of Marx is a handwritten page of Lenin's manuscript, Conspectus of Hegel's book, Science of Logic—September-December, 1914. (This superimposed graphic was used for cover of Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis, published Jan. 1978.)

written on all the rest of the Logic combined. In truth, as early as the Preface and Introduction, before he ever got into the Science of Logic "proper," Lenin called attention to the fact that the three categories of Notion—Universal, Particular, Individual—were precisely where Marx "flirted" with Hegel, especially in Chapter 1 of Capital. Which is why, when Lenin made his own leaps, he insisted that no Marxist had understood Capital, "especially Chapter 1," unless he had studied the whole of Logic.

Nov 6 June 1925

PERHAPS WE CAN UNDERSTAND part of the reason why when we read the letter in which Johnson finally (on June 10, 1949) first acknowledged the translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks and my commentaries. He wrote: "You are covering a lot of ground and it is pretty good. But after conversations with G (3) & reading (carefully, this time) your correspondence, I feel that we are still off the point..." Clearly, it is not I with whom they disagreed as hotly as they did with Lenin. Indeed, they had not the slightest notion of what Lenin was talking about until July 9, when finally Lee did get down to the Doctrine of Notion as Lenin worked it out. They continued to be preoccupied with their own great philosophic knowledge, Johnson stressing to Lee, "After weeks of painful back and forth, in and out, you and I bearing the burden..."

(3) G was Grace Lee.

\* Notion is NOT the dialectic party. Lenin certainly was concerned with Notion as was shown most clearly by the pages he devoted to it and to which I just called attention to in my letter to them.

Whatever "burden" they were bearing, it certainly, wasn't comprehension of Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic, though Johnson continued to tell me precisely how many words I was to write on Capital, how many on Logic (1,000 words on each topic!). I plunged into a concrete study of differences in Lenin, pre- and post-1914, and then into how the dialectic affected the varying structural changes in Capital, as well as the objective development of capitalist production from the end of the 19th century to the present.

Finally, on July 9, 1949, Lee began seriously to go at Lenin's Notebooks as well as Hegel's Doctrine of the Notion: "In the final section on Essence (Causality) and the beginning of the section on Notion, Lenin breaks with this kind (Kantian) of inconsistent-empiricism. He sees the (limitation of the) scientific method, e.g., the category of causality to explain the relation between mind and matter. Freedom, subjectivity, notion—those are the categories by which we will gain knowledge of the objectively real."

EXCEPT FOR SEVERAL letters by me on the changes in the structure of Capital (see those dated Jan. 24, Jan. 30, June 7, 1950, and Jan. 15, 1951), the three-way philosophical correspondence stopped at 1950, as we prepared to face a new (and last) convention with the SWP by writing the document State-Capitalism and World Revolution. It is true that that document, dated August 1950, had, for the first time, a section directly on philosophy, written by Lee. Peculiarly enough, it centered, not on the Absolute Idea—which we had reached (but not completed) in our three-way correspondence—but on Contradiction. The following year, the Johnson-Forest Tendency left the SWP for good and all, but we did not at once declare ourselves publicly as an independent Marxist tendency. The Korean War and McCarthyism were still raging, and we were experimenting with a decentralized form of organization and a new form of paper—Correspondence—but only in mimeographed form.

By 1953, it was decided to come out with a printed, public paper, and towards that end we were preparing for the first (and what turned out to be the last) convention of what had been the united Johnson-Forest Tendency. Everything changed with the death of Stalin on March 5, when suddenly, it wasn't only the objective situation that had so radically changed, but divergencies appeared between Lee and me within the Tendency. Let us look at the sequence of events that followed Stalin's death.

That very same day I wrote a political analysis which stressed that an incubus had been lifted from the minds of both the masses and the theoretician; and that, therefore, it was impossible to think that this would not result in a new form of revolt on the part of the workers. Secondly, when Charles Denby (the Black production worker who was to become the editor of News & Letters after the split) called me upon hearing of Stalin's death, I asked him to inquire about other workers' reactions to the event. When he reported these conversations, I suggested a second article that would reproduce the 1920-21 Trade Union debate between Lenin and Trotsky within the context of both Russia and the U.S., 1933. Denby not only approved both ideas but the very next day brought me a worker's expression: "I have just the one to take Stalin's place—my foreman." It was that expression which became the jumping-off place for my analysis of the 1920-21 debate, on the

one hand, and Stalin's death in 1953, on the other. The article was called "Then and Now."

Lee (who was then on the West Coast and acting as editor that month) had a very different view of what kind of analysis of Stalin's death was needed, because—far from seeing any concern with that event on the part of American workers—she made her point of departure the fact that some women in one factory, instead of listening to the radio blaring forth the news of Stalin's death, were exchanging hamburger recipes. She so "editorialized" my analysis and so passionately stressed the alleged indifference of the American proletariat to that event, that the article became unrecognizable. It was included in the mimeographed Correspondence of March 19, 1953 (Vol. 3, No. 12) as "Why Did Stalin Behave That Way?"

IN DETROIT, I WAS preparing a "Special Feature" for the issue of Correspondence of April 16, 1953 (Vol. 4, No. 2), devoted to the 1920-21 debate which carried the subtitle: "An Historical Event and an Organizational Incident." The following issue, April 30 (Vol. 4, No. 3), likewise had a "Special Feature," which described the dispute over the political analysis, holding that it wasn't possible to substitute a description of the indifference of a few women in a single factory exchanging hamburger recipes for the political analysis of the ramifications of a world event such as Stalin's death. That issue then reproduced the article on Stalin's death as originally written.

Clearly, the whole month of April was taken up with this dispute and the polemical letters that accompanied it, by which time I was so exhausted that I asked for a week off. It was during that week that I wrote two things: One was a critique of Deutscher—whom I called a Stalinist parading as a Trotskyist—of his analysis of the "collectivity of leadership" that it had, in fact, always been the course toward totalitarianism's single maximum leader, and at no time more so than when Stalin arose out of his so-called "collective leadership."

The other was the May 12 Letter on the Absolute Idea, I returned to Detroit, and though I plunged into organizational activity, I couldn't resist going from Science of Logic and Phenomenology of Mind, with which the May 12 letter was concerned, to the Philosophy of Mind on May 20. The point that was singled out by Lee, who had called them nothing short of "the equivalent of Lenin's Notebooks for our epoch," was the fact that I had discerned a movement from practice. Johnson refused to discuss the Letters, sent Lee to Detroit with the promise that he would comment after he returned to England and after we had finished with our convention, to be held in July.

AS WE KNOW, THE subjective movement—not of intellectuals debating, but of millions of masses in motion—transforms the objective scene totally. In this case, the June 17, East German Revolt which erupted was followed, within two weeks, by a revolt from inside Russia—the slave labor camp of Vorkuta. Both events so electrified the world that this time there was no way to narrow the question to an "internal matter." The July convention, however, proceeded without any reference to those Letters on the Absolute Idea. Thus, no one knew either that they contained an anticipation of a movement from practice, or that they had fully worked out a logical conclusion of all that three-way corre-



spondence from 1949 to 1951. The convention proceeded to vote for preparing the first printed Correspondence in September and date-lining it October 3, 1953.

What was happening objectively in the world, however, had little regard for the fact that Lee and I had agreed to stop the polemic. The East German revolt had so shaken up the Russian bureaucracy that it brought about the first form of deStalinization. Though it was not yet designated as deStalinization, the truth is that Stalin's heir tried hard to disassociate himself from the immediate causes of the totality of the Russian crisis. Thus, the post-Stalin rulers stopped the Korean War; shot Beria, the head of the Secret Service and the most hated man of the totalitarian bureaucracy; and instituted some mild reforms, such as a turn to consumerism—without, however, demurring to Malenkov as the one allegedly chosen by Stalin.

In my analysis of the Beria purge, though I called attention to the fact that when thieves fall out, the one who was "not to be forgotten, although little known at present" was Khrushchev, my main point was: "We are at the beginning of the end of Russian totalitarianism. That does not mean the state-capitalist bureaucracy will let go of its iron grip. Quite the contrary. It will shackle them more. . . what it does mean is that from the center of Russian production, from the periphery of the satellite countries oppressed by Russia, and from the insides of the Communist Parties, all contradictions are moving to a head and the open struggle will be a merciless fight to the end." What I stressed was: "There is no getting away from it, the Russian masses are not only ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed. They are rebellious."

There was no way of keeping this article out of the Lead of the first issue of the printed Correspondence, because that was what was happening in the objective world and we were now public. That did not, however, mean that Johnson and Lee greeted it enthusiastically. Quite the contrary. It was met with the same hostility as was my analysis of Stalin's death, and the critique of it

by followers of Johnson and Lee continued for several issues.

THE ANALYSES OF BOTH Stalin and Beria were written while McCarthyism was raging in the country. All three events brought about a sharp conflict between Johnson and Lee on the one side, and me on the other. It was clear that in the two years between leaving the SWP and the appearance of Correspondence there had developed in the followers of Johnson a great diversion from Marxism as well as from the American revolution. Just as Lee said Marxism was Europe's responsibility not ours, so now Johnson said that the stewards' movement in Britain rather than the American workers here could dissipate the war clouds over Formosa.

