

Introduction

because the transformation of reality is central to the Hegelian dialectic Hegel's philosophy comes to life, over and over again, in all periods of crisis and transition when a new historic turning point has been reached, the established society is dug up by its roots, and a foundation is laid for a new social order. The fact that <sup>in 1970,</sup> there were a record number of Hegel studies, Hegel publications, Hegel translations\* and Hegel congresses that crisscrossed with celebrations of Lenin as philosopher may have appeared as pure coincidence of the year <sup>been</sup> being the 200th anniversary of Hegel's birth and 100th of Lenin's. The ~~fact that~~, however, ~~is that~~ ~~the~~ ~~all-pervasiveness~~, the totality of the world crisis--economic, political, social, educational, racial. Not a single facet of life, prisons included, <sup>is</sup> not weighted down by it--and its absolute opposite in thought. ~~There~~ ~~is~~ ~~a~~ ~~passionate~~ ~~hunger~~ for theory, for a philosophy of liberation.

There may not be many professors of philosophy who relate to the "Soledad Brother" <sup>(1)</sup> who ~~has~~ ~~been~~ shot down this year. So deeply grounded, however, is the Black Dimension in "absolute negativity", in the desire for other beginnings through the "syllogistic" <sup>resolution of alienation</sup> <sup>of liberation</sup> that George Jackson's discovery of "the dialectic" in that hellhole <sup>of</sup> <sup>prison</sup>, can by no means be brushed aside as "accidental", a Black Panther reduction of philosophy to political Maoisms, such as, "power comes out of the barrel of a gun." <sup>②</sup> No doubt, it is true that the extraordinarily wide public interest in Hegel (and in the most remote corners of the globe as well as in the metropolises of the world) has <sup>come</sup> <sup>via</sup> Marx, Lenin, Mao. <sup>③</sup> It is not, however, true that this new public--all those "new passions and new forces" for the reconstruction of society on totally new beginnings <sup>④</sup> <sup>are</sup> they Blacks or Women Liberationists, anti-war youth or rank and file labor <sup>have</sup> <sup>stopped</sup> <sup>dead</sup> with the contradictory <sup>interpretations</sup> of Hegel, <sup>without</sup> <sup>once</sup> <sup>again</sup> <sup>revisiting</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Hegelian</sup> <sup>philosophy</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>liberation</sup> <sup>⑤</sup> <sup>are</sup> <sup>hungry</sup> <sup>for</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>philosophy</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>liberation</sup> <sup>⑥</sup>

\*1971 sheds an illumination on this <sup>even</sup> we limit ourselves to <sup>adding</sup> a single work, Hegel's Philosophy of Nature. This second book of the Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences, first published in 1817, had not found an <sup>English</sup> publisher for over a century and a half. This year, however, we witnessed two translations <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>work</sup> <sup>via</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>introduction</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>explanatory</sup> <sup>notes</sup>, into three volumes. (See listing in bibliography.)

(1) Soledad Brother by George Jackson.   
 \*\*For the chapter, "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung", I am indebted to a young scholar from Peking, Chiu-Hao, whom I interviewed in Hong Kong in 1966, and who then helped with both the research and commentary.

*Summary*  
Hegel himself, after all, lived during a turning point in world history, as the walls of the Bastille ~~were~~ <sup>crashed</sup> tumbling down and the great French Revolution initiated as new an era in thought as in the freedom of people. For good and sufficient reason the Hegelian dialectic has been called "the algebra of revolution."

*The Marx, the discoverer*  
of a totally new continent in thought--historical Materialism--grounded his philosophy of liberation in the praxis of the proletariat as well as in Hegel's dialectic. ~~Kinda~~ <sup>Lenin, too,</sup> at the outbreak of World War I and the collapse of established Marxism, ~~Marxists~~ <sup>we</sup> felt a compulsion to return to the Hegelian dialectic as he ~~was~~ <sup>dug deep</sup> for a concrete universal ~~concept~~ <sup>concept</sup>.

*of his state and Revolution*

"TO A MAN,"  
The objectivity of today's hunger for theory has led ~~us~~ <sup>us</sup> to look at this rich philosophic heritage both on the level of today's needs and the "in-itself-ness" of Hegel's Absolutes. Where, however, these are usually ~~analyzed~~ <sup>analyzed</sup> as "ends" as if absolute negativity was not inherent in them, ~~this~~ <sup>this</sup> author views them as new points of departure because absolute negativity is the inseparable, all-pervasive, immanent motive force--their very reason for being. And because Marx's and Lenin's "return" to Hegel ~~and~~ illuminate the problems of our day, their philosophic development is as central as are Hegel's own works to Part One, Why Hegel? Why Now?

