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MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES

1985-86

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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By Raya Dunayevskaya

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MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES, 1985-86

REPORT TO PLENUM OF NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES
by the NATIONAL CHAIRWOMAN, RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

I. HITLER'S VISAGE IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA SHOWS
THE FUTURE THE RULERS HOLD IN STORE FOR ALL OF US

Lest anyone think that somehow I will be straying from world events and the Big Powers -- the two nuclear Behemoths, Russia and the U.S. -- in a fairy-land of their own, toying with the most phantasmagoric Star Wars project, let me tell you why today I begin so differently than in the Draft Perspectives.* That started with the latest happenings concerning the new ruler in Russia, Mikhail Gorbachev. At the present moment, however, because the Civil War in South Africa rages on, demanding action rather than just description of "how" Gorbachev and Reagan are toying with nuclear war for the future, we must begin with the new reality.

The difference in the beginnings of the two -- the Draft Thesis and the actual Plenum Thesis -- is necessitated by the barbaric ideology which is not restricted to the South African rulers. Our rulers are also trying to foist this on us. That ideology is not just rhetoric, but the depth of the barbarism that began with the rise of Hitler, and which was by no means destroyed by the Allies' victory in World War II. It was Hitler's defeat that scared the Afrikaners whose dream today is still expressed by those bigotted, savage whites in these terms: "There should have been a Hitler in every country, but unfortunately this was no longer possible in a 'sophisticated' world that has even abolished the cane in prison."**

* Published in News & Letters, August-September, 1985.

** See "The Fire This Time," by Neal Ascherson, a review of Waiting: The Whites of South Africa, by Vincent Crapanzano, New York Review of Books, July 17, 1985.

It was only in 1950 -- and not, as most people think, from the beginning of the cutting up of Africa -- that apartheid first became law. It is true that South Africa was colonized in the 19th century when the Western imperialist world decided to cut it up as a base for its capitalist development. Conditions for Black South Africa were bad enough when England walked off with that prize. They became worse still when the Boers, still calling themselves the Dutch Reformed Church, won their war with Britain. They practiced apartheid, though they had not made it the law of the land. It was only after the end of World War II, after Hitler's Germany was defeated -- and then Japanese militarism was defeated by the unleashing of the first atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki-- that South Africa embarked on an official apartheid, first in 1948 and then fully in law in 1950.

What happened after the victory of the Allies, which is directly related to the present world situation is that they were left so exhausted they could not extend World War II at that moment. What they did, instead, was to place a lot of markers pointing to where the next war could start, by creating two Germanies, two Vietnams, two Koreas, and two Europes -- the East dominated by Russia, and the West by the U.S.

Let us now turn to the true history of the civil wars that the Blacks have fought against the whites there. At the very period when the 1905 Revolution erupted in Russia, and its ramifications embraced Iran as well as China, we had, as well, the great Zulu Rebellion in South Africa. Read how it was anticipated in the mass struggles of 1903-05 and after, in Time Longer Than Rope by Edward Roux.*

Today, the undeclared Civil War in South Africa is still thought of only as protest. This makes it easy to "sympathize" with the marchers who are unarmed, facing the barbaric might

* See also The Washing of the Spears, by Donald R. Morris, to trace the Zulu Wars of 1879.

of the South African rulers -- not only armed to the teeth, but not satisfied unless they also show their savagery with horse-whips and murder. Every revolt for the past 30 years in apartheid South Africa faces genocide, and yet the revolts, far from stopping, are reborn in ever more intense forms. The world had better recognize that it's not only a matter of the 1970s, when Soweto finally made it conscious not alone of revolt but of the philosophy of revolt.

The Idea -- Black Consciousness -- was born out of Pan-Africanism, whose ground had been laid by the new, independent countries of West, East, North and Central Africa, whose revolutions were reshaping the map of the whole world. Pan-Africanism saw in this new colleagues from new movements for freedom. But Pan-Africanism insisted that the "political kingdom," as Nkrumah expressed it, was inadequate unless South Africa was freed and a new Azania was born. Just as Pan-Africanism separated itself at that moment from the African National Congress (ANC), because the latter made a Universal out of the tactic of non-violence, though the rulers there were the most violent rulers in the world, so the Black Consciousness Movement of the mid-1970s expressed the new humus, as spoken by Steve Biko before he was brutally murdered: "This (Black Consciousness) must be related to the emancipation of the entire continent of Africa since World War II."

The new epoch of struggles that emerged in the 1950s when a new stage of production -- Automation -- was born and was met by the Miners' General Strike in this country, could be seen in East Germany in the 1953 Revolt for "Bread and Freedom," and was not limited to Europe and America. It emerged in South Africa. Listen to I. B. Tabata, one of the leaders and main theoreticians of the Society of Young Africa, in his opening address to that Conference, on Dec. 21, 1951: "The ideas are the weapons with which you cut your path in the barbaric jungle of South African society today...We go into the struggle not simply to save the

youth, not only to save the non-Europeans. It is a question of the preservation of all society. Our struggle here in South Africa is part and parcel of the struggle of humanity as a whole."*

Just as the struggles in East Europe developed throughout the 1950s, so they did in South Africa, whether that was against the introduction of Bantu education in 1953, or the strikes in 1954 and 1955. They reached a climax especially in 1956, when 20,000 women converged on Pretoria. Aug. 9, 1956 has ever since been known in South Africa as "Women's Day." The two-way road between U.S. Black revolts and those in Africa reached a climax in 1957 when, inspired by the Montgomery Bus Boycott, hundreds of thousands in Africa initiated their great bus boycott, walking 20 miles to work and trudging another 20 miles back to their townships for three solid months, until they won their strike against the rise in bus fares.

But it took the bloody Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 -- when thousands of Africans shouted "Izwe Lethu" (Our Land), burned their passes, and demanded to be arrested for having violated the apartheid laws -- to make the world conscious of this ongoing struggle. That, too, didn't stop in the 1960s. Everyone knows Soweto, 1976, because it was this that was not just a stage of struggle but a quantum leap into revolutionary method, and ideas that inspired a Soweto youth to proclaim: "Go and tell the world that the process of Black Liberation, which nobody can reverse, has begun in South Africa." It was the birth of the Black Consciousness Movement.