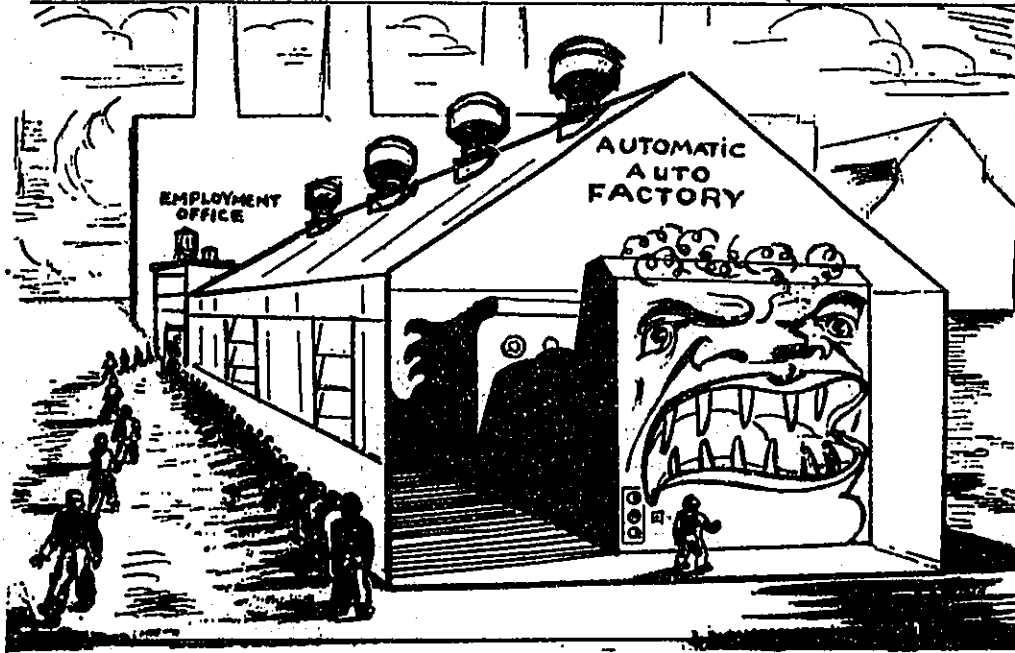
The truth is that they were not prepared to fight McCarthyism, once the war clouds began to form and we were listed in December 1954. When Johnson could not win a majority of the organization, he broke it up. (4) War and revolution have always constituted the Great Divide between Marxist revolutionaries and escapists.

Within a short month, we held our first Conference, which decided that our new publication, News & Letters, would appear on the second anniversary of the June 1953 East German revolt; that it would be edited by a production worker; and that I should complete the work on Marxism, now known as Marxism and Freedom—From 1776 Until Today. At the same time that we singled out the four forces of revolt—rank and file labor, Blacks, women and youth—we projected the calling of a Convention within a year to create, for the first time, a Constitution for the committee form of organization we were working out as against a "vanguard party to lead." In November, 1955, we published as our first pamphlet the translation of Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic, along with my Letters on the Absolute Idea.

(4) See "Johnsonism: An Appraisal" by O'Brien, a 1956 Bulletin which is included in the Archives.

\* Actually, ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>was far</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>more</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>from practice</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>in 1950</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>Shrike</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>which</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>totally</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>different</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>attitudes</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>in 1945</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>to it as I</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>was in it</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>of 1945</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>barked</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>against</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>my</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>activity</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>plotted</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>against</sup> ~~the diversion from~~ <sup>me</sup>

REPRINTED FROM N&L, OCTOBER 2, 1956



was far more from practice in 1950 Shrike which totally different attitudes his in 1945 to it as I was in it of 1945 barked against my activity plotted against me

appreciation from Johnson which she reduced to small mass party

16714

# 1. Where to begin: Laying New Theoretical and practical foundations and establishing new international relations

**THE UNIQUENESS** OF our original contributions to Marx's Humanism was first manifested in catching a direct link to it in 1955, at the very time when we were most concrete about the negative features of our state-capitalist age.

It is true that the germ of Marx's Humanism was present from the very beginning of my break with Trotsky at the outset of World War II and my subsequent study of the class nature of Russia as a state-capitalist society. An unpublished section of that analysis, "Labor and Society," did root itself in an 1844 essay by Marx on the role of labor as the very essence of the class nature of any society. However, I did not then single out Humanism as the focal point, nor did the State-Capitalist Tendency, when it enjoyed a brief, six-week, independent existence in 1947, and published the 1942 essay in one of its mimeographed bulletins. (See Vol. IV, Sec. III of the Marxist-Humanist Archives.)

The major document of the Tendency, *State-Capitalism and World Revolution*, dismissed Humanism because, in the late 1940s, it had appeared in the forms of Existentialism and of Christian Humanism. It was only after the final break with Johnson; it was only when new forms of workers' revolts sprang up—that the Humanism of Marx was brought onto the historic stage of our own age.

The year 1980 is an especially relevant vantage point from which to view the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., both because a quarter of a century is a serious enough period of time to measure the political-philosophic analyses against the objective world events; and because wars, even when they are but distant clouds on the horizon, do form the Divide also within Marxist groups—if, within those groups, there is an element unable to meet the objective challenge.

At our birth we were at once put to the test, not only because of the McCarthyite listing of our Tendency, which the Johnson faction sought to escape, but because, especially because, of our attitude to objectivity on three very different levels: determining how to fight McCarthyism when war clouds formed; recognizing the movement from practice which was itself a form of theory—in East Berlin; in Detroit; in Montgomery, Ala.; and testing, in the philosophic sphere, Russia's attack on Marx's Humanist Essays during the undercurrent of proletarian revolts.

No doubt, great illumination on Carter's 1980 drive for war (with the old Cold War warrior, Reagan, still further to the Right) could be gained from a look back at what happened with the appearance of the war clouds over Formosa in the mid-1950s, when McCarthyism was still prevalent both in the form of the reactionary old China lobby's jingoistic refrain: "Who lost China?", and in the form of attacks on the Left so virulent as to cause splits within it as well, including the break-up of the State-Capitalist Tendency. But the crucial point of reference for the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. is imbedded in the philosophic capacity to recognize the

genius of the masses from below in a way that records its movement from practice as itself a form of theory.

Beginning with the very first issue of our new publication, *News & Letters*, in June, 1955 in commemoration of the second anniversary of the East German Revolt, we related that revolt to the new, 1955 forms of revolt at home. There were growing wildcats against Automation in Detroit and by the end of the year the Montgomery Bus Boycott had erupted in Alabama. Because we saw that event not as some isolated incident against discrimination in a benighted Southern city, but as the beginning of a whole new age of Black revolt, our editor, Charles Denby—to this day the only Black production worker to edit a Marxist journal—decided to revisit his Alabama home. The second part of his autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, (5) begins with "Visiting Montgomery."

In a word, both nationally and internationally, and not just locally, the revolts and wildcats were recorded not alone as militant happenings, but as those new forms of workers' revolt that signified a new stage of cognition as well. And, indeed, the third testing came in the philosophic sphere.

It is not that the leading Russian theoretician, Karpushin, had any such goal in mind. The very opposite was the case. In launching his attack on the young Marx's Humanist Essays (the now famous 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*), Karpushin was banking on the fact that the article would be taken in the guise in which he presented it: freeing the "materialist" Marx from the abstruseness of the "idealistic" Hegelian phrase Marx was using—"negation of the negation." American pragmatists fell into the trap: "negation of the negation" became the butt of their jokes.

Convinced that what the Russians were attacking had nothing whatever to do with the alleged abstruseness of "negation of the negation" (which, for Marxists, had always stood for revolution); that it had everything to do with the here and now, specifically in East Europe—I criticized both the Russian state-capitalists calling themselves Communist theoreticians, and the American pragmatists. (6) I insisted that, far from the polemic

(5) The 1978 edition of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* (South End Press, Boston) reproduces Part I, first published in 1952, and the new Part II as one continuous revolutionary life story. Nevertheless, there is no way not to see the difference between what was written before the break with Johnson and the 25-year self-development that came with becoming the editor of *News & Letters*.

(6) See my letter in *Philosophy of Science*, July, 1956, Vol. 23, No. 3, objecting to the manner in which Americans had reported on the International Congress for the Philosophy of Science. See also *Marxism and Freedom*, pp. 62-66, on Karpushin's first attack in *Questions of Philosophy*, No. 3, 1955.

being a matter of dogmatic hair-splitting, it hid a fear of revolution, and that Russia must be sensing a new revolution in East Europe similar to the East German revolt they had driven underground.

The great Hungarian Revolution broke out the following year. Five months before that historic occurrence, we held the first Convention of News and Letters Committees. So firmly grounded were we in the totally new movement from practice for freedom, and so confident were we that the 1955 Russian attack on Marx's Humanist Essays did signify more revolts to come, that my July 8, 1956 report to that first Convention, "Where to Begin," stressed that the "active relationship of theory and practice is the essence of Marxism," and concluded that the "continuous thread from history is a sort of wireless communication that will first be decoded in our age which will see to it that the idea of workers' freedom is not so feeble that it will not actually come to be in our day." (See Vol. VI, Sec. II, 2.)

