



Raya Dunayevskaya is Secretary of the American Society for the Study of the Russian Revolution. She has written a number of books on the Russian Revolution and the workers' state. She has also written a number of articles on the Russian Revolution and the workers' state. She has also written a number of articles on the Russian Revolution and the workers' state.

When, in 1943, the Russian theoreticians openly revised their Marxian theory of the state, she was the first to bring this information to the American public. Her full translation of their thesis was published in the American Economic Review, September, 1944. In her accompanying commentary, "A New Revision of Marxian Economics," she called this revision in theory "the constitution of the post-war economy" of state capitalist Russia which forecast its subsequent moves for world domination. This touched off a debate among theoreticians, here and abroad, which lasted for well over a year and was of sufficient note to be reported in front page stories in the New York Times during 1944 and 1945.

In 1949, Miss Dunayevskaya began a systematic study of the original sources of the Russian economy. When she was in West Virginia in 1949, during the nine-month long miners' strike, she decided to expand the study of Marxism to include the American scene. For this part (Part V in this book) she used a different method for writing — interviews with groups of workers and student youth. It was first then that the book took the shape of *Marxism and Freedom*. She submitted various drafts for discussion and revision to these groups of workers and student youth. She calls them her co-authors.

BOOKMAN ASSOCIATES, Inc.
31 Union Square West
New York 3, N.Y.

DUNAYEVSKAYA

MARXISM and FREEDOM

BOOKMAN

MARXISM and FREEDOM

... from 1776 until today

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

Preface by HERBERT MARCUSE

First English Publication of

Karl Marx — *Private Property and Communism*

— *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic*

U. J. Lenin — *Hegel's Science of Logic*

2620

2 6 2 1

MARXISM and FREEDOM

... from 1776 until Today

by

Raya Dunayevskaya

With a Preface by Herbert Marcuse

BOOKMAN ASSOCIATES
New York

2621

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	7
INTRODUCTION	21
PART I. FROM PRACTICE TO THEORY: 1776 TO 1848	
CHAPTER I — THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS: INDUSTRIAL, SOCIAL-POLITICAL, INTELLECTUAL	27
1) The French Revolution in Books and in Life	28
2) The Parisian Masses and the Great French Revolution	30
3) The Philosophers and the Revolution: Freedom and the Hegelian Dialectic	32
4) Hegel's Absolutes and Our Age of Absolutes	37
CHAPTER II — THE AGE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, THE REVOLTS OF THE WORKERS, AND THE UTOPIAN SOCIALISTS	41
1) The Continuation of Revolts of the Workers and the End of Classical Political Economy	46
2) The Utopian Socialists and Pierre Proudhon: A Case of Mental Juggling	48
CHAPTER III — A NEW HUMANISM: MARX'S EARLY ECONOMIC-PHILOSOPHIC WRITINGS	53
1) Dialectical Materialism and the Class Struggle, or What Kind of Labor?	54
2) Private Property and Communism	59
3) Communism's Perversion of Marx's Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts	62
PART II. WORKER AND INTELLECTUAL AT A TURNING POINT IN HISTORY: 1848 TO 1861	
CHAPTER IV — WORKER, INTELLECTUAL, AND THE STATE	69
1) The 1848 Revolutions and the Radical Intellectual	69
2) Ferdinand Lassalle: State Socialist	74

PART III. MARXISM: THE UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

CHAPTER V — THE IMPACT OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES ON THE STRUCTURE OF CAPITAL	81
1) The Abolitionists, the Civil War, and the First International	81
2) The Relationship of History to Theory	84
a) <i>Critique of Political Economy</i> : The Limits of an Intellectual Work	85
b) The Working Day and the Break with the Concept of Theory	87
CHAPTER VI — THE PARIS COMMUNE ILLUMINATES AND DEEPENS THE CONTENT OF CAPITAL	92
1) The Despotic Plan of Capital vs. the Cooperation of Freely Associated Labor	92
2) The Paris Commune: A Form of Workers' Rule	95
3) The Fetishism of Commodities and Plan vs. Freely Associated Labor and Control of Production	98
CHAPTER VII — THE HUMANISM AND DIALECTIC OF CAPITAL, VOLUME I, 1867 TO 1883	103
1) The Split in the Category of Labor: Abstract and Concrete Labor; Labor and Labor Power	103
2) The Marxian Economic Categories and the Struggle at the Point of Production: Constant and Variable Capital, or the Domination of Dead over Living Labor	112
3) Accumulation of Capital and the New Forces and New Passions	120
CHAPTER VIII — THE LOGIC AND SCOPE OF CAPITAL, VOLUMES II AND III	126
1) The Two Departments of Social Production: Means of Production and Means of Consumption	127
2) Appearance and Reality	132
3) The Breakdown of Capitalism: Crises, Human Freedom, and Volume III of CAPITAL	137