The struggle didn't end in the 1970s, either. What the 1970s were great in was the birth of a great new Black trade union movement, which this very month is threatening a general strike in gold, coal and diamond mines if the latest, barbaric

* This "Opening Address" by Tabata is printed in Vol.II of From Protest to Challenge (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, Cal. 1972). It is included in our pamphlet Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought, p.16.

state of emergency isn't lifted by Aug. 25. It was in February 1985 when the leader of the 1960 stage of struggle, Nelson Mandela, who has been held in prison for more than 20 years now, was offered a conditional release.

Here is his answer, read by his daughter, Zinzi, to a rally of 9,000 in Soweto: "Let Botha renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid...I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated... I will return."*

It is in this context that we need not only to look again at the barbarism and massacre that is being perpetrated by the apartheid rulers, but to face that this is the "now" stage of Hitlerian barbarism, Botha-style, that will be our reality if we survive at all the nuclear war our rulers are fashioning for us. Theoretically as well as practically it is that which must fashion the framework for a second look at the global struggle, and only then plunge into our tasks, unseparated from these struggles.

II. THE TWO WORLDS IN EACH COUNTRY -- WEST, EAST, SOUTH, NORTH -- VS. RONALD REAGAN'S CREATION OF HUNGER AND STAR WARS

Ronald Reagan, in refusing to endorse the UN Resolution on sanctions against South Africa, manifests the close affinity he has to that apartheid land, as he moves against the masses, be they in the U.S., in Nicaragua, or in South Africa. This does not mean that Russia is any different. What we have

* See News & Letters, May 1985, lead article by Lou Turner, "South Africa on the threshold of civil war."

established ever since World War II, when we analyzed Russian society as a state-capitalist society, was that state-capitalism was a world stage, the latest retrogressionism of capitalism itself.

In 1943-44, after Hitler had invaded Russia, despite the Hitler-Stalin Pact which gave the green light to the outbreak of World War II, Stalin (who by then was aligned with the Allies) revised Marx's analysis of the law of value as the dominant law of capitalist development, and suddenly admitted that the law of value also operated in Russia. Stalin then proceeded also to violate the dialectic structure of Marx's greatest work, Capital, ordering that Chapter 1 of the work not be "taught". At the same time, he would not let go of his conclusion that Russia was nevertheless a "socialist society", violently contradictory as that was not alone to his new "theories" but to the reality of Russia.

The U.S. State Department tried to put as many obstacles as possible in the way of my getting the American Economic Review to publish my critical commentary on and translation of the magazine, Under the Banner of Marxism, that had by no accident failed to arrive in U.S. libraries.*

1943-44 was the year when the Red Army stood outside the gates of Warsaw as Poland rose up against the Nazi invasion for the second time. The first was the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1943. Because we were always watching and solidarizing with the second world in each country, we hailed these revolts and, at the same time, raised the slogan "All Roads Lead to Warsaw." This did not in any way affect our opposition to the imperialist

* It was, however, published in the AER in September, 1944. A debate around it continued for a solid year and my response appeared in the AER in September, 1945. In 1942/43 the New International had published my "An Analysis of the Russian Economy," the two-year study I had made when the three Five Year Plans had been terminated with the outbreak of World War II and I had concluded that Russia was a state-capitalist society.

war, in which we opposed all rulers. Instead, we developed what was emerging from the revolutionary practice of the masses. Because that was and is our Marxist-Humanist ground, as American revolutionaries the immediate enemy is Reaganism -- both in his imperialist tentacles abroad, and in his retrogressionism at home.

1) POVERTY IN THE RICHEST LAND

The Draft Perspectives went into the state of the economy and the worsening conditions for workers in this period that Reagan dares to call "prosperity." What needs to be further addressed is that the hunger that is present right in the U.S. comes out most sharply in the figures on how the hunger is affecting children. Senator Moynihan, in his Godkin Lectures at Harvard, stressed that children make up an ever-increasing proportion of the Americans classified as living in poverty -- already some 39% in 1983, and rising. That 1983 figure represented no less than 22.2% of all American children and 46.7% of all Black children. The New York City Coalition Against Hunger has correctly designated this period as one of "gnawing hunger crisis."

The economists may be satisfied with their new rhetoric about this being a "growth recession," but the economy as a whole is going down. Unemployment averages over 7%, even if you wish to forget about the highly industrialized devastated cities like Detroit, where it is much higher than the listed average. This used to be considered a recession but is now merely called "stubborn" unemployment.

"Factories and farms have tumbled into recession...The unemployed figures have stuck at 7.3% for a full year, a level that once occurred only in recession." This comes from nothing less than the "Business Report" in the New York Times of June 28, 1985, which traces business cycle behavior: "Since the

Korean War, each boom is followed by a sluggish period of two to five quarters."

Instead of going on with this play of words, either about "growth recession" or what they dismiss as "stubborn" unemployment, I think it's important to turn to a concrete case. Let's take conditions that the steel workers are facing now in Mingo Junction, Ohio. They had a completely new mill completed just three years ago, so it's not a question of Japan having more modern facilities than the U.S. The Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Co. has played up that plant as an example of how to achieve economic "stability." No steel company has had a major strike since 1959. But what has happened in steel in this period of what they dare to call "growth recession" has been a depression, a prolonged depression, that has idled no less than 700,000 steel workers in this region.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel has nine plants in Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia, where the workers walked out when the company asked for drastic cuts in wages of no less than 30%, as well as for sweeping revisions of work rules. The union felt that their workers had already accepted enough concessions. As Paul Rusen, the chief union negotiator, put it: "They want to take us back to the 1930s and the good old days of sweatshops."

The caravans from Detroit to West Virginia's striking miners, and from Chicago to the Wheeling-Pittsburgh striking steel workers, showed labor solidarity strong. You will be getting in-person reports from both of those caravans during discussion.