*MS*  
**FIRST AND FOREMOST**, we considered it of the essence to assure the "continuance of News & Letters as a workers' paper . . . which is at the same time a new form of unity of theory and practice." To that end we made sure that a Black production worker, Charles Denby, would be its editor.

The Constitution we adopted, at one and the same time singled out four forces of revolution—rank and file labor, Black dimension, youth, and women's liberation—and held that, since each generation must interpret Marxism for itself, it is up to us to re-establish both the American and the Humanist world roots of Marxism, and to do so in comprehensive, theoretical-historical "book form." Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until today was completed the next year.

It was structured on the movement from practice, by no means limited to our age. Quite the contrary. Chapter I begins with "The Age of Revolutions: Industrial, Social-Political, Intellectual." But where the first revolutions of the industrial age are followed by the birth of classical political economy and the Hegelian dialectic, Marx's "New Humanism" leads to the Communist Manifesto, which anticipated the 1848 revolutions. Nevertheless, as Marx's new continent of thought develops and deepens, it is clear that the great historic events like the Civil War in the U.S., followed by the struggles for the 8-Hour Day, and the Paris Commune, exercised so strong an impact on Marx as to change the structure of his greatest theoretical work, Capital.

In our own age I felt strongly, as I put it in the Introduction to Marxism and Freedom, that: "No theoretician, today more than ever before, can write out of his own head. Theory requires a constant shaping and reshaping of ideas on the basis of what the workers themselves are doing and thinking . . . Because we live in an age of absolutes—on the threshold of absolute freedom out of the struggle against absolute tyranny—the compelling need for a new unity of theory and practice dictates a new method of writing. At least, it dictated the method by which this book was written."

I thereupon undertook a tour in which I submitted drafts of various chapters to groups of workers (miners especially) and student youth, discussing the book with them in more than one stage of the writing. I then began to submit outlines of the book to intellectuals. It was no easy matter to find a publisher in the mid-1950s for a book on Marx's Humanism that also

included, as Appendices, the first English translation both of Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts and Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic. Even if you disregard McCarthyism's brainwashing, it is still a fact that academia had nothing to say of youth except to describe them as "the beat generation," failing to recognize that a new generation of revolutionaries was, in fact, emerging. In general, American intellectuals were busy declaiming an "End of Ideology" even as a new Third World was struggling to emerge. One intellectual, however, to whom I had submitted an outline long before I had completed Marxism and Freedom, wrote enthusiastically: "Your ideas are an oasis in the desert of Marxist thought." He was Herbert Marcuse.

He also, however, deeply disagreed with me on the role of labor, writing that "the composition, structure and the consciousness of the laboring classes" were not as revolutionary as my analysis claimed. Nevertheless, he did feel strongly the need to broaden the dialogue among Marxists, and agreed sufficiently "with the theoretical interpretation of the Marxian oeuvre" (7) to write the Preface.

**ONCE MARXISM AND FREEDOM** finally came off the press in January, 1958, intensive tours were undertaken both here and abroad. Where in West Europe there were signs of such retrogression as the coming of De Gaulle to power, in Africa, a whole new Third World was emerging. The transformation of the Gold Coast into the Republic of Ghana, the first fully independent state in Africa, so inspired those, like Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, who were still in the throes of colonial subjugation, that the whole map of Africa was soon redrawn.

In 1958-59, however, the pitfalls of our state-capitalist age were soon revealed, not only in the retrogressive movements in West Europe, but in the new independent states of Africa which were being sucked into the imperialist world market both economically and ideologically—as if there really was a fundamental difference between the two nuclear Titans fighting for single world control.

Where Marxism and Freedom had concentrated on the Western world, I now wrote a new pamphlet, Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions. It was not only a question of remembering a Camerounian I had met in France in 1947 who had told of a magnificent spontaneous revolt in which the entire population, literally "every man, woman and child", was involved in trying to establish independence the minute World War II was over, only to have the French Navy rush in to crush it, just as De Gaulle had massacred the 1943 rebellion in Madagascar.

It was, above all, the need to recognize that the African revolts had preceded the successful national revolutions in Asia, but, being unsuccessful then, were now being fought over in a titanic struggle between imperialisms.

For that matter, the same was true of the newly unfolding Latin American revolts initiated by the first great successful rebellion against U.S. imperialism by Cuba. Here, again, we were witness to a spontaneous revolution that had gained its freedom without any aid from Russia and had declared itself to be against both

(7) See Preface to Marxism and Freedom by Herbert Marcuse, p. 12.

U.S. imperialism and Russian totalitarianism.(8) The very next year Castro found himself in the Russian camp.

By the end of 1959, when Eisenhower and Krushchev, "in the spirit of Camp David", were busy talking of peaceful co-existence, China acted as a special pole of attraction for the Third World.

On June 18, 1957, while I was reading the galleys of *Marxism and Freedom*, Mao Tse-tung had caused a world sensation with his speech, "How to Handle Contradictions Among the People," and I had felt the urgency to include a new footnote(9), which read:

*"The lowest of all today's sophists is the head of the Chinese Communist Party and State, Mao Tse-tung who . . . has ridden this sing'g track which he calls "Contradiction" ever since 1937. At that time he directed his attack against 'dogmatists' who refused to reduce all contradictions in the anti-Japanese struggle and submit to 'the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek' . . . By June 18, 1957, after editing with a heavy hand the speech he delivered on Feb. 27th . . . he reduced the struggle of class against class to a contradiction among 'the people' while he became the champion, at one and the same time, of the philosophy of a hundred flowers blooming and one, and only one Party, the Chinese Communist Party ruling. Outside of the exploitative class relations themselves, nothing so clearly exposes the new Chinese ruling class as their threadbare philosophy."*

It was the same period in which the intellectual abdication of Johnson, the co-founder of the State-Capitalist Tendency, had led him to devise the following enthusiastic apologia for Nkrumah:

*"In one of the remarkable episodes in revolutionary history, he singlehandedly outlined a programme based on the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Gandhi . . ."*(10)

To which, I replied:

*"I admit that combining Marx, Lenin and Gandhi is quite a feat. But for a pamphleteer like J. R. Johnson, who thundered so for the Soviet United States of Europe, Soviet United States of Asia, world revolution, the struggle against bureaucracy 'as such', the self-mobilization of the masses and for new passions and new forces to reconstruct society on totally new beginnings—to end with*

(8) In a speech during the summer of 1959, Castro had declared: "Standing between the two political and economic ideologies or positions being debated in the world, we are holding our own positions. We have named it humanism . . . This is a humanistic revolution because it does not deprive man of his essence but holds him as its basic aim. Capitalism sacrifices man; the Communist state, by its totalitarian concept, sacrifices the rights of man . . ." See "History Will Be My Judge", published in *The New Left Review*, Jan.-Feb., 1961.

(9) At considerable expense to myself, I should add, since the publisher could see no reason for my insistence on adding yet another "footnote" when the book was already on the presses.

(10) J. R. Johnson, *Facing Reality* (Detroit, Correspondence Publishing Co., 1958) p. 77.

REPRINTED FROM N&L, JULY 16, 1957



"LET 100 FLOWERS BLOOM"

*Nkrumah as the representative of the new, the new, is rather pathetic. There is nothing to add but to say, with Hamlet, 'Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him'."* (11)

IT WAS THAT VERY pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions that attracted an altogether new Left Group at Cambridge University in England. Peter Cadogan, who was active in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament with which we, of course, solidarized and collaborated(12), volunteered to bring out a British edition with a new Introduction by myself and new Preface by him.(13)

So many new relations were opened both here and abroad that by the end of 1959 we not only had participated in an international conference in Milan of independent Marxist tendencies that opposed both poles of world capital, U.S. and Russia, but had established an international forum for further dialogue, through a section of Onorato Damen's *Prometeo*(14),

(11) Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, fn. 2, p. 9.

(12) The dialogue with other activists, like the libertarian-anarchist Laurens Otter, around the question of war and peace, war and revolution, included exchanges and publication of each other's views with many groups and journals.

(13) The U.S. edition was published in August, 1959; the British in May, 1961.

(14) Before we had even reached our first Convention, the report of the split of the State-Capitalist Tendency in the U.S. was noted abroad among Marxist groups. The Italian State-Capitalist Tendency of Onorato Damen published my report to our first Conference, in the Spring 1956 issue of its theoretical journal, *Prometeo*, under the title of "An American Experience". It was the beginning of the international relations which would result in this international conference of state-capitalist tendencies in West Europe in 1959, prompted by the need to fight neo-fascism, signified by the 1958 rise of De Gaulle to power.

printed on a different color of paper to distinguish its independent character. In England I had also established the relations with West African revolutionaries which would lead to my trip there in 1962. And soon after my return from Britain a young group in London actually began writing a special page of "British Labour News" in *News & Letters* which they distributed as their front page.

The important gain for Marxist-Humanism, of course, came when Harry McShane—the outstanding revolutionary Scottish fighter and Marxist, who had

been one of the original founders of the Communist Party when it stood for the Russian Revolution of 1917 but who had broken with the Party in 1953—declared himself a Marxist-Humanist in 1959.

Whether one begins with the new spontaneous revolts in East Europe, or the U.S., or Africa; or with the philosophy of Marx's Humanism which inspired a great outpouring of new energies, nationally and internationally, one thing was beyond any doubt: we were face to face with a new beginning that would determine the end.

