

Dear Keith Morgan - <sup>1983</sup> Congratulation to you

of you on your new publications.  
Did you, Morgan, also get finally to  
publish a review of my books - MIT,  
PrE, Ph, M, & N.Y. Philosophy & Red?  
If so may I have a copy. Yes, I  
needed further quotations I intend to  
begin a book in 1984 as proof that  
far from the Chomskian, it will be  
the new Marx - Marxist Humanism



will transform it into new revolutions  
and open doors -

1993 had been a very difficult  
year for us as Deuby died -

Where is it you'll be next  
year? I'm using the Debusa address  
on your card but it isn't really  
clear what you'll call home -

Praxis International in Jan.  
will publish my latest essay of  
M-H of M.F. in Primitive: Modern Times -  
In 1985 I'm invited to Hamburg & address the  
Antonio Gramsci - Casa Lubowitz  
Initiative

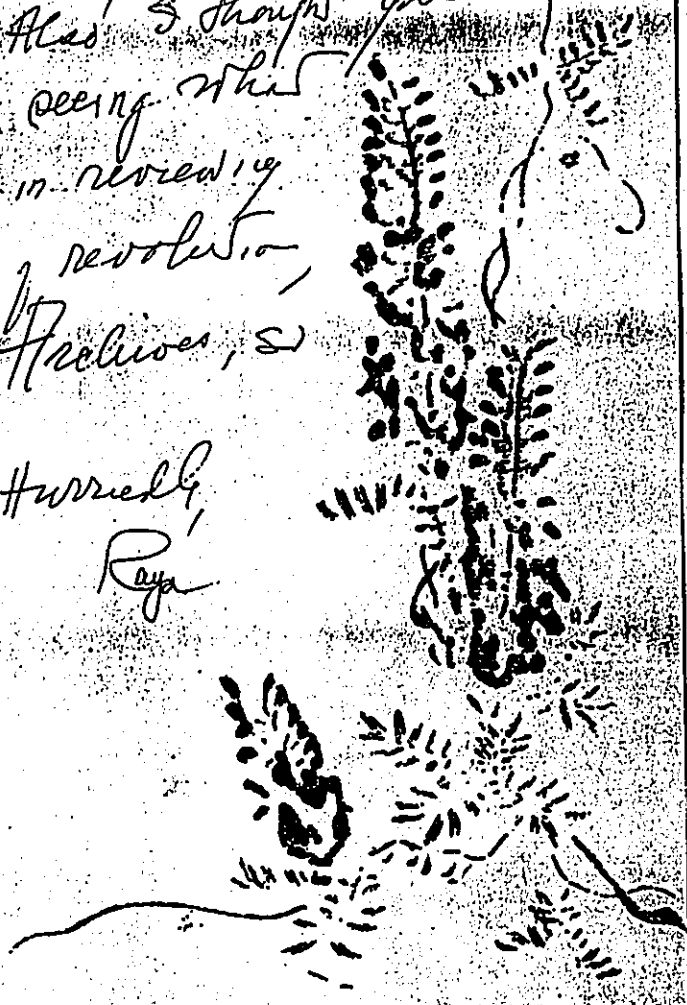
OSCAR KOKOSCHKA, Austrian (b. 1880)  
The Elbe near Dresden, 1920/21  
Oil on canvas; 59.7 x 80 cm. (23 1/2 x 31 1/4 in.)  
The Detroit Institute of Arts (21.203)

Joe Serrano  
ArtsInfo - Ray

1983

Dear [Name], This is a transcript of what  
 I just mailed to you including the news  
 of the tragedy of CD's death. I meant  
 ask can we use this address to begin  
 sending you regularly these  
 Also I thought you  
 might appreciate seeing what  
 I did today in reviewing  
 the whole history of revolution,  
 including also the failures, &  
 here it is.

Hurriedly,  
 Raja



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Hi Raya — 1-19-54  
I thought that you might like to  
see the photos that may not come out  
of the film. I have a few more  
of the same scene. I will send you  
a few more if you like.  
I hope you are well.  
M. J. [unclear]  
KAROTTO

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**MARXIST HUMANISM TODAY**

**THREE BOOKS BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA**

a review by Morgan Gibson

**MARXISM AND FREEDOM FROM 1776 UNTIL TODAY**

Humanities Press, Inc., Atlantic Highlands, N. J. 07716, 1982.

372 pages. 0-391-02624-0 paper \$10.95.

**PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION FROM HEGEL TO SARTRE AND FROM MARX TO ...**

Humanities Press, Inc., Atlantic Highlands, N. J. 07716, 1982.

372 pages. 0-391-02648-8 paper \$10.95.

**ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION, AND MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF**

**REVOLUTION**

Humanities Press, Inc., Atlantic Highlands, N. J. 07716, 1982.

234 pages. 0-391-02569-4 cloth \$19.95

0-391-02793-X paper \$10.95.

Raya Dunayevskaya is the leading advocate in the United States of Marxism as a viable humanistic philosophy of freedom betrayed by Stalin, Mao, Castro, and most other state-communists. Whereas Marx himself, exasperated by his followers, once declared, "I am not a Marxist," Dunayevskaya persists in defending Marxism against its foes and friends who misunderstand its essential interaction with Hegel's dialectical philosophy and actual struggles of working classes. The originality of her work has been praised by Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, Noam Chomsky, Alistair MacIntyre, and other scholars, as well as by certain activists all over the world. Her three books are valuable for library-collections of philosophy, modern history, and the social sciences.

A child-emigré from Russia with her parents, Dunayevskaya became a youth leader in Chicago shortly before Stalin expelled Trotsky from the U. S. S. R. in 1927. Siding with Trotsky, she eventually became his secretary in Mexico, corresponding with John Dewey's Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, some months before Trotsky was axed by Stalin's assassin. At the onset of World War II, breaking from the Trotskyists, she originated the theory of state capitalism, publishing an analysis of the Soviet economy that proved its conformity to the system of exploitation as Marx had described it in Capital. Distressed by the theoretical void that had permitted the Soviet Union to get away with many deceptions, she turned to the Hegelian roots of Marx's thought, publishing the first English translation in the United States of his Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844, showing the origins of his concept of alienation in the Hegelian

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dialectic, and revealing that Marx had advocated not merely the replacement of capitalism by a communist economy, but rather full human liberation, the realization of the whole person as a rounded social being. So the dialectic is not the creation of a new synthesis from thesis and antithesis, but "the negation of the negation," continuous self-activity of struggle against oppression. Certainly ~~Marx~~ would have condemned the oppression of current communist systems, as much as Christ would condemn most churches.

In her first book, Marxism and Freedom: from 1776 Until Today (originally published in 1958), she explains how Marx's theory evolved from the actual practice of class-struggle, and how Lenin rediscovered the Hegelian dialectic in Marx's writings and applied its method to the involvement of the masses in party organization. In her view, Stalin reversed Lenin's policy, converting the potentially democratic soviets into a state capitalistic system of exploitation of the working classes, and perverting Marx's theory in the process. "Marxism is a theory of liberation or it is nothing," she asserts, encouraged by spontaneous workers' revolts in East Germany and Hungary during the 1950's, even though they were crushed--and also by the American civil rights movement and wildcat strikes of auto-workers against bureaucracies of labor and management. In the 1982 reprint, she adds a section on revolts in China that could not be fully manipulated in Mao's Cultural Revolution.

Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao (first published in 1973) expands her examination of Hegel's influence on Marx and Lenin. She criticises the theoretical and practical corruptions of Trotsky, Mao, and Sartre.

and she finds Marx's prophecies coming true in the African revolutions, perennial East European revolts against state-capitalistic communism, and the American revolts of the 1960's ("The Black Dimension, the Anti-Vietnam War Youth, Rank-and-File Labor, Women's Liberation").

The 1982 reprints of Dunayevskaya's first two books are integrally related to her new book, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, in which she eloquently relates the life and thought of the heroic Polish revolutionary to current liberation struggles of women and minorities, and to Marx's theory of "Revolution in Permanence."

Dunayevskaya is as heroic as her heroes in advocating Marxist Humanism at a time when all humanism is condemned in some quarters as a communist plot. Her commitment to freedom from exploitative communism and capitalism is especially admirable at this time of widespread cynicism. Rather than siding with those who advocate head-on collisions between capitalism and communism, which can only result in nuclear holocaust, we need to understand how internal contradictions in both systems may lead us out of the impasse, through self-activity. While learning from her, and from Marx, however, we need not lock ourselves into Marxism, which unnecessarily limits our understanding of life, love, communication, community, art, truth, happiness, and other values which are not treated as well by Marx as by other thinkers. Too many major philosophical questions are ignored by Marx for his worldview to be fully adequate for our age, even with the creative interpretations of Dunayevskaya. But her work is indispensable, I think, in our understanding of Marx's humanistic philosophy in relation to modern historical struggles.