2) U.S. COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL AS WELL AS
ECONOMIC IMPACT ON EL SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA

The point is that any sluggishness in the American economy affects the whole world. The conditions of the American

masses are by no means localized. Look at Latin America, especially at El Salvador, where Reagan's propoganda would have us believe so much has changed since Duarte came to power and the alleged democracy of the elections reversed the trend of the civil war there, bringing about "dialogue" with the rebels. The truth is that there is absolutely no fundamental change whatever.

Land reform is dead but the death squads are not. Joblessness and underemployment remain endemic, the conditions of life keep deteriorating, even as housing needs are neglected and so are hospitals and clinics. Recently, innumerable demonstrations and strikes displayed exceptional boldness. Peasants as well as students, unionists as well as unemployed, expressed the critique of the Duarte government. Not only did 6,000 students and professors of the National University parade from the campus past the National Palace to the Treasury, but unionists, too, had their demonstration, and during the weekend of July 6, peasants converged on San Salvador.

What every ruler -- especially U.S. imperialism with its tentacles in Latin America -- refuses to face is the simple truth and plain fact that the counter-revolutionary outreach into foreign lands is precisely what produces revolutionaries. It is that struggle against imperialism that forges revolutionary leadership.

In the case of Nicaragua, the U.S. never stopped invading until the one the Nicaraguan masses have rightly called "the last Marine" -- Somoza -- succeeded in murdering the rebel leader, Sandino. Somoza was then the Commandant of the Guardia Nacional, the paramilitary police force which the U.S. Marines created to help murder Sandino, who had been fighting them for six long years. Sandino was at that point invited to an alleged "peace conference," which was actually the plot that trapped him. That year, 1933, was when U.S. imperialism

finally felt confident that Somoza would take care of their interests. Somoza did precisely that as he built his murderous, exploitative, counter-revolutionary, corrupt, greedy Somoza dynasty. The U.S. continued its strong support for this dictatorship for 46 long years, until it was finally overthrown by the present-day Sandinistas in 1979.

The year 1985 will go down in history as the year of infamy. It is the year when Ronald Reagan succeeded in brainwashing Congress -- which had the year before stopped funding the contras, who had openly declared they were out to overthrow the duly-elected Nicaraguan government -- to OK \$27 million for so-called "humanitarian" aid.

August 6 -- Hiroshima Day, the day when Reagan failed to participate in the world-wide commemoration in Japan, the only land that knew what it was to have the U.S. atomic bomb dropped on it -- was the very day that Reagan signed this \$27 million aid bill. Nothing stopped this retrogressionist from repeating the lie about "humanitarianism," though, the day before, the political head of that so-called Democratic Force, Adolfo Calero, had revealed that nothing less close to the White House than the National Security Council had continued to direct him -- on tactics, on weapons, on getting money, even in the period of the Congressionally-ordered cut-off of aid. When asked by reporters whether that had not been a violation of the law, that artificer, Ronald Reagan, with a wide grin, said no laws were violated.

3) NICARAGUAN REVOLUTIONARY VOICES FROM BELOW

Instead of listing all of Ronald Reagan's lies, let us turn to the indigenous revolutionary voices from below in Nicaragua. Omar Cabezas, in his memoirs, Fire From the Mountain: The Making of a Sandinista, tells the story of an 82-year-old peasant he met in the mountains of Nicaragua, who showed what

had been kept hidden for some 35 years -- some bullets from Sandino he had kept in gleaming condition because, as the peasant put it, "I knew the Sandinistas would come again."

This is but one story. Many more can and are being told, whether it is from Sandinistas or from an American professor of Latin American and U.S. diplomatic history at the University of Georgia, Lester Langley, who relates all the facts from the first landing of the Marines in Nicaragua to our age in Central America: The Real Stakes. The truth is that the Reagan Administration story is a reactionary ideologue's fabric of lies to "justify" the overthrow of the legitimate government of Nicaragua.

That does not mean that there is nothing to criticize in the present-day Sandinistas, or that they are not forced by the imperialist policies of the U.S. to seek the support of Russia or any other country that will help their struggle for independence. But the unvarnished fact is that there was an indigenous, genuine, revolutionary, mass movement which succeeded in overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship; which has introduced the beginnings of truly independent life, both in its land reform, better conditions for the workers, and successful fight against illiteracy; and which is continuing the opposition to any U.S. domination over their land.

4) BACK TO STAL WARS STRATEGIES BETWEEN THE TWO
NUCLEAR TITANS

Finally, let's return to what the two nuclear super-powers are doing with their accumulation of 50,000 nuclear warheads, more than enough to destroy, over and over again, civilization as we have known it. In trying to see whether Reagan and Gorbachev can, at their November meeting, stop themselves from plunging all of us to perdition, let's take a second look at the new man at the helm in Russia. Gorbachev stole the march on our retrogressionist ideologue by de-

claring that he would start, on Hiroshima Day, a unilateral cessation of nuclear tests, which would continue for five months, and continue after that if the U.S. joined the moratorium.

Ronald Reagan could come up with nothing comparable, and once again, the media itself has become so brainwashed that the Gorbachev announcement -- which a retired Rear Admiral (who is now deputy director of the private organization, Center for Defense Information), Eugene J. Carroll, has called "the only significant arms control development since SALT II" -- has become a "non-event": "In an alarming display of unanimity, the major American print and electronic news organizations have uncritically promoted the White House view that the Soviet initiative is nothing more than a propeganda ploy."*

In his analysis, Rear Admiral Carroll exposes also the falsity of Ronald Reagan's claim that Moscow broke the last test moratorium in 1961. There was no moratorium to break after President Eisenhower ended the 1958 moratorium. False also is the claim that Russia gained an advantage in the period 1961-63: the U.S. out-tested Russia nearly two-to-one (137 to 71, to be exact). As for 1985: "According to Energy Department announcements, America has conducted nine tests, the Soviet Union only four, in all of 1985...America, with about 765 tests, retains a solid lead over the Soviet Union with 564."

And just in case any human being remains alive, the latest savage experimentation now going on is "research" on chemical weapons, internationally forbidden ever since World War I.

* * *

It is against that type of "civilization" that the American and indeed the world masses are fighting. What is not a revolution and is practically forgotten -- Appalachia -- is exactly where our tasks will begin, even as they began in 1950 in West Virginia.