## II. The 1960s: A new generation of revolutionaries. A new Third World. A new theory?

The four forces of revolution that we had singled out at our birth — rank and file labor, Black dimension, youth, women — made it clear that these freedom fighters wanted to speak for themselves. Whether you looked at African freedom fighters in apartheid South Africa, bursting into open revolt (15); or at Black youth in Greensboro, N.C., sitting-in to begin a new stage of revolt in the U.S.; or at Japanese youth snake-dancing into history by preventing Eisenhower from setting foot in their land — there was no doubt that 1960 had opened a new age.

What was remarkable about the Japanese youth was that their anti-U.S. imperialism meant also breaking with Communism from the Left, and embarking on a study and translation of Marx's Humanist Essays.

Having declared such freedom fighters to be not only force but reason — that is to say, a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory — it became our task as Marxist-Humanists to work out a new relationship of theory to practice. In creating a forum for the freedom fighters to speak for themselves at the same time as they searched for a theory of liberation, *News and Letters* Committees, in 1960, published *Workers Battle Automation*. Though Charles Denby edited it, it not only was a collective effort of workers in the basic industries of coal, auto, and steel, but included also the youth, who had been designated as a "beat generation." A young woman of 16 thus wrote in its pages that, far from being "rebels without a cause," they were rebels who refused to accept the rules of a world they did not make: "My vision is one of a new free society in which, among other

things, I will not have to wait until I am 21 to be admitted into the human race." (See p. 61, *Workers Battle Automation*.)

### 1961—Freedom Riders on one hand and Bay of Pigs on the other

The most exciting color of this new decade continued to be Black, but whereas none could avoid recognizing the color, what remained unrecognized was that out of the racist, sexist South arose a form of Women's Liberation. When two Marxist-Humanist women, one Black and one white, Mary Hamilton and Louise Inghram, joined the first Freedom Rides to Mississippi and found themselves thrown into the hell-hole of Hinds County Jail, they found there, ready to help them, a most amazing organization — Woman Power Unlimited (16). The record of this, as well as of the whole struggle to break down discrimination, comprises the pamphlet, *Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves*.

In action, in jail and out, the Freedom Riders focused not only on the concrete battles but also on the theories of liberation. Louise Inghram describes the enthusiasm with which the special Freedom Rider issue of *News & Letters* (Aug.-Sept., 1961) had been greeted. She had taken for granted it was because their stories had been printed there, but discovered it was, instead, the Editorial on the state of civil rights in the U.S. that was appreciated most. It was an Editorial that had reached back to the history of Abolitionism and forward to today, clearly separating Marxism from Communism; it was reprinted in the pamphlet itself. (See p. 39, *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*.)

The state of civil rights in the U.S. on which the Editorial had focused revealed the relationship between

(15) The April, 1960 issue of *N&L* carried as its lead article "South Africa, South U.S.A." relating the vicious use of tear gas and fire hoses to disperse Black students in Baton Rouge, La., Marshall, Tex., Orangeburg, S.C., Savannah, Ga. and Tallahassee, Fla. with the savage rulers in South Africa. Our front page photo was of the 30,000 demonstrators demanding release of their leaders from the Capetown, South Africa police station. And the *Two Worlds* column was devoted to "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in South Africa", pointing out that the revolt had been continuous, including the 1952 resistance of the South African women to carrying passes.

(16) The discovery of Woman Power Unlimited seems, on the face of it, to have nothing whatever to do with the role of women revolutionaries in Russia. Yet, when Natalia Trotsky died on Jan. 23, 1962, instead of an In Memoriam to her alone as a revolutionary, it was developed into the whole question of the role of women in revolution. (See *N&L*, Feb., 1962.) It was translated into French and included in a memorial book to Natalia, published in France, Summer, 1962. (See Vol. VII.)



the events in the Deep South and the new moves to the Right by the Administration ever since the infamous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, which had taken place only a few months earlier. It had been then that President Kennedy had declared that "the deeper struggle" is not with arms, but with "subversion," promptly trying to himself subvert the freedom of the press.

So ominous was the new counter-revolutionary move American imperialism had launched with the invasion, that we had at once decided to issue a Weekly Political Letter. Since we were too few in number and too poor in finances to print more than a monthly paper, these mimeographed letters were offered to all readers, and initiated a new stage of development for us, testing us by measuring our philosophy against the actual objective developments as they were occurring weekly.

**THE FIRST LETTER** was written April 22, 1961 as a "Preliminary Statement on the Crisis over Cuba." While we naturally solidarized with the Cuban masses against U.S. imperialism, we reiterated our opposition to both poles of world state-capitalism—U.S. and Russia, and to Castro's own conception of the "backwardness of the masses" who have to be led. Refusing to "take sides" other than opposition to both sides, we singled out Kennedy's declaration of the "new and deeper struggle that is taking place every day, without arms or fanfare in

REPRINTED FROM N&L, APRIL, 1960



30,000 South African Freedom Fighters before the Capetown police station demanding release of their leaders.

thousands of villages and markets and classrooms all over the globe" as what must concern us:

*"This is far beyond the Cuban struggle. This is the American revolution. This is the world anti-war struggle. All this the Kennedy Administration has declared war on, and far from battlefields or on them, in trade unions or schools, this 'new frontier' will come to nip in the bud what McCarthyism only blustered about but had no power to stifle. We must expose, root out this threat to our every freedom before all life is extinguished in a nuclear holocaust."*

The 40 letters that followed (see Vol. VII) demonstrate what political-philosophic intervention means in establishing new international relations, especially in the Third World. (The last letters in the series were written directly from Africa.) The weekly commentaries and analyses of world events did not stop at the description of what is, but involved sensing the direction a particular event would later take. The letter written on Oct. 9, 1961, which dealt with the undeclared wars of imperialism, took up a brief AP dispatch, hidden in the inside pages of the local press that week. It was entitled "Crisis-Soon-To-Be in South Vietnam and the Sending of U.S. Troops."

## 1962—A year of confrontations, to the brink of nuclear holocaust

1962 was the year we began by reconsidering the whole question of war and revolution on the basis of the new forces of revolt that had arisen in China, with a Special Supplement to the January issue: "Mao Tse-tung, from the Beginning of Power to the Sino-Soviet Dispute."

It was also the year we went to Africa to establish new relations there. So sharply did the dynamism of ideas which centered around African Socialism contrast to Daniel Bell's "End of Ideology," which characterized America's tired radicals and pragmatists, that we began referring to "the underdeveloped intellectuals" as the U.S.'s most notable monopoly.

The Gambia, the last sliver of West Africa which still did not have its independence, was the place I spent the most time talking both with the high school youth who displayed the most original and mature thought, and with proletarians who had a long history of struggle that no one had ever bothered to learn about. They told me that as long ago as the end of the First World War they had had a General Strike and that the most popular saying had been "The sun never sets on the British empire, and the wages never rise." Africa Today (July 1962) published the article, "Gambia Closeup: The Gambia Takes the Long, Hard Road to Independence".

Ghana, which had been the first country to gain its independence, turned out to be the most disappointing. Here was a land that had the most international concepts, via both George Padmore and W.E.B. Dubois, who had established his African Encyclopedia there. It was the land that was still considered by all Africans

## 1963—The power of negativity

"The power of negativity—the dialectic—never ceases to amaze me," I wrote on Feb. 12, 1963. The reference was to the process by which the statement we had intended to issue on the so-called Emancipation Proclamation had been transformed into American Civilization on Trial and signed by the whole National Editorial Board.

Since 1963 was the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, once the immediate missile crisis was over, Kennedy rushed to take advantage of that year and present himself as an alleged "freedom fighter." We, instead, held that not only could the Emancipation Proclamation not be glorified, but we must show the Black masses as vanguard precisely because it's impossible to separate them from any part of American history. Black masses in motion were revealed as the touchstone of the whole of American development, whether one took 1776 as the point of departure and showed the Declaration of Independence in its true limited light, i.e. that it meant independence for whites only; or the 1830 Abolitionist movement when the white intellectuals did gain a new dimension by joining with the Blacks to carry on a 30-year struggle that culminated in a Civil War; whether one took America's plunge into imperialism with the 1898 Spanish-American War, when the Blacks were the first to establish an Anti-Imperialist League and demonstrate their affinity with Latin America "which had known, ever since 1820, that while the Monroe Doctrine could protect it from European invasion, there was no such protection from American aggression for which the Doctrine was designed" (p. 16); or whether one brought it all the way to 1963.

It was clear that instead of writing a mere statement on the Emancipation, American Civilization on Trial had become a 200-year history of American development, (18) which delved, at the same time, into Karl Marx's relationship to the Civil War and the post-war struggles for the eight-hour day, and to Lenin's relationship to the Negro in the U.S. who was made integral to his 1920 Resolution on the National Question.