ORGANIZATIONAL INTERLUDE

CHAPTER IX — THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL, 1889 TO 1914	150
1) Achievements of the Second International: Trade Union and Political Organization of the Proletariat	155
2) The Beginning of the End of the Second International: New Form of Workers' Organization: the Soviet	156
3) The End of the Second International — New Stage of Capitalist Production and Stratification of the Proletariat	161

PART IV. WORLD WAR I AND THE GREAT DIVIDE IN MARXISM

CHAPTER X — THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL AND THE BREAK IN LENIN'S THOUGHT	167
1) Lenin and the Dialectic: A Mind in Action	168
2) The Irish Revolution and the Dialectic of History	172
CHAPTER XI — FORMS OF ORGANIZATION: THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SPONTANEOUS SELF-ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT TO THE "VANGUARD PARTY"	177
1) What Was at Stake in 1902-1903: The Activity of the Workers and the Discipline of the Intellectuals	179
2) The 1905 Revolution and Political Tendencies in Russia after 1905	182
3) What Was New on the Party Question in the Great Divide and After: The Relationship of the Masses to the Party	185
CHAPTER XII — WHAT HAPPENS AFTER	194
1) The Famous Trade Union Dispute of 1920-1921: Positions of Lenin, Trotsky and Shlyapnikov	196
2) Lenin and His New Concept: "Party Work to be Checked by Non-Party Masses"	201
3) Lenin's Will	205

7 6 1 4

PART V. THE PROBLEM OF OUR AGE: STATE CAPITALISM VS. FREEDOM	
SECTION ONE — THE RUSSIAN SCENE	212
CHAPTER XIII — RUSSIAN STATE CAPITALISM VS. WORKERS' REVOLT	215
A. The First Five Year Plan: Relations Between Planners and Workers, 1928-1932	215
1) The Turnover Tax	217
B. The Second Five Year Plan: The One-Party State Takes Full Totalitarian Form and Completes the Counter-Revolution	220
1) Forced Labor Camps	220
2) Stakhanovite Speed Demons	221
3) Stalin's Constitution on the "Classless" Intellegentsia	223
C. The Third Five Year Plan and a Summation of all the Plans at the Outbreak of War	228
1) Crises and Purges	234
2) Labor Before the Law	236
D. The War and the Assault on Marx's CAPITAL	237
CHAPTER XIV — STALIN	240
CHAPTER XV — THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF RUSSIAN TOTALITARIANISM	249
1) East Germany, June 17, 1953	249
2) "Russia Is More Than Ever Full of Revolutionaries" — Vorkuta, July 1953	252
3) Hungary, 1956 — Freedom Fighters	254
SECTION TWO — THE AMERICAN SCENE	258
1) Rank and File Versus Labor Leaders	262
CHAPTER XVI — AUTOMATION AND THE NEW HUMANISM	266
1) Different Attitudes to Automation	266
2) Workers Think Their Own Thoughts	273
3) Toward a New Unity of Theory and Practice in the Abolitionist and Marxist Tradition	276

APPENDICES. UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS OF MARX AND LENIN	288
APPENDIX A — MARX: PRIVATE PROPERTY AND COMMUNISM	290
MARX: CRITIQUE OF THE HEGELIAN DIALECTIC	304
APPENDIX B — LENIN: HEGEL'S SCIENCE OF LOGIC	326
NOTES	356
BIBLIOGRAPHY	372
INDEX	380