* See "A Useful Nuclear Step by Moscow," by Eugene J. Carroll, New York Times, Aug. 7, 1985.

III. MARXIST-HUMANIST TASKS AS WE KEEP AN EYE ON
THE WORLD OBJECTIVE SITUATION

Read the subtitle of this Part III. Instead of the usual mere concrete conclusions, it discloses the inseparability of subjective, organizational responsibilities with the urgency of the objective, nuclear world situation.

What hasn't heretofore been fully projected, driven home, is how we differ from all other Left tendencies who call themselves Marxists. Take the following two questions you should ask yourself: 1) Have you ever worked out why there are no less than two versions of Perspectives, although only one or two months separate Draft from final report?

And 2), have you worked out, when you project the Perspectives Thesis, why the missing link of Marxist-Humanist philosophy, which has been worked out for 30 years and which is always present in both versions, year in and year out, remains missing in our projection to others, while the Thesis gets reduced to a quantitative mention of the politics of various global hot spots?

To fully grasp what we must work out -- that is, the why of our near-neglect of Marxist-Humanist philosophy -- we must take a new, much deeper dive into the Marx Centenary tour when we had completed what we called the trilogy of revolution, with the very distinctive Chapter 12 of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, in which we finally summarized not only Marx as a totality, but Marxist-Humanism as the "new beginnings" of both Hegel's Absolutes and Marx's Archives for our age. That is where the humus for this year's Perspectives had actually been posited.

Dialectic methodology, even where almost fully understood,

has hardly been practiced by all of us in News & Letters -- in the report articles as well as the essays -- in pamphlets both as we have heard others speak for themselves and as we related to those voices in the way we had projected the trilogy to them. Are we fully prepared to project the new book as the inseparability of the dialectics of thought as well as of revolution? Have we faced the harsh reality that, unless that inseparability between the dialectics of thought and of revolution does exist, any country that does succeed in its revolution may retrogress, since the world revolution cannot occur at one stroke everywhere and world capitalism continues to exist?

- 1) THIS YEAR'S PROPOSAL FOR TRANSFORMING NEWS & LETTERS INTO A BIWEEKLY CALLS FOR A NEW TYPE OF COLLECTIVITIES IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TRIPS

The preparation for our most important proposal this year -- the transformation of N&L into a biweekly -- is hard and demanding and so crucial that we need a whole year to prepare the ground for that decision at our next year's convention. We are asking for the establishment of a special fund for that. This will be further expanded not only in the Finance Report, but in every report you will be hearing this weekend. Here is what I wish to limit myself to:

- 1) to develop further the motivating principle which will help us become practicing dialecticians, both in theory and in practice, in the projection of Marxist-Humanism; and
- 2) to develop the expansion of our activity with others, both nationally and internationally, by projecting many trips both here and abroad.

I'll begin with the second, not merely because it seems casier (since it is a list for others to do), but rather because the proposal for each of those trips is not just for the projection of Marxist-Humanism to others but for our own

self-development and, with it, the creation of ground for proletarianization.

We will have a very new kind of collectivity next Spring -- when Gary, as our young worker-student, Felix Martin as our labor editor with strong roots in Kentucky, and Olga as National Co-Organizer and contributor to our new book on Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, will try to establish our further dialogue and activity in Appalachia, where it is significant that the Archives were mentioned in the review of our pamphlet, The 1949-50 Coal Miners' General Strike and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., that appeared in a journal at the University of Kentucky.

Thus, the appearance of a new Spanish edition of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution makes important not only a trip to Mexico as the country which has published in Spanish the entire trilogy, but also because we want to work out the ramifications of that in our Latino work right here. That assumes a special importance because we have direct contact with Latino proletarians in New York. This creates a further opportunity for another new kind of collectivity: Marcotte, who is our co-columnist for "Workshop Talks," will go with Anne, in mid-September, to make this trip. The point is to see it not only as the projection of Marxist-Humanism in general, but very specifically as the possibility of dialogue with workers there.

We are also projecting a trip to Spain itself. Mary and Jim will have a most challenging and difficult job there, especially since we wish to experiment on whether such Political-Philosophic Notes as my analysis of the great Spanish demonstrations against Reagan's visit to Bitburg can establish totally new political-philosophic contacts there.

Finally, there are two different ways we are thinking about India. 1) I was invited by Yugoslav dissidents to par-

ticipate as a Marxist-Humanist in a Sociology Conference to be held in India next year. But I cannot accept and have turned the invitation over to Kevin. 2) We have two serious sympathizers primarily through Neda's correspondence. She now plans to continue that dialogue in person through a trip to India next year.

Now then, the all-important first point, regarding our becoming practicing dialecticians, has to be related both to the new kind of classes we are projecting as a combination of workshops and theory and for organizational growth. For these classes, there can be no separation between Marx's Marxism and Marxist-Humanism. The ground for that is deeper digging into the whole period since the Marx Centenary, focusing on this year, 1985-86.

2) BECOMING "PRACTICING DIALECTICIANS" WITH A NEW TYPE OF CLASSES AS WORKSHOPS BOTH IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE

The newness of the classes as workshops is not -- I repeat, not -- to merely imitate an N&L editing session, and yet both practically and theoretically, it has an affinity to that editing session in the sense that it must relate to a current event, preferably one that happened that very week and yet, at the same time, also be steeped in history and philosophy.

One feature of editing that will enter in a new and most important methodological way is the question of brevity. Brevity is not a matter just of available space. Just as when Marx used the question of time as space for human self-development and meant ages, so brevity, which seems to be the absolute opposite of time or ages, can be, instead, the other side of that same wonderful vision of time as space for human self-development. That is to say, brevity is clarity of comprehension of what one has to say, why what the Marxist-Humanist author wishes to convey to the audience is, in fact, their own

overwhelming concern -- their transformation into active participants in uprooting the old, the present society, and creatively helping to shape a new future of human self-development. It is that which will rivet their attention to "abstract philosophy" in news events inseparable from that philosophy.