**OUR INTRODUCTION BEGAN** with the section: "Of Patriots, Scoundrels and Slave-Masters"—referring to the FBI, the Presidency, the Attorney General, J. Edgar Hoover, and the Congress. Our Conclusion ended with "What We Stand For and Who We Are." We said:

*"Today, as in the days of the Abolitionists, we see the new beginning. It is high time now to proceed to a middle, a theory; and an end—the culmination of the creative drama of human liberation freed from exploitation and discrimination and the wars that go with it . . ."*

*"The ideal and the real are never as far apart as the philistines, in and out of power, would make*

(18) Angela Terrano developed the relationship of Abolitionism to the Women's Rights Movement in her columns in the May and August, 1963 issues of N&L, drawing on the U.S. Dept. of Labor Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 224, issued in 1948, the 100th anniversary of the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention.

*it appear. Whether we take the 200 years of American development, or the last 20 years of world development, one thing is clear: the turning point for the reconstruction of society occurs when theory and practice finally evolve a unified organizational form. We have reached the turning point."*

The pamphlet came off the press on the eve of the June 23 "Walk to Freedom" in Detroit when over a quarter of a million poured down Woodward Avenue to show their solidarity with the struggles going on in the South and to bring it North. American Civilization on Trial quickly became a "textbook" for the Freedom Movement.

We found that important Black historians saw in it an affinity of ideas. Thus J. A. Rogers wrote in his column "History Shows" in the Pittsburgh Courier of Aug. 3, 1963: "As I am on the subject of books, I will mention a few of the others I have received, though Courier book-reviewing is done by Mr. Schuyler. Among them is American Civilization on Trial: The Negro as Touchstone of History. It gives an able and excellent review of what the Negro has been through in the past century, and is well-documented, too. Is the United States losing the global struggle in the minds of men because of its treatment of the Negro? It gives the answer . . . Please get it."

1963 was also the year that Presence Africaine published my article on Marxist-Humanism. Our concentration on the American revolution did not stop the development of our international relations. The analysis of the new Franco-German axis carried in the March 1963 issue of N&L was discussed internationally, especially by the state-capitalist groupings that had

REPRINTED FROM N&L, OCTOBER, 1962



Old engraving depicts discovery of slave revolt leader, Nat Turner, in 1831.

throughout Japan for me. They were also anxious to transmit their own views on Vietnam, and we brought out a special bulletin of discussion articles from Japan, after my return, "The Vietnam War and the World Today." (See Vol. IX, Section VI, 3.) But I found that the Marxists who agreed that Russia and China were state-capitalist societies wanted to stop at the economic analysis rather than continue to the philosophy of Marx's humanism. We were the only ones who devoted an entire issue (N&L, Dec. 1966) to present both that view and our own. Tadayuki Tsushima's contribution was entitled "State-Capitalism and Socialist Revolution." Mine was entitled "State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism."

It has become clear that although the one factor above all others that had motivated my trip to the East was the attempt to find collaborators for a new book on the relationship of philosophy to revolution, that task was mine. It took form as Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao.

### 1967-1968-1969—New passions and new forces: Black uprisings, near-revolutions, the Women's Liberation Movement

It became ever more imperative to rediscover the missing link of a philosophy of liberation as the 1960s were drawing to a close and guerrilla wars appealed to the New Left as a substitute for a social revolution. As far back as 1930, I had begun summarizing Hegel's major philosophic works — Phenomenology of Mind, Science of Logic, and the Smaller Logic from the Encyclopedia of Philosophic Sciences. By 1967 I restudied Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks and created notes for a series of lectures, others might be able to use for a series of classes, while I undertook my own lecture tour.

The most urgent question that was being raised was how to fight imperialism, how to transform an imperialist war into a social revolution, and whether it was possible to consider guerrilla war as a substitute for social revolution, rather than seeing that, far from being a shortcut to revolution, it was the "long road to tragedy." None answered the question more tragically than that great revolutionary, Che Guevara, who met death in 1967 as he tried to start a revolution in Bolivia, with no mass base whatever. (24)

As for the Black uprisings that covered the U.S. following the Watts Revolt of 1965, it was in Detroit in 1967 that they reached a climax, because it was there that the class distinction so dominated the revolt that it was clear it was not so much against "whitey," as against white landlords, white merchants, and white police. Indeed, while many Black stores were spared the torch, Black merchants who had gouged the community were not spared. And unlike other cities, in

(24) We wrote a memorial Editorial entitled "Che Guevara, Revolutionary" in our Nov. 1967 issue of N&L. In our May and April, 1968 issues, the Two Worlds column carried a review of Regis Debray's Revolution in the Revolution?, entitled, "Shortcut to Revolution or Long Road to Tragedy?"

Detroit the repossession as well as the sniping was integrated. The country was aflame with a Black revolt that was a challenge to capitalism as well as to racism, and clearly its anti-Vietnam War activities were undertaken not as pacifists but as revolutionaries.

1968 brought everything to a climax as rebellion reached a highpoint in Paris that Spring (25), when students were joined by no less than 10 million workers on General Strike. Instead, however, of proving Cohn-Bendit's view that activity was primary and that theory could be picked up "en route", the almost-revolution in France aborted and De Gaulle came out the victor without firing a single shot.

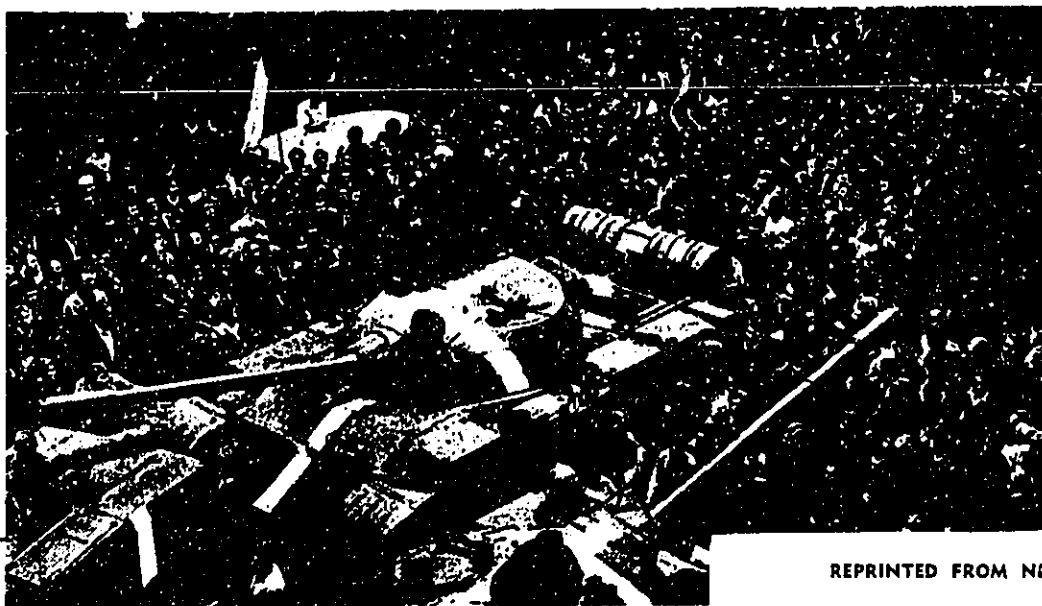
The disastrous counter-revolution was the one that saw Russia move in to crush Prague Spring. The news of the tanks rolling into Czechoslovakia came the very morning that the report we had received direct from Prague, "At the Crossroads of Two Worlds," was coming off the press, in our Aug.-Sept. 1968 issue. We at once re-published it in a full pamphlet, Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter Revolution, together with a Foreword written jointly by myself as Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees in the U.S. and Harry McShane as Chairman of the Marxist-Humanist Group, Glasgow.

IT HAD BEGUN TO look as if all the great revolts of the 1960s had come to an end—whether in East or West Europe, or in the U.S., where Nixon was soon to take over the Presidency. It was just then, however, that a still newer and more unexpected revolutionary force was arising in Mao's China—and precisely in Mao's own district of Hunan. It was the Sheng Wu-lien, who demanded the concretization of the Paris Commune for our age, for China—the very country which was in the forefront of the greatest world contradictions and deepest revolutions. We rushed to print the Sheng Wu-lien document. (See Vol. XI, Sec. II, 3.)

Still another new movement—Women's Liberation—had also been arising out of the Left. Though it did not gain the attention of the media until the 1968 protest in Atlantic City against the demeaning Miss America pageant (which the media sensationalized as a "burning of bras"), the truth is that elements of this new force could be felt—if you knew how to recognize it—ever since World War II when women had begun to fill the factory jobs left vacant by the drafting of every eligible man, and Black women had begun migrating North to those jobs. (26)

(25) Eugene Walker wrote an eyewitness critical report which we published as France, Spring 1968: Masses in Motion, Ideas in Free Flow.

(26) In the immediate post-war period I was working with a group of Black women on their factory grievances, and showed them some translated excerpts from Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex. Instead of being impressed with the work, because de Beauvoir had brought sexuality out of the closet, they were angered at her conclusion that, since men were responsible for the double oppression of women, it was the man's task to free woman. "That," said one of the women, "is one more example of what Blacks have always suffered—the idea that our freedom is white man's burden. Nobody ever gives you freedom. You get it by fighting for it. And we women will have to fight for ours."