*CRITICAL MOMENTS*

No such philosophic re-examination ~~emerged~~ <sup>emerged</sup> either from within established Communism, or by its most famous critic, Leon Trotsky, at the time the Hitler-Stalin Pact helped set off the holocaust for which Hitler had long worked. The end of World War II and the failure of the pre-revolutionary situations ever maturing into a proletarian revolution, ~~did~~ <sup>did</sup> produce a rebirth of Hegel studies, ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> went hand in hand with a rediscovery of Marx's Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844. ~~Marx's critique of the Hegelian dialectic was,~~ <sup>also</sup> a critique of "vulgar communism" as not being the

goal of human development, the form of human society." (9). Nevertheless, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> new philosophers (Sartrean Existentialists) ~~like the Trotskyists~~ <sup>like the Trotskyists</sup> continued to tailor ~~state~~ <sup>state</sup> Communism. It is true that the new generation of committed writers were not politicians. But the greater--and fatal--truth was their isolation from the masses. It is this which made it impossible for new ground to be broken. ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> new turning point in history ~~before~~ <sup>before</sup> was the opposite of intellectual ~~revolution~~ <sup>revolution</sup> ~~in the mid-1950s~~ <sup>in the mid-1950s</sup> revolutionaries. Part Two--Alternatives--attempts to see why both Marxist--Leon Trotsky and Mao Tse-tung--and a non-Marxist philosopher ~~desirous of~~ <sup>desirous of</sup> changing rather than just interpreting the world could do nothing to fill the theoretic void in the Marxist movement ~~since~~ <sup>since</sup> the death of Lenin, much less stop the ~~march~~ <sup>march</sup> to state-capitalism.

*needed before*

*the opposite of intellectual*

(9) Marx, Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic. I happen to have been the first to translate into English the now famous Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844, and am quoting from it (Appendix, Marxism and Freedom, 1958 edition, p. 309). Since then, many translations have appeared. See bibliography for a listing.

in the mid-1960s

It was only when the emergence of a movement from practice brought the Humanism of Marxism and the Hegelian dialectics front center on the historic stage with the East European Revolutions that this new stage of cognition became actual. Neither Russian military suppression (which, in the case of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, was done under Chinese urging), nor the fact that, by 1960, the Sino-Soviet orbit had become the Sino-Soviet conflict, could, the tide of movement. The absolute opposite was the case. A new, Third World was born.

The African Revolutions, which signalled the birth of this third Afro-Asian-Latin American-Middle East world, also heralded a Black Revolution in the US itself. Thus, US intellectuals, who, through the

McCarthyite 1950's, had luxuriated in the euphoria of the illusion of "the end of ideology", were rudely awakened by the simultaneous appearances in West Africa Year *of the Black Diaspora* and the *Black Panther Party*. The *Black Panther Party* was a movement of revolutionaries, white as well as black, who refused to separate their feeling of alienation in the ivory towers of education, from their opposition both to racism and the United States imperialist war in Vietnam. In a word, the movement from practice -- whether it was in the form of outright revolutions in East Europe, in Cuba, in Africa, or missed revolutions as in Paris or Czechoslovakia, or *missed* revolts in Japan and in the United States -- refused to be stilled either in practice or in theory.

*It is these "new passions and new forces" that become central to Part Three, "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation."*

The temptation to begin at the end, with the immediate concerns of our critical period, was hard to resist for one living in a land where empiricism is part of its very organism. But to have begun with the end would, in fact, have made it impossible to comprehend the why now of the Why Hegel? The preoccupation with what Leon Trotsky called "the small coin of concrete questions" have ever been the road away from, not the mystical Absolutes of Hegel, but the revolutionary principles of Marx. It was so during the life, and collapse, of the Second International. It characterized the Third International following the death of Lenin. The theoretic void has persisted to this day when mindless activism thinks it is the answer to today's hunger for theory. The truth is that there is no substitute for what Hegel called "the labor, the patience, the seriousness and suffering of the negative"; *the labor of thought* the matter of the *negation* of the Hegelian dialectic. *the matter of the negation of the Hegelian dialectic. The course of all dialectic is the labor of the negation.* It has always been the belief of this writer that theory can develop *in our age* *fully only*

when grounded in what the masses themselves are doing and thinking. Toward this end not only has the last chapter of the work been turned over to the now voices of the Blacks, the youth, the rank and file workers, and women liberationists, but two drafts of the whole work was submitted to the necessary Black/Red and Women Liberation conferences. *Philosophy and Revolution is as much their work as mine.*

Detroit, Mich.  
November 7, 1971

Naya Dunayevskaya

(3) Capital, Vol. I, p. 654, 1971

\*\*\*I deeply regret that I cannot acknowledge by name the East European Marxist-Humanists who have collaborated in the *revision* of the Chapter II, "State-Capitalism and the East European Revolts."

\*\*\*see especially Karl Korsch's *Marxism and Philosophy*, and George Lukacs's *History and Class Consciousness*.