This week, for example, it wouldn't be Bitburg, although that is the example I gave at the REB, and I still suggest that it become a class at the time the Spanish trip ends. This week it would have been what I did at the beginning of this talk, very much abbreviated -- at one and the same time, relating it both as news happening and as what augurs for the future of all of us when history tells us that apartheid became law after the Allies-type of victory over fascism. Today's bigotted Afrikaner is quoted as saying that there should have been a Hitler in every town.

In a word, there are reportorial events which should be written up as you go to class, while the Perspectives, which will become the context in which that reportorial event occurs, should be a matter of discussion at the class itself, when you present what you consider is the relevant, historic, perspective, even as the anti-Reagan Spanish Demonstration was related to the Spanish Revolution.

The classes, by combining theory and practice in every single instance, will keep us from imposing a generalization such as "too many long articles," just when that generalization might give the appearance of being against the originality as well as specificity and timing of revolutionary force as Reason, and not only regarding Women's Liberation but Youth -- as was the case with Ida Fuller's excellent original review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, which instead of focusing on Women's Liberation, focused on Youth. As it happens, this review is more relevant today than when it appeared, because we now have both the look in hand and the possibility of

a News and Letters Committee on a Chicago campus, and therefore that review, long or otherwise, demands intensive follow-through now.

Enuf! You'll not get the actual outline of the classes and the syllabus before January 1986. From September to January, we must prepare the ground for the classes through our sales of the new, fourth book, as founders of Marxist-Humanism, no matter what our audience's field of interest may be.

3) THE PROCESS OF BECOMING "PRACTICING DIALECTICIANS"
IN THE 30-YEAR-LONG MARCH TO THE MARX CENTENARY TOUR
WITH ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION, AND MARX'S
PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION IN HAND

Finally, the all-important point of becoming practicing dialecticians, and not only in classes but in all we do, think, and project to others. Heretofore, in order to emphasize that the concern of this year began before this year's 1985-86 Perspectives were written, I stressed that I actually began the concern at a special Expanded REB meeting on Dec. 30, 1984. It was there that I detailed how the unchaining of the dialectic began, as with all other revolutionary principles, with Karl Marx, 1843-1883; resumed with Lenin in the period 1914-1923; and has for the past 30 years been spelled out by Marxist-Humanism for our age. In the Introduction/Overview to the new book this is spelled out as dialectics of revolution, inseparable from dialectics of thought.

Now I wish to roll the period back to the Marx Centenary year, 1983, and the tour, as that also was the last year we had Denky with us. It is in that year that we had in hand Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, in which the final twelfth chapter not only summed up Marx as a totality, but spelled it out for our age in its final section, "A 1980s View," as a Marxist-Humanist view.

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It was also the year when I added paragraphs after the publication that so impressed Denby that he asked to have the added paragraph which summed up the Black Dimension included directly in the new Introduction to American Civilization on Trial. He was especially happy to hear about the Convention where the Constitution itself was amended to include a new section on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

In general, I would say that seeing Marx's works as a totality, especially the "new moments" in the works of his last decade, set a new task for future generations to work these out for their age. For Marxist-Humanism, that also illuminated the Marxist-Humanist Archives, because it set, in a totally new context, what is meant by catching the link of continuity with Marx's Marxism, as well as revealing that the discontinuity of an age, a century later, is no barrier to catching the continuity. Marxist-Humanism's Archives demonstrate that. It is this that was publicly articulated on March 21. It continues to motivate all our writings and activities.

Let's now turn to the process of development of Marxist-Humanism in its three major philosophic works. The movement from practice that is itself a form of theory so predominated News & Letters' first period of development, culminating in Marxism and Freedom, that that work extended the expression "movement from practice" (if going back into history can be called an extension) and disclosed that it characterized human development before Marx.

It is true that Marx alone rooted his entire discovery of a new continent of thought and of revolution in that movement from below. It is also true that the maturity of our age led us to make a category of that movement from practice. Nevertheless, strange as it may seem to talk of "unconsciousness"

when speaking of Hegel, it is a fact that the movement from practice -- in his period, the French Revolution -- inspired Hegel to break with all previous philosophies. It demonstrates that the revolutionary nature of the dialectic methodology was by no means limited to where Kant "stopped dead" in his modalities. On the contrary, dialectic methodology was the way philosophy would reflect and "transcend" reality.

It was true of the Abolitionist activities, which included John Brown and Bloody Kansas, culminating in John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry. This, Marx concluded, signalled the start of the Civil War in the U.S. It was Marx who had held, in his Preface to Capital: "Just as in the 18th century, the American War of Independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle class, so in the 19th century the Civil War did the same for the European working class." (He was referring, of course, to the French Revolution in the first case and the First Int'l. Workingmen's Association in the second.)

We discovered the movement from practice in 1953 when we first broke through the mystical shroud Hegel had thrown over Absolute Idea in his mystically-expressed "unity of theory and practice." Out of that movement, which demonstrated itself as a form of theory, the historic-dialectic structure of Marxism and Freedom was created.

It also dictated the context in which we presented Lenin's break from his previous concept of the dialectic. His 1914 concept of the revolutionary nature of the dialectic separated the methodology of his attack on the Betrayal of the Second International from that of all other revolutionaries, and governed his call for turning "the imperialist war into civil war." His practice of the dialectic of thought as well as of revolution underlined his call for a Third International.

There was an attempt by many of the non-Stalinist Left to make our new category of the "movement from practice"

merely an "update" they did not need. It took very nearly a whole decade in which we let all the new voices from below be heard -- from Workers Battle Automation and Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves to The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution, the Weekly Political Letters from West Africa as well as Notes on Women's Liberation; it took witnessing the aborted revolutions of 1968, which had operated with Cohn-Bendit's concept of the sufficiency of catching theory "en route," to finally force the wholly new and original development of "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning." This was finally recognized as very far from a mere "update."

I had, way back in 1960, written to Herbert Marcuse on the Absolute Idea and liberation movements in the emergence of a Third World. I called these "random thoughts" a corollary to Marxism and Freedom. What I kept developing in these "random thoughts," not by any means all addressed to Herbert Marcuse, was the relationship of objective to subjective, notion to reality. I insisted that even that had not exhausted the tasks of revolutionaries, who must interpret Marxism for their own age -- that it is they who must chisel out from totality itself a new beginning.