REPRINTED FROM N&L, OCTOBER, 1969

*Ušem . Ušem . Ušem !*  
**ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ SKUTEČNOST**

*Lid našl smrt v důsledku vpád invazivních vojsk do čina 21. srpna 1968 a v ten související odhlásil od polodělné politiky, což vyvolalo a dále zvyšuje kritickou situaci ve státě. Proti této skutečnosti protestujeme tímto spisečkem : nepoužijí v tento den veřejného dopravního prostředku kromě vlaků a neschopíme ani jediný deník nebo časopis ; vynecháme jakoukoli zábavu ve veřejných podnicích ; nakoupíme potraviny bez předem, aby obchody byly prázdné ; ve 12 hod zastavíme demonstrativně práci na 5 minut ; quia invadit terram proviz a rozsvítíme hláskový ; v továrnách se rozsvítí světlo a bezvládní strany at byli osvíceni sdel všude kde Československo. Označí se tiskovými a smetan. Tímto spisečkem vyhlásí Československý lid den 21. srpna jako Den odporu proti zrádečské politice mocenské-byrokratického cenzura a jeho spojenci.*

*Dělníci                      Studenti                      Intelektuální*

One year after the invasion, the Czechoslovak people commemorated the date as a "day of resistance." The leaflet above was passed secretly hand to hand. It was only 4" by 5" actual size.

It was no accident that at our birth in 1955 we had already singled out women as one of the four forces of revolution(27) any more than it was an accident that our women Freedom Riders had found Woman Power Unlimited in Mississippi, or that it was Black women trying to organize nursing homes in Baltimore with whom Marxist-Humanists like Michael Connolly worked to establish the Maryland Freedom Union.(28) By (1969) we decided to publish the many voices we had heard and elicited, together with a lecture I had given to WRAP at Chicago University that April (29) in a mimeographed pamphlet we called Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices. In 1970 we issued it as a printed pamphlet, which attracted many non-Marxist-Humanists (30).

We had also begun circulating draft chapters of Philosophy and Revolution to various conferences we called. Whether they were conferences of youth, of women or of Black activists, all had a chance to read the drafts first, hear my presentation, and then proceed to their own discussion and to drawing their own organizational conclusions. The most exciting of these was the Black/Red Conference held in January, 1969, out of which came the "Black/Red View" column for the paper written by John Alan.

Minutes of both the Black/Red and the Women's Liberation Conferences were published in special bulletins so that non-members as well as members of the main forces of revolution could become part of the process by which, in the early 1970s, we would tackle what I called "Absolute Idea as New Beginning", both in theory and in practice. (See Vol. X, Sec. IX.)

- (27) And we didn't leave it only at "theory." We practiced it, as is clear from the three proletarian women columnists we had for N&L: Dunbar, Kegg and Terrano.
- (28) See our pamphlet, The Maryland Freedom Union: Black Working Women Thinking and Doing, by Mike Flug (Connolly). Reports of all the MFU activity from 1966 through 1968 were carried in N&L regularly throughout those years.
- (29) Molly Jackson's article about her activity in WRAP (Women's Radical Action Project) appeared in Notes on Women's Liberation under the title, "The New and the Newer." It was reprinted in several anthologies, including Student Power Participation and Revolution, (New York, Association Press, 1970).
- (30) See, for example, two articles written for N&L by Doris Wright on Black women, in Jan. and Feb. 1972 issues of N&L.

### III. The 1970s: Dialectics of revolution/under the whip of counter-revolution

Two totally opposite occurrences — Nixon's barbaric invasion of Cambodia, on the one hand, and the criss-crossing of conferences on Lenin and on Hegel, on the other hand — jammed up in 1970 to bring about as new a stage in cognition as in reality.

Nixon's wars abroad had been brought home in blood with the murderous assault on the protesting students at Kent State, Ohio and the Black students at Jackson State, Miss. who solidarized with them. Our front page picture not only focused on the riddled women's dormitory at Jackson; our Editorial Article began with the third massacre that had taken place that week — which all others were ignoring — the six unarmed Blacks killed in Augusta, Ga. for protesting the murder of a 16 year old Black youth by his jailers. (See "Nixon's Wars at Home and Abroad," June-July, 1970. (31)

These momentous, world-shaking events were occurring while I was working on my new book, *Philosophy and Revolution*. Because 1970 had marked the 200th anniversary of Hegel's birth, and the 100th of Lenin's, new avenues were opening for the surprising philosophic relationship of Lenin and Hegel, as all sorts of separate conferences kept criss-crossing.

A New Left philosophic journal, *Telos*, printed my draft chapter from *Philosophy and Revolution* on "The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin" in its Spring 1970 issue. Another publication, *Praxis*, in Yugoslavia, published the same chapter in its 1970 issue. (Nos. 3-6). (32) And that fall, *Telos* held its first International Conference, where I was invited to speak on "Hegelian Leninism." (33)

The need to transform reality, the core of the Hegelian dialectic, is what had suddenly caused Lenin, the revolutionary materialist, to discover an affinity with the Hegelian dialectic as he experienced the shock of the Second International's collapse at the outbreak of World War I. I felt that, in the same way, the new gen-

eration of revolutionaries, confronted with the myriad crises of 1970 after their near-revolution of 1968 was shattered, were now led to see an affinity with the Hegelian Lenin. In West Europe, too, there was new interest in Marxist-Humanism and Hegelian Leninism, as witness the new French and British editions of *Marxism and Freedom*.

IT WASN'T ONLY the U.S. where the revolt was continuing. The most exciting event in East Europe was the spontaneous uprising of Polish workers in December 1970, when the shipyard workers in Gdansk and Szczecin were joined by housewives, students and other workers to bring about the overthrow of Gomulka. In *Shipyard Workers Revolt Against Communist Party Leaders*, we were able to publish a document from a workers' meeting held in January 1971 that had been smuggled out of Poland.

At home what most excited the imagination of the country in this period was the Native American movement, which electrified the nation with the occupation of Alcatraz in 1970. It wasn't only the remembrance of the massacre at Wounded Knee that brought the country to a new consciousness: it was the todayness of the Indian freedom struggles. (34)

By the next year the anti-Vietnam War movement had gained such dimensions that the most massive demonstration ever, half a million, marched to the Capitol in Washington, led by Vietnam veterans.

(34) See our pamphlet, *Black, Brown and Red* which links these movements and has a bilingual section in Spanish.

REPRINTED FROM N&L, JULY, 1972

(31) We further stressed the simultaneity of the wars at home and abroad by bringing out a new edition of *American Civilization on Trial* that year with a new Appendix by Charles Denby, "Black Caucuses in the Unions."

(32) The fact that it was not only the New Left in the U.S., but the dissidents in East Europe who were interested in Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, produced articles in the Soviet press. Academician B. M. Kedrov, Director of the Institute of History of Science and Technology, did not acknowledge that it was my views he was attacking, as he attempted to keep Lenin confined in vulgar materialism, but those are the views he attacked in his article, "On the Distinctive Characteristic of Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*," in *Soviet Studies in Philosophy*, Summer, 1970.

(33) The "Proceedings of the First International *Telos* Conference, Oct. 8-11, 1970," held in Waterloo, Ontario were published in book-form in *Towards a New Marxism*, edited by Bart Grahl and Paul Piccone (St. Louis, Mo., *Telos* Press, 1973).



Suddenly, a stunned world saw Mao Tse-tung take Nixon off the hot seat with the announcement that Nixon would visit Peking. And as if Nixon and Dr. Strangelove Kissinger hadn't created enough devastation with the invasion of Cambodia and massive bombing of North Vietnam, Kissinger started tilting to Pakistan in the India-Pakistan War, in an attempt to abort the striving-to-be-born new nation of Bangladesh. Our Perspectives Thesis for 1971-1972 was well titled: "Nixon and Mao Aim to Throttle Social Revolution." (See Vol. XI, Sec. III 4.)

### 1973-1976—Philosophy and Revolution; revolutions in Africa and Portugal; woman as revolutionary

The battle of ideas in the early '70s was by no means limited either to the New or the Old Left. On the contrary. The subject of Lenin's embrace of the Hegelian dialectic interested also such purely academic societies as the Hegel Society of America, which invited me to give a paper on Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning to its Biennial Convention of 1974. While this was done textually most rigorously, tracing every paragraph of the Absolute Idea, I nevertheless was able to relate it to Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic, contrasting it sharply to Adorno's Negative Dialectics. (35)

In the Introduction to Philosophy and Revolution, I called to the attention of the readers:

*"The brute fact . . . is the all-pervasiveness of the world crisis—economic, political, racial, educational, philosophic, social. Not a single facet of life, prisons included, was not weighted down by the crisis—and its absolute opposite in thought. A passionate hunger for a philosophy of liberation erupted."*

It wasn't that Philosophy and Revolution underestimated the supreme difficulty of uprooting the system. It was that its aim was to trace the relationship of philosophy and revolution from the great French Revolution and the birth of Hegelian philosophy, through the 1848 proletarian revolutions and the Marxian theory of revolution, and from the Russian Revolution and Lenin's rediscovery of the Hegelian dialectic up to our own age.

The essence of Part I is seen in the very title: "Why Hegel? Why Now?" The counter to that—Part II, "Alternatives"—deals both with revolutionaries like Trotsky and Mao and with "an outsider looking in" like Sartre, in order to measure their theories against the objective situation. Since it is up to each generation of Marxists to work out Marxism for its own age, the whole Part III—"Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation"—deals with the African Revolutions and the world economy; with state-capitalism and the East European revolts; and with the "New Passions and New Forces" of today: the Black dimension, the anti-Vietnam War youth, rank and file labor, and women's liberation.

