

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

from 1776 until today

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

preface by Herbert Marcuse
new introduction by the author

7617

'Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realize it . . . No man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others. Every kind of freedom has therefore always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, another time as a universal right.' KARL MARX

'When individuals and nations have once got in their heads the abstract concept of full-blown liberty, there is nothing like it in its uncontrollable strength, just because it is the very essence of mind, and that as its very actuality . . . If to be aware of the idea—to be aware, i.e., that men are aware of freedom as their essence, aim and object—is a matter of speculation, still this very idea itself is the actuality of men—not something which they *have*, as men, but which they *are*.' G. W. F. HEGEL

Raya Dunayevskaya

with a preface by Harry McShane
and original preface by Herbert Marcuse

MARXISM

AND FREEDOM

from 1776 until Today

HUMANITIES PRESS: NEW JERSEY
HARVESTER PRESS: SUSSEX

7618

First published 1958 Copyright © Raya Dunayevskaya 1958
 Second edition with a new chapter on Mao Tse-tung and the Sino-Soviet rift
 Copyright © Raya Dunayevskaya 1964
 Third edition 1971 with a new chapter, 'Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction'
 Copyright © Pluto Press 1971
 Copyright © 1982 by Raya Dunayevskaya for the Postface

Acknowledgements

Reprinted in 1982 in the United States of America by Humanities Press and in
 England by Harvester Press by arrangement with the author.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Dunayevskaya, Raya.
 Marxism and freedom.

Reprint. Originally published: 4th ed. London: Pluto Press, 1975. With new introd.
 Bibliography: p.
 Includes index.

1. Socialism--History. 2. Communism--History.

I. Title.

HX36.D8 1982

ISBN 0-391-02624-0

335.4'09

82-1089

AACR2

England ISBN 0 7106 0368 0

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in
 any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording,
 or any information storage and retrieval systems, without permission in writing
 from the publisher.

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I thank the following for permission to quote:
 American Economic Association, Evanston,
 translation of *Pod Znamenem Marxizma (Under the Banner of Marxism)* and rejoinder, "A New Revision of Marxian Economic Review, September 1944 and September 1945; *Josef Stalin, Socialism*, published by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. and Company, Inc., New York; *The Letters of Lenin*, Elizabeth Hill and Doris Mudge; Harvard University Press, *Formation of the Soviet Union, Communism and Nationalism*, copyright by the President and Fellows of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.; *Marx and Engels, Selected Works*, Volumes I-IX, by V.I. Lenin; *Philosophy and Music*, by Andrei A. Zhdanov; Chicago; *Capital*, Volumes I-III; *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, by Karl Marx; *The Poverty of Philosophy*, all by Karl Marx; *The Philosophy of Language*, by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London; *Principles of Logic*, by J.B. Baillie; and *Science of Logic*, by Hegel, trans. L.G. Struthers; Oxford University Press, Inc., New York; *Hegel's Philosophy of Mind*, translated by A.W. Wood, Oxford University Press, New York; *The Stalin School of Falsification of Lenin*, by Leon Trotsky; Random House, Inc., New York; *Plays of Alexander Pushkin*, edited by Avrahm Yarmolinsky; New York, and Macmillan & Company, Ltd., London; *Part I*, by G.D.H. Cole; Stanford University Press; *The World War: The Origins of the Third International (Library on War, Revolution, and Peace)*, by Olga W. Browder; copyright by the Board of Trustees of Leland Stanford Junior University of Chicago Press, Chicago; *Early Theology*, by T.M. Knox and edited by Richard Kroner; *Materials for the Study of the Soviet System*, by J.H. Coatsworth; University Press, New Haven; *Ferdinand Lassalle*, R. Footman.

I also wish to thank the newspaper, *News & Labor*, editor, Charles Denby, for permission to quote his conditions in the shops and mines.

7619

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

- 102, 128, 248; also
 167, 172-5.
 H; also see
 70 (n. 250)
 228; also
 1, 202, 213, 235, 240-8,
 208, 212 ff.
 1; also see
 271, 509
 y of), 23, ff.
 mic Com-
 70
 of the end
 57-8, 160, 12-4, 215, 5)
 see capi-
 ee Russia
 23-4, 141, sion
 (W), 274
 4W), 268
- United States, 27, 52, 53, 136, 148-9, 150, 151, 161, 245, 258 ff., 260, 270, 287, 578; Abolitionism, 81, 232, 276 ff.; American Revolution, 27, 53; Civil War, 21-2, 82-4, 279, 339 (n. 48); Emancipation Proclamation, 82; Hawthorne Project (human relations studies), 260-1; New Deal Ure, Andrew, 116
 Utopian Socialists, 48 ff., 65
 Value, also see Marx, 103, 105, 555-4; form of: exchange value, 85-7, 101-3, 111, 116; use value, 116, 120, 128; law of, 22, 121-5; surplus, 105, 112 ff., 121 ff., 130
 "vanguard party," 63, 175, 178 ff., 209, 365 (n. 169 & 170); relation to mass movement, 63, 185 ff., 204-5, 283-4; also see Lenin
 Varga, Eugene, 245
 variable capital, see capital
 Varlet, Jean, 31-2
 Villegarde, 293
 Vorkuta, 23, 248, 252-4
 Voinensky, 245
 Walker, David, 359 (n. 49); also see Abolitionists
 Walter (Rep.), 256
 wildcatting, 262 ff., 271, 287; also see sitdown
 Witte, (Count), 158
 working day, 87-91, 114-6, 275
 Workingmen's International Association, 83, 150, 178, 187
 world production (per capita, 1937), 233
 World War I, 22, 167, 172, 208
 World War II, 25, 63, 214, 228, 246, 258; assault on Marx's CAPITAL, 237-9, 262, 272, 277
 Yagoda, 227
 Young Hegelians, 55, 105
 Yugoslavia, 368-9 (n. 226)
 Zhdanov, Andrei, 39-40, 62, 246
 Zinoviev, 206, 227
 Zulu Rebellion, 161