It was 1973 before this was fully worked out as Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao. That work began with "Why Hegel? Why Now?", presenting Absolute Negativity as New Beginning and thus, in the very first chapter, hewing out also a "new Hegel" -- that is, this age's reinterpretation of Hegel that no others had done, and at the same time, detailing seriously Marx's roots, as well as Lenin's "Shock of Recognition."

Part II then faced "Alternatives" -- other revolutionaries such as Trotsky, and Mao as well as "Sartre, the Outsider Looking In." Only after the new on the Hegelian Dialectics of our age and only after Marx and Lenin, did I turn to the rise of a

"new Humanism" in East Europe and in Africa, especially in the writings of Frantz Fanon, in Part III, against the background of the objective world of state-capitalism in their lands. Only then did we turn, in the final Chapter 9, to the "New Passions and New Forces" of the 1960s. Whether as in the first chapter of Philosophy and Revolution, or in the academic form in which I presented it to the Hegel Society of America, the point was that "Absolute Idea as New Beginning" could not be left in a "general" state, but had to be made concrete for one's own age.

The events of the 1970s were by no means limited to Nixon's Pax Americana and the then still-continuing Vietnam War, which shook the world. At one and the same time, Mao initiated two absolute opposite events in his last period -- the chaotic activities of his Red Guards on the one hand, and rolling out the red carpet for Nixon-Kissinger, on the other. Nixon's political horrors no sooner ended than the world was confronted by so deep and so new a stage of global economic crisis that it brought about structural changes in the so-called private capitalist orbit. Instead of that succeeding in finally shaking up post-Marx Marxists, they continued their non-comprehension of Marx's greatest work, Capital. It is this that led to a new pamphlet by us on "Today's Global Crisis, Marx's Capital, and the Marxist Epigones Who Try to Truncate It."

Far, however, from only counter-revolution continuing its dominance, great new revolutionary awakenings were emerging, including the revolutionary force of Women's Liberation becoming a Movement, as well as new revolutionary upsurges in what was fascist Portugal, initiated from Africa, and in the Shah's Iran. They coincided with the transcription at long last of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks. These opened for us the "new moments" Marx experienced in his last decade, which disclosed a new trail from his 1880s to our 1980s. Marx's Archives, the view of his work as a totality, revealed a new concept Marx

had of objectivity, which included the development of the masses in motion. It created a new way to look at our Marxist-Humanist Archives.

4) IN SUM --

In sum, the 1970s called for a balance sheet of all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels and continuing to our age. Though Engels' first book after the death of Marx -- his Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State -- disclosed how far apart were Marx's and Engels' views on the "Woman Question," this was by no means the only dialectical difference between them. The most critical and all-sided divergence was Marx's multilinear view of human development vs. Engels' unilinear view.

It is true that Lenin opened a Great Divide in post-Marx Marxism. His actual practice of the dialectics of revolution succeeded in achieving the only successful proletarian revolution in history. Anyone who attempts to skip over that Great Divide does it at his peril. It remains the ground, but ground is not the whole. It is neither a sum total or totality as new beginning for our age.

Luxemburg was right in pointing to the question of the needed new relationship of spontaneity to the Party, and insisting on the uniqueness of revolutionary democracy continuing the "day after" and not only the "day before" and "day of" revolution. It is this question that became a focal point of Marxist-Humanism's new work, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. At the same time, it became clear that the question of the dialectics of the Party was not approached in full either by Lenin or by Luxemburg. Marxist-Humanists were right when, from the beginning, they broke with Lenin's concept of "vanguard party." Luxemburg, too, however, offered no truly fundamental answer with her concept of spontaneity, once she nevertheless remained in the

Party. Furthermore, she continued to be totally wrong on the National Question in her concrete opposition to Self-Determination of oppressed nations, placing them as "nationalistic" and bourgeois. In a word, the answer could not be found by remaining on the level only of form of organization.

Instead, the imperative need, at the very end of both a learning experience and engaging in a new battle of ideas with such great revolutionaries as Lenin and Luxemburg, was to grapple, all over again, with that missing link of philosophy, the dialectic -- the dialectic of revolution, the dialectic of thought, and The Dialectic of the Party (the subject of our new new-Look-to-be).

That missing link had plagued post-Marx Marxism ever since the death of Marx in 1883 until Lenin's rediscovery, at the outbreak of World War I, of Marx's roots in the Hegelian dialectic, which produced the Great Divide in post-Marx Marxism. Lenin, however, did not show the process of arriving at those great revolutionary conclusions, did not make public his Philosophic Notebooks. After Marxism and Freedom, which first disclosed the Great Divide, and after Philosophy and Revolution, which spelled out Absolute Idea as New Beginning, came the latest grappling with the dialectic in Chapter 11 of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization," which ended with a sum-up of Marx's theory of permanent revolution, 1843-1883, in the context of this age, on the relationship of organization to philosophy. It disclosed that there was still need of the dialectic as Second Negativity, as the total uprooting. It is that which determined the creation of the final Chapter 12 on the Trail to the 1980s, which climaxed in a final section, "A 1980s View."

It is necessary to re-emphasize this. It was only as we were coming to the conclusion of this work and called

Marx's "new moments" the trail to the 1980s that we finally summarized Marx's Marxism and not only Hegel's Absolute Idea both as totality and as a new beginning for our age, as organization and philosophy, as dialectics of revolution and of thought, the whole of the dialectic. It spelled out, at one and the same time, that the catching of the continuity with Marx's Marxism and seeing that the hundred-years' discontinuity between the ages was Marxist-Humanist continuity or the working out of Marx's Humanism for our age.

It is that look at the totality of Marx's Marxism as new beginning, that new look at Marx's Archives, that also led us to see the Marxist-Humanist Archives in a new way. It is this discernment which produced the uniqueness of the final, fourth section of Chapter 12 -- "A 1980s View" -- and that prepared us for the extraordinary sales of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution as founders of Marxist-Humanism on that Marx Centenary tour. Anyone who doesn't discern the Marxist-Humanist uniqueness of that section can hardly be expected to sell the new book, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, not as salespersons, but as founders.