(35) The paper is included in *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy*, edited by Warren E. Steinkraus and Kenneth L. Schnitz and published by Humanities Press in 1980.

A Constitutional Convention was called for Oct. 21, 1973 to amend our Constitution. We first recorded that, just as the Black Revolution was proof of our thesis of Black masses as the vanguard of the American Revolution, so Women's Liberation as movement was proof of the correctness of our singling out that force as Reason back in 1955. We then added the following:

*"What Marxism and Freedom, with its dialectical form of presentation of history and theory as emanating from the movement from practice did do is lay the foundation for the articulation of the unity of philosophy and revolution. Philosophy and Revolution, in articulating the integrality of philosophy and revolution as the characteristic of the age, and tracing it through historically, caught the link of continuity with the Humanism of Marx, that philosophy of liberation which merges the dialectics of elemental revolt and its Reason. The new historic passions and forces set in motion in the 1950s gave birth to a new generation of revolutionaries in the 1960s, and in the 1970s have put a mark of urgency on the need of integrality also of philosophy and organization. As against 'the party to lead' concept, such integrality of dialectics and organization reflects the revolutionary maturity of the age and its passion for a philosophy of liberation."*

*"Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution are our theoretical foundations. However, they are not a 'program.' They are a contribution to the theoretical preparation for revolution without which no revolutionary organization or grouping can match the challenge of our era."*

WHILE THE PAX AMERICANA arrogance of Kissinger and the totalitarianism of Nixon (36) continued right up to the day of his forced resignation in 1974, a totally new historic epoch was opening simultaneously in Africa and in Portugal. Indeed, the Portuguese Revolution began in Africa, as the young African revolutionaries—some of them still children—actually influenced the young Portuguese soldiers in the occupying army. A dynamism of ideas had always characterized what had been called "Portuguese Africa," whether that be the way Eduard Mondlane had made the role of women integral to revolution in his 1969 work *The Struggle for Mozambique*, or the way African leaders like Dr. Neto, unlike West Africans, at once established relations with Marxists in the West.

The overthrow of the oldest fascist regime, with the ousting of Caetano, was a great historic event which, at one and the same time, shook up the imperialist world and initiated a truly social revolution, involving not only workers and peasants and students and women, but the young soldiers themselves. While General Spínola tried to delude himself that he was the true leader, it was his soldiers with whom the revolutionaries in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola were fraternizing.

In Portugal itself, many parties were active—Socialist, Communist, and independent; workers upsurged in great strikes; peasants occupied the land; and—though the masses were reaching only February 1977, and were still far from November 1917—there was no doubt that the goal was a full proletarian revolution. So fearful

(36) See our Editorial Article, "Politics of Counter-Revolution: Watergate and the 'Year of Europe,'" in the June-July, 1973 issue of N&L.



## Once Again 1973-1976—This time as the Middle East war and the world economic crisis

The deepest economic recession since World War II, so deep that the structure of the whole state-capitalist world had reached the point of stagnation, gave birth to many myths, the first of which blamed everything on the Middle East war and the quadrupling of oil prices that followed.

There is no doubt that the quadrupling of oil prices certainly helped bring on the crises. But the truth is that the economy was sick—the U.S. economy most of all—ever since the Vietnam War and the heightened militarization which has become a permanent feature. The missiles alone are now, by 1980, reaching such stratospheric proportions that Carter's program on that for the next five years will reach a trillion dollars.

What is inherent in the Middle East crisis, whether you begin now or at the beginning of the Arab-Israeli collision—which is not 1973, or 1967, but 1949—is the post-World War II struggle of the world powers for global domination, on the one hand, and the struggle for the minds of humanity, on the other.

Too many are eager to forget what the birth of Israel had originally signified as the birth of a new nation, not alone out of the Holocaust, but one that was socialist, was won by fighting British imperialism, and was the only place in the Middle East which had neither oil nor any Nazi associations during World War II. The fact that Israel now has the reactionary leadership it does, which is doing its best to reverse the clock and deprive the Palestinians of their right to self-determination, cannot erase the dialectics of liberation then. What is needed is the tracing of the dialectic of each event, as it happened, within the context of the global situation. This is what we did in the series of articles collected under the title: *War, Peace or Revolution: Shifting Alliances in the Middle East—from the Six Day War to the Camp David Summit.* (40)

As U.S. and Russia entered the Middle East cockpit, it became a key point for the two nuclear titans struggling for control over the Middle East. By 1973, when it looked as if there would be some "even-handedness" on the part of the U.S. regarding the Arab world, global politics again took center stage. In a word, the fact remains that neither Israel (and it is the guiltiest party of all by now) nor Egypt nor the PLO, has the decisive word.

(40) The analyses include: (from *News & Letters and Political-Philosophic Letters, 1967-1973*), "The Arab-Israeli collision, the world powers, and the struggle for the minds of men" (June 1967); "Anti-Semitism, anti-revolution, anti-philosophy: U.S. and Russia enter Middle East cockpit" (February 1969); "The Middle East erupts" (November 1973); "The U.S., global politics and the Mideast War" (December 1973).

Also included are: (from *The Political-Philosophic Letters of Raya Dunayevskaya, 1976*), "The UN Resolution on Zionism—and ideological obfuscation also on the Left" and "Lebanon: The test not only of the P.L.O. but the whole Left"; (from *News & Letters, 1978*), "War, peace or revolution: Shifting alliances in the Middle East" and "Camp David Summit: Peace in Middle East—or extension of U.S. imperialism?"

**THEREFORE, TO SEE** what was really happening in this stage of new crises for state-capitalism, we have to return to production and not politics. So decrepit had capitalism become by the 1970s that, far from the never-ending talk of growth, growth, growth, all capitalists could think of to stop the galloping inflation was zero "growth." What was worse still was the revelation of the Vietnam War, that the U.S. was not only the most savagely imperialistic country, but the one where, for the first time ever, there was a recession during an ongoing war, so much so that even the merchants of death complained of a decline in the rate of profit!

For revolutionaries to mistake the "arms economy," permanent or otherwise, as if it were equivalent to the booms of capital expansion—accumulation of such ever greater masses of unpaid labor as to counteract the decline in the rate of profit—is, at one and the same time, to blind oneself to the totality of the crisis, the actual structural changes of capitalist production in its death agony, and, what is far worse, fail to see the new forms of revolt, like the unorganized, the new generation of revolutionaries, and the ever deeper layers of the proletariat fighting automation and its ultimate point of unimation.

In a word, whether we start with LBJ claiming we could have both guns and butter; or go to Nixon, the great believer in private capitalism, who was forced to undertake the most rigorous state-capitalist measures, from wage and price controls to devaluation of the dollar; or go to Carter and Reagan, who, in 1980, are outdoing each other in preparations for World War III—what they all forget is that the unemployed army as a permanent feature, and the Black dimension: especially among the youth who have never seen a job, will always bring about new forms of revolt until they bring the system down. (41)

It is this which all forget—whether private capitalism, or state-capitalism calling itself Communism, or all the tailenders from the Trotskyists down. That is why those we called "today's epigones" (42) try to truncate Marx's greatest work, presenting the monstrosity of state-capitalism as if it were the revolutionary alternative to U.S. capitalism. They stand in the way of the

(41) Indeed, the new militancy of workers white and Black raised again the question that has predominated the struggles ever since Automation: what kind of labor should human beings do? It was in 1974 that a white production worker in California, Felix Martin, joined our Black worker-editor Charles Denby, as his West Coast editor.

(42) See the Introduction, "Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's Capital", to my pamphlet *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*. The battle of the ideas of the 1970s led to the translation of such great works as Marx's *Grundrisse*, and to a new translation of Marx's *Capital*. It did not, however, induce either academia or the New Left to give the objective, scholarly introductions. The worst was the Introduction to the new Pelican edition of *Capital*, written by the so-called "specialist on Marxism," Ernest Mandel, who tried to saddle Marx with an approval of that state-capitalist monstrosity, Russia, as if it were a form of workers state. See also my review of Mandel's *Marxist Economic Theory* ("True Rebirth, or Wholesale Revision of Marxism?", in *N&L*, May and June-July, 1970.)

## IV. 1980: "The Book" - Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution -and Perspectives for the 1980s

The reason 1980 was designated "the year of the book" was not only as a deadline for its completion(56), but because of the necessity to see the three parts of the book—Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy—both as an entity that will illuminate the totality of the crises of today, and as the whole new continent of thought Marx discovered which remains the ground for perspectives for the 1980s.

Thus, whether articulated in the Draft Perspectives, "Tomorrow is Now"(57), or in the completed Perspectives, "Today and Tomorrow"(58), the point was to focus on Carter's drive to war, with an ever-expanding militarization and the reestablishment of registration for the draft of youth; ever-increasing unemployment with its unconscionable magnitude in the Black community, especially among the youth; the move against the ERA; and resurgent racism. All these deepening crises could hardly be described in less extreme terms than "Apocalypse Now."