POSTFACE FOR 1982

A passion for Marx's philosophy—which he had originally called "a new Humanism"—emerged in the 1960s, with the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries and a whole new Third World arising from under Western imperialism; it followed the first revolts against Communist totalitarianism in East Europe in the 1950s. This interest in the new continent of thought and revolution that Marx discovered has gained a new intensity today, the eve of the one-hundredth anniversary of Marx's death.

I am glad to say that I have not had to change a single word in my analysis of Marx's *œuvres*, although, in the 25 years since the first edition, some previously unavailable writings of Marx, like the *Ethnological Notebooks*,¹ have become available. This is so because then, too, my stress was not on the fact that I was the first to publish in English Marx's now-famous *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*, 1844; rather, the emphasis was on the integrality of the "new Humanism" of the young Marx with the mature Marx's greatest economic work, *Capital*. Here is how the late Herbert Marcuse² expressed it in his preface to the first edition: "Dunayevskaya's book goes beyond the previous interpretations. It shows not only that Marxian economics and politics are throughout philosophy, but that the latter is from the beginning economics and politics."

¹For an analysis of the *Notebooks*, see my *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1982).
²See my "In Memoriam" to Herbert Marcuse in the December 1979 issue of the *International Society for the Sociology of Knowledge Newsletter*.

Nor did the work stop with the dialectical relationship and integrality of Humanism in Marx's economic and political works (see Part III, "Marxism: The Unity of Theory and Practice"). It also revealed the unknown American roots of Marxism in the Black dimension. This, too, did not stop with the analysis of the Abolitionist movement leading to the Civil War, or the struggle that followed it for the shortening of the working day, but encompassed the historic impact it had on the very structure of Marx's *Capital*. Because Marx had caught the significance of the Black dimension that early, I was able to develop those American roots through to our age, so that the last chapter of my work, "Automation and the New Humanism," brought in the very latest developments: the initiation of the Black Revolution in the United States with the Montgomery bus boycott, 1955-56.

To this author, the republication of this work is urgent because of the myriad crises that characterize today's world, especially the drive to war on the part of the two nuclear titans, the United States and Russia, and the need, instead, for a struggle for the minds of humanity. What compelled the first edition was the transformation of the first workers' state into the state-capitalist society that we know. The Hitler-Stalin Pact had demanded both the rejection of any conception that Russia was a workers' state (as Trotsky still maintained) and a fundamental analysis of how that transformation into its opposite had occurred. The theory of state-capitalism that I initiated back in 1941 was developed on the basis of both Marx's analysis of the economic laws of capitalism and a concrete study of Russia's first three Five-Year Plans (see Part V, "The Problem of Our Age: State Capitalism vs. Freedom").

Because it is the ideologues not only in the East but in the West (and nowhere more vulgarly than in Reagan's U.S.A.) who keep attempting to devise that monstrous amalgam of opposites—exploitative state-capitalism calling itself Communism, with Marxism, a philosophy of liberation—the task of clearing the air and our heads with Marx's Marxism retains its validity.

The structure of *Marxism and Freedom* was grounded in the movement from practice to theory as well as the movement from theory to practice. I began with the age of revolutions: 1776, the United States; 1789-93, France; 1848, Germany; and 1871, the Paris Commune; and the relationship of each of these actual revolutions to the intellectual revolutions: the rise of classical political economy;

Hegelian philosophy; and Marx's recreation of the Hegelian dialectic in the dialectic of proletarian revolution. I then continued to an analysis of the problems of our own age.

By the early 1960s, when the Sino-Soviet conflict came into the open, a group of revolutionaries in Japan who were translating *Marxism and Freedom* asked me for permission to add my 1961 essay, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung." This new Chapter 17 was included also in the second English edition. The third edition further added a Chapter 18, "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction?" Both are included in the present edition.

The relevance and urgency of Marxism for our day has reappeared also in the Iranian Revolution. I was delighted to learn that in 1980 a group of revolutionaries in Iran translated both my selection of Marx's Humanist Essays and the chapter from Part Two of this work, entitled "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History: 1848-1861." The intellectuals I had been dealing with were Lassalle and Marx. The intellectuals the Iranian revolutionaries had in mind were those who became part of the government when Khomeini gained power, and those who wished to continue the revolution. The present near civil-war there proves again that rulers can kill those who are fighting for freedom, but not the idea of freedom.

The new stage of cognition that the 1956 Hungarian Revolution achieved by bringing Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays onto the historic stage has been the Reason underlying the East European revolts for more than two decades. Today we are witnessing a new massive stage of these revolts in Poland. By no means are either the revolts or the new stage of cognition limited to East Europe. Discontent with the ruling powers, West and East, circles the globe. In the massive youth antinuclear movements especially, the quest for totally new human relations is linked to the question of time itself. As against the nuclear titans' playing with the possibility of nuclear war, which would put an end to civilization as we have known it, the new forces and Reason of opposition are bringing onto the historic stage Marx's definition: "Time is the space for human development."

—Raya Dunayevskaya
Detroit, Michigan 5 October 1981

7621