It is this which determined the presentation of our Archives as the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas at the March 21 meeting organized by the Archives Library at Wayne State University, as well as the actions that we then continued until the present Perspectives, which found their concrete highpoint in the proposal for the transformation of News & Letters into a biweekly, to be decided upon at the next Convention.

In accepting responsibility this year to prepare for that new stage of Marxist-Humanism, we started, as you saw, 1) by creating new collectivities of youth-worker-woman for those national and international trips, which extend our national and international relations; 2) by creating new kinds of

classes as workshops in theory as well as practice; 3) by laying the ground for extending Black relations with a new edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought with a new Introduction. (It delighted me especially to note the excellent discussion article by Lou on Hegel's Absolutes, the type of article on the dialectic that has been missing from so-called Black Marxism both in the Padmore-Nkrumah-DuBois Communist tailending and in C.L.R. James' late conversion to his weird union of the opposites of Black and the West's civilization he has called "Caribbean uniqueness sui generis.") Finally, 4) Peter will next spring move to Chicago to strengthen the Center for that momentous decision to transform News & Letters into a biweekly.

Thus we express the urgent need to uproot the counter-revolution, whether in the form of Botha or Reagan, so thoroughly, theoretically and practically, that it will create the humus for actual revolution, toward which the American Revolution is most crucial.

Presentation to Executive Session for
News and Letters Committees, Sept. 1, 1985
By National Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya

THE SELF-THINKING IDEA IN A NEW CONCEPT OF AND
RELATIONSHIP TO THE DIALECTICS OF LEADERSHIP,
AS WELL AS THE SELF-BRINGING FORTH OF LIBERTY

"...philosophy appears as a subjective cognition, of which liberty is the aim, and which is itself the way to produce it."

"...it is the nature of the fact, the notion, which causes the movement and development, yet this same movement is equally the action of cognition."

--Hegel, Philosophy of Mind, paras. 576, 577

"...after labor, from a mere means of life, has itself become the prime necessity of life; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual ... only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banner: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

--Marx, Critique of the Gotha Program

- I. "The Power of Abstraction"
- II. The New in This Year's Concept of the Dialectics of Leadership
- III. THE PROCESS -- Becoming Practicing Dialecticians as One Projects Marxist-Humanism: New Type of Collectivities, New Concept of Leadership; the Absolute Method

"The concrete totality ... is the beginning ... for the transcendence of the opposition between Notion and Reality, and the unity which is truth, rests upon this subjectivity alone."

-- Hegel, Science of Logic, Vol. 2, p. 477

THE SELF-THINKING IDEA IN A NEW CONCEPT OF AND NEW
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I. "THE POWER OF ABSTRACTION"

It is not only the title that is abstract and strange but the whole context of what I will present here -- long, long before I come to the concrete question of the dialectics of leadership -- is going to be abstract. In fact, I'm going to make "pure" abstraction of the Self-Thinking Idea, a veritable Universal, because I wanted, first of all, to firmly establish that the Self-Thinking Idea does not -- I repeat, does not -- mean you thinking.

Forget what I never stop repeating in the critique of Hegel, that it's not Ideas floating in the upper regions of the philosopher's heavens that "think"; it is people who think. That is totally wrong if you are serious about tracing the Logic of an Idea to its logical conclusion. Therefore, instead of any person (including what was primary to Hegel -- philosophers) thinking, I want you to face the Idea itself thinking, i.e. developing it to its ultimate.

At this point, remember how rarely you think something through to the end. Indeed, if you do follow an abstract thought to the end, and if your Idea is the wrong one, you will wind up sounding like an idiot. That is, thinking "in and for itself" will end up by proving that the Idea is no Universal. But if your Idea was correct, the concretization will prove you a genius. Ideas "think," not sequentially, but consequentially, related to other Ideas that emerge out of historic ground, and do not care where all this might lead to, including transformation into opposite.

And yet, it is precisely because it is abstract, it's precisely because it goes to the ultimate without caring

where this leads, that we can see what Logic does to a concrete Idea. It is this type of Absolute Method that Hegel had in mind as he was reaching the conclusion of the Absolute Idea, and said all truth is Subjectivity and Subjectivity alone. It is philosophy and not philosopher; and if that philosophy is revolutionary and if that Idea is the Idea of Freedom, then a new Humanism will first arise. Then the end will result in the Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty.

But it took a Marx to see that, and only then could we talk about the whole person who is not just personality but Subjectivity -- body, emotion, thought as a totality that is bound for a new journey: the absolute movement of becoming. It is this "power of abstraction" (that is Marx's phrase, not mine.) that Marx introduced early in the very Preface of Capital on the most concrete thing of all, a Commodity. After introducing the "power of abstraction" in the very Preface of Capital, before ever the reader had plunged into that most difficult Chapter I, he kept developing it further all the way to his very last decade.

II. THE NEW IN THIS YEAR'S CONCEPT OF THE DIALECTICS OF LEADERSHIP

Our problem today is what is new in our concept of Leadership? And what does it mean that this subjectivity alone contains the truth and with it subjectivity has absorbed objectivity? It is this new sense of objectivity -- "Human activity itself as objective (gegenstandliche) activity", as Marx put it -- that our age is the first to understand fully; that is, the first to understand Marx's meaning in distinction from Hegel's. Just try to concretize this in historic terms and you will see what a hard and very nearly impossible task that is.

For example, when I first tackled the question of Hegel's meaning of subjectivity in that sentence, I hardly went further than class, class distinction. I refer to the section on "Two Kinds of Subjectivity" in the new chapter on Mao I added to Marxism and Freedom. Since that wasn't exactly what I meant, since what I was trying to bring in which was new was the distinction between two kinds of Marxism -- Lenin's and Mao's -- I didn't really "prove" that you could consider yourself a Marxist and yet be so near the cliff that, by just the slightest deviation, you would fall right into the abyss of a new void.