The absolute opposite of that retrogressionism on the part of the ruling class was seen in the magnificent new strikes—actually occupations of the shipyards and coal mines—in Poland. Where a decade back, in 1970, the massive strikes of the shipyard workers had written a new page of freedom, the outright occupations in 1980 throughout Poland raised higher, totally new demands for both free trade unions and a free press.(59)

In the U.S. too, though there were no such massive strikes, there were Black uprisings from Miami to Phila-

delphia, and under-currents of revolt throughout the land.

Carter's intense militarization—including toying with the question of "tactical" nuclear weapons which would make nuclear war "thinkable"(60), and his reinstatement of draft registration—has brought about a new anti-war movement, in which not only is there resistance to the draft, but that resistance is related to questions both of nuclear power and of imperialism. Thus, the March 1980 N&L carried a series of articles from around the country on "No Nukes, No Draft, no War." The following issue carried as the Lead, "American youth challenge draft, racism, poverty jobs."

Our Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth became interested in the revolutionary journalism of Marx, holding a class around the essay on "Marx's revolutionary journalism and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung"(61) by Eugene Walker, which he related, in his report to the 1980 convention, to the new stage we were reaching with

(56) The planned contents of the book include:

Chapter 1—Two Turning Points in Luxemburg's Life: Before and After the 1905 Revolution

Afterword: Once Again on the Theory of Permanent Revolution

Chapter 2—The Break with Karl Kautsky, 1910-1911: From Mass Strike Theory to Crisis over Morocco

Chapter 3—The Inter-regnum of Luxemburg, and An Excursus into Marx's New Continent of Thought

Afterword: Marx's Unknown Ethnological Notebooks vs. Engels' Origin of the Family

Chapter 4—Marx's and Luxemburg's Theories of Accumulation of Capital

Chapter 5—War and Revolutions, 1914, 1917, 1919: Russian, German, World

Chapter 6—Attitudes to Objectivity—Philosophy, Spontaneity, Organization

Chapter 7—Women's Liberation: Continuities and Discontinuities, 19th and 20th Centuries, with Focus on Today

Chapter 8—Philosophy of Revolution: The Development of Marx from a Critic of Hegel to the Author of Capital and Theory of Permanent Revolution

APPENDIX: First English translation of Luxemburg's speech to the 1907 London RSDRP Congress

(57) Our Draft Perspectives, since 1975, have been printed directly in News & Letters. "Tomorrow is Now" was published in the June 1980 issue.

(58) The contents page of the completed Perspectives for 1980-81 reads:

Part One: U.S. Capitalist-Imperialism, at Home and Abroad, especially in the Middle East and Latin America

I. Missiles, Missiles, Missiles—But What About Jobs?

II. U.S. Imperialism's Tentacles: From Iran to South Korea, And from El Salvador to Iraq; Also Relations with Other Capitalist Imperialisms

III. Religion in General and Jerusalem in Particular in this State-Capitalist Age

Part Two: Long March of Revolt, Long March of Philosophy: Imperative Need for New Relationship of Practice to Theory

I. All Road Lead to Gdansk, Poland, And . . . The Road to the Black Ghetto, USA

II. Today's Tasks and A Brief Glance at 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism

(59) Urszula Wislanka translated articles from the underground workers' publication Robotnik (Worker) and publications like the satirical "liberated Trybuna Ludu" and we published them in a bi-lingual pamphlet, Today's Polish Fight for Freedom in March, 1980. When the new events erupted in summer the pamphlet was completely sold out, and a new one, with additional material, was planned for publication at once. See also our Lead article in December 1979, "East Europe revolts spread in wake of Czech trials, Polish mine disasters" by Kevin A. Barry.

(60) In the June 1977 issue I analyzed President Carter's address to NATO as a monstrous order to begin "thinking the unthinkable": "to create more precision guided missiles, at no matter what cost." It was with good reason that we titled our Draft Perspectives that year, "Time is Running Out."

(61) See the May 1980 issue.

That battle of ideas(64) runs like a red thread throughout the history of Marxist-Humanism in the United States. Whether we take the Two Worlds column of March 1960, "Automation and the Dialectic, a Critical Review of C. P. Snow's The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution," or the first Weekly Political Letter, April 22, 1961, "Preliminary Statement of the Crisis over Cuba" (Bay of Pigs); whether we consider the July 1975 article, "Instant Marxism and the Black Intellectual" on Amiri Baraka, Owusu Sadauki and John Oliver Killens, or we take "A Second Look at Adorno and Kosik and the Movement from Practice" (March 1978); whether we take the analysis of U Nu and Ben Gurion's retreat in the Weekly Political Letter of Nov. 13, 1961, "Israel, Burma, Outer Mongolia and the Cold War," or Leopold Senghor's "African Socialism" (May 1960); at no time did we analyze world events without, at the same time, relating them to the stage of cognition.

On the other hand—whether I criticized Sartre's The Words in "Remembrance of Things Past in the Future Tense" (published in the Activist, Spring 1965), or returned to Fidel Castro, both in "The Cuban Revolution: The Year After" (Dec. 1960) and the 1978 Political-Philosophic Letter, "The Unfinished Latin American Revolutions"—the point was to relate criticism to actual action, both the action that arose from below and the action in which we participated. That is why, whether we dealt with today's Women's Liberation theorists (June 1976), or discussed "Lukacs' Philosophic Dimension" (Feb. and March 1973), the reason for the battle of ideas was, at all times to trace the movements in theory as we followed the movement from practice which was itself a form of theory.

As the National Organizer expressed it in her report to the 1980 Convention on "What is Theory and its Relation to Archives":

*"Theory is not just a generalization of what workers are doing. It is the practice of dialectical philosophy. That is why the pamphlets we produced all through the exciting 1960s can be seen as an extension of Marxism and Freedom, written by actual participants in the freedom struggles, who were also participants in the battle for the minds of humanity."* (65)

And in the report of the National Co-Organizer, Michael Connolly, "Our Work with the Forces of Revolution: National and International," he was at all times stressing development, whether he was reporting on local, national or international activities. Thus:

*"Throughout the year, our activity in the Black dimension moved from fighting 'poverty conscription' to support for Haitian refugees, and from community organizing in Flint, to breaking into such publications as the Journal of Negro History and the Bibliographic Guide to Black Studies."*

It was no accident that the first part of the book

(64) In 1979 a guide to 40 Two Worlds columns from the 1960s and 1970s was issued under the title, "Critical-Essays of Raya Dunayevskaya in the Battle of Ideas." The entire collection of Two Worlds columns constitutes a separate Vol XII in the WSU Archives collection. See also the Weekly Political Letters (Vol. VII).

(65) See also her essay on "Women's Liberation in search of a theory: the summary of a decade," in the June 1960 issue.

to be published, back in 1979, was ~~not~~ Chapter 1, ~~but~~ "Relationship of philosophy and revolution to Woman's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted." We began with the Ethnological Notebooks of Marx because they demonstrably disclosed that, far from Engels and Marx being "one," there was a sharp difference between them, by no means limited to the fact that Marx was a genius and Engels a talented collaborator. The contrast that we can now make between what the so-called "Woman Question" was in Luxemburg's day and what the new Women's Liberation movement has brought to it, and do this within the context of Marx's philosophy of revolution, will show both the depth and the urgency of the uprooting needed to clear the road to a new society.

It is this overriding question—the fact that it is only now, 100 years after the last writings of Marx, that we can first grapple with the totality of the writings of the founder of a new continent of thought—which presents a new challenge to the whole Marxist movement to face not only the relationship of philosophy and revolution, but of the philosophy of revolution.

The momentous world historic events of the 1970's extending into 1980, are sure to reach a revolutionary climax this decade. In our age, when all the forces have come together—rank-and-file labor, Black dimension, youth, Women's Liberation—and have done so no matter what the color of the specific minority is, in all lands from Africa to Latin America, from Asia to Europe, East and West, to the United States, the truly global and actual confrontation of the crises is the absolute negativity transforming reality.

When I told the Hegel Society of America in 1974 that the "Absolute Idea as New Beginning can become a new 'subjectivity' for realizing Hegel's principle that 'the transcendence of the opposition between Notion and Reality, and that unity which is truth, rest upon this subjectivity alone,' I added: "This is not exactly a summons to the barricades, but Hegel is asking us to have our ears as well as our categories so attuned to the 'Spirit's urgency' that we rise to the challenge of working out, through 'patience, seriousness, suffering and labor of the negative' a totally new relationship of philosophy to the actuality and action as befits 'a birth-time of history.' This is what makes Hegel a contemporary."

The critical question for today's "birth-time of history" is this: If there is a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, and if there is a movement from theory that is itself a form of philosophy, it is necessary rigorously and comprehensively to dig out the single dialectic that emerges from actuality as well as from thought.

There is a dialectic of thought—from consciousness and self-consciousness, through culture, to philosophy. There is a dialectic of history—from primitive communism, through slavery and serfdom, as well as capitalism's "free wage labor," to total freedom. As Marx put in in Vol. III of Capital: "Human power is its own end." There is a dialectic of liberation—from class struggle, through Spirit in Self-Estrangement, to a total uprooting through social revolution, to totally new human relations, a new class-less society.

Raya Dunayevskaya  
Sept. 5, 1980  
Detroit, Mich.

26 *Revised New Thesis with this sentence on one single line. found actually 60 sheets so she had 1950 sheets as the document*

16727