I tried again in 1969 in the letter to Richard, who did not see the very deep gulf that existed between Herbert Marcuse and me. That was good, but not yet good enough, as I was only on the threshold of Absolute Idea as new beginning...

The double edge of the dialectic is that the very new birth which contains a new stage of production means the perishing of all previous stages, so that the new dialectic can start from new beginnings, new passions, new forces, new Reason. Do not follow any post-Marx Marxists. It is true that Lenin did return to Hegel on the dialectics of revolution.

None can compare to him. But he both stopped short on the question of the Party, and did not let us in on the process of his thinking...

III. THE PROCESS -- Becoming Practicing Dialecticians as One Projects Marxist-Humanism : New Type of Collectivities, New Concept of Leadership; the Absolute Method

"Absolute Method...(means) objectively universal ... every beginning must be made from the Absolute'... the progress is therefore not a kind of overflow..."

--Hegel, Science of Logic, Vol.2, p. 471

"The concrete totality ... is the beginning ... for the transcendence of the opposition between Notion and Reality, and the unity which is truth, rests upon this subjectivity alone."

--Hegel, Science of Logic, Vol.2, p. 477

The concrete problem today is Organization and Leadership; what you have to work out is how, at one and the same time, you cannot deviate from the principle and yet be open to all new, objective and subjective developments. Let's use these abstractions as the context in which we reconsider what we mentioned as our main proposal on the Bi-Weekly and how we mean to prepare for it by a trip to Appalachia as well as Mexico, and to the new strike in steel as well as to Spain and even India. And with each trip we developed a new collectivity.

Whatever the particular collectivity, all are tied both with reaching outward and with the new concept of the dialectics of leadership, dialectic methodology. Take the concrete proposal to transform N&L into a bi-weekly next year. Whether we embark on these national/international trips or whether we take on the immediate task of selling Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution not as salespeople but as founders of Marxist-Humanism, the need is for one more look at the Absolute Method as we examine the concrete tasks listed in our Perspectives.

Consider Marx's "new moments" in his last decade along with the new moments grasped at turning points of his life, and here is what you will find when you think of Marx's Archives: 1) When Marx decides that the accumulation of capital is not the universal, he doesn't mean that it is not the universal in capitalism. He does mean it is no universal for the world, and that the underdeveloped, non-capitalist countries can experience other forms of development. But even then he qualifies it by saying that they must do it together with what the advanced capitalist countries do.

2) Marx's second conclusion in his final decade was that the revolution could actually take place first in backward Russia rather than in advanced Germany.

3) The gens form of development, he further concluded, is higher as form of human life than class society, although the former, too, showed that, in embryo, class relations started right there. And, most important of all, is that the multilinear human development demonstrates no straight line -- i.e., no fixed stages of development. The Iroquois women, the Irish women before British imperialism, the aborigines in Australia, the Arabs in Africa, have displayed greater intelligence, more equality between men and women, than the intellectuals from England, or the USA or Australia, or France or Germany.

Interrupt yourself here for a conference with Marx on the Critique of the Gotha Program, which includes the sentence that was so alive and worrisome to Marcuse in his last decade that he asked me what I made of that sentence on labor being "the prime necessity of life." Here is Marx's whole paragraph:

"In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of individuals under division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor, from a mere means of life, has itself become the prime necessity of life; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of

co-operative wealth flow more abundantly -- only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Now let's look at the same type of new moments at other turning points of Marx's life, which opened new doors for him and which he, in turn, opened for a new generation. Take the artisans that Marx, in the Grundrisse, considered as having experienced a greater self-development and initiative, by working manually as well as mentally, than even those considered geniuses, like the artists.

Or turn back to when Marx first discovered that new continent of thought and of revolution and broke with capitalism in 1843 and called for "revolution-in-permanence," not only in order to uproot the old society, but to undergo a "revolution in permanence" in every facet, including self-development.

When it comes to taking responsibility for the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism in this age, when we are aiming for nothing short of actually helping to transform the objective international situation, here are the problems we face:

Why was it that the 1905 Revolution, which certainly had international impact, made Lenin most conscious of Asia, but "Africa," at best, was thought of as "India"? All was the "Orient." If anyone thought of Egypt at all it was only because the Greeks were there and it was half "Mediterranean."

Why was it that Rosa Luxemburg, so far in advance of all other Marxists, so movingly described the Kalahari Desert, Morocco, Namibia, Martinique -- but couldn't see them as Reason?

Could it possibly be that all her love for, and dependence upon, the spontaneous unorganized masses who could "push" the leadership to act in a revolutionary way meant that

even in that new love the vanguard concept was predominant for leadership?

Philosophy is both more, ^{than} and at the same time totally different from, "decision-making", in the crucial sense that decision-making, too, is a first negativity unless self-development of the individual means all individuals.

In the concrete, that would mean that when we, in our classes, bring in a philosophic question to be discussed, we do not reduce that to decision-making, even though decision-making is an indispensable preliminary to the self-development that is individual responsibility for philosophy, preliminary to eruption of actual revolution.

Or take the question of the preparation for transforming N&L into a bi-weekly, and together with it the "nitty-gritty", most concrete question for all -- the special fund. That is actually the greatest determinant as to whether we do know how to sell the book, not as salespeople but as founders of Marxist-Humanism...

The sharpest expression of theory is methodology -- and let's never forget that methodology is the result of the complex interaction of 1) social base; 2) theoretical analysis and practical activity, and 3) the struggles with rival tendencies and rival methodologies.

The point about all of these concrete tasks outlined for this year (and some for next) is that they must be tested by the Absolute Dialectical Method. The question of the new new-book-to-be on "The Dialectics of the Party" and, most important of all, the real historic-philosophic beginning of the century-long-delayed outline Marx sketched for future generations in his Critique of the Gotha Program must be tested by the Absolute Method. Then we will actually be expressing what that dialectics of "the Party" as well as the dialectics of the revolution are leading to -- a new, truly human society.

The interpenetration of philosophy, organization, self-development would result in humanity itself developing its full potential. The development of all human faculties assures the birth of a new man, a new woman, new youth, and of the classless, non-racist, non-sexist society.

-- Raya Dunayevskaya
Sept. 1, 1985

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