

## Raya Dunayevskaya, Founder of Marxist-Humanism

### Theory/Practice

by Raya Dunayevskaya

*This Theory/Practice column, entitled "On Political Divides and Philosophic New Beginnings," was completed on June 5, 1987. It is the last writing from her pen.*

The abysmal lower depths that the Reagan retrogression has sunk the world into throughout the seven years of this decade has polluted the ideological air, not only of the ruling class, but has penetrated the Left itself. Such a deep retrogression urgently demands that, along with the economic and political tasks facing us, we look for philosophic new beginnings.

In the midst of the work I am doing on my new book, *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy*, I have been digging into research on two opposed forms of organization—that is, our opposition to the vanguard party-to-lead, and our support of forms of organization born out of the spontaneous activity of the masses. Suddenly I realized that the relationship between these two opposed forms was exactly what I had posed back in 1982, on the eve of the publication of my third book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. I then (September, 1982) added a paragraph to Chapter 12 of that just-completed work. It was this articulation, which I reached only after the book was completed, that made me feel that the process of working out such questions demanded a book unto itself.

This became even clearer when I realized that though the book was already at the printer, and had dealt with forms of organization both in Marx's day and in the early 20th century—with Lenin, Luxemburg, and the council communists—I nevertheless felt compelled to write a Philosophic-Political Letter to my colleagues on this subject. I called it: "On the Battle of Ideas: Philosophic-Theoretic Points of Departure as Political Tendencies Respond to the Objective Situation" (October, 1982). Here I would like to take up two points from the Letter, which begins:

*I am taking advantage of the fact that we do not yet have the new book in hand, which will plunge us into so many activities that we will have a tendency to forget "abstract" philosophic points of departure...*

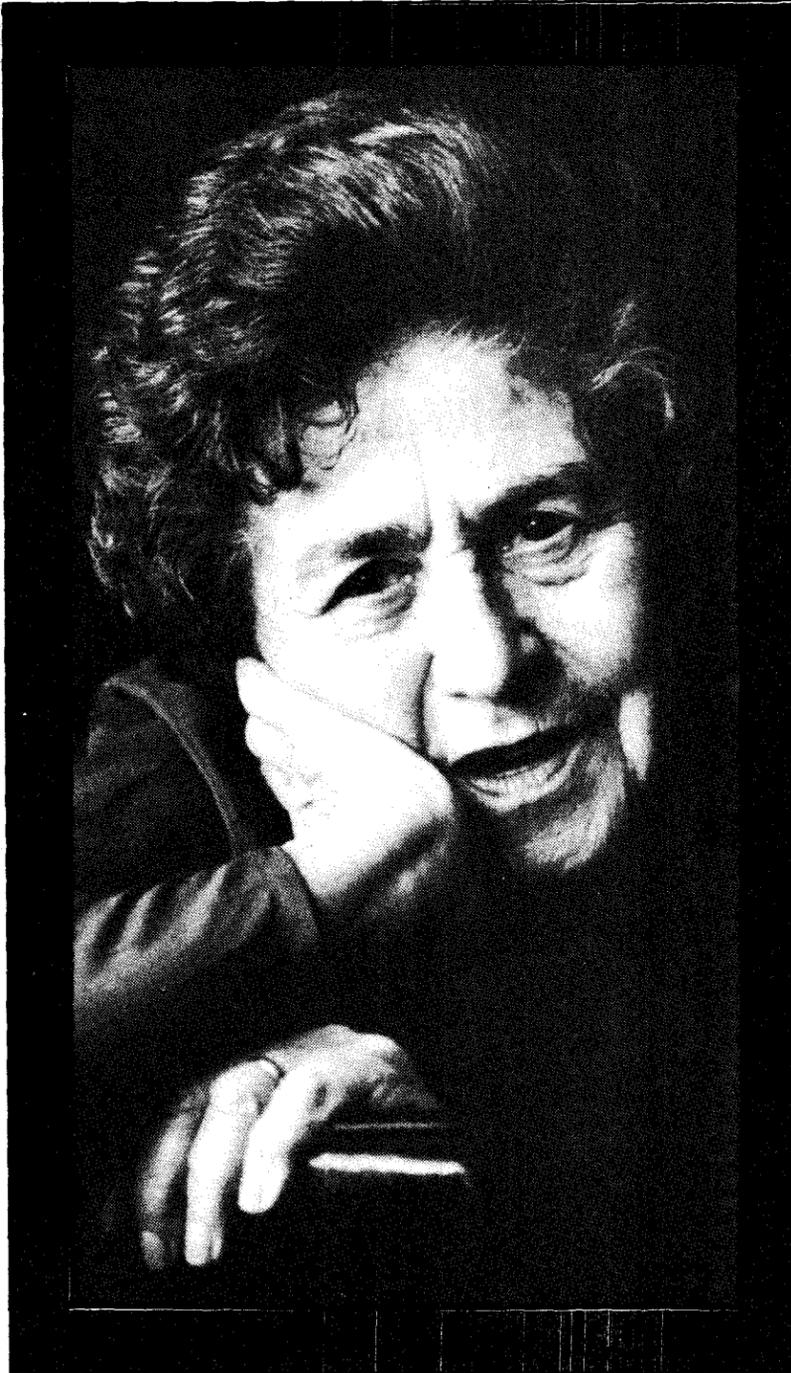
I returned to the final Chapter 12 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. Its penultimate paragraph read:

*It isn't because we are any "smarter" that we can see so much more than other post-Marx Marxists. Rather, it is because of the maturity of our age. It is true that other post-Marx Marxists have rested on a truncated Marxism; it is equally true that no other generation could have seen the problematic of our age, much less solve our problems. Only live human beings can recreate the revolutionary dialectic forever anew. And these live human beings must do so in theory as well as in practice. It is not a question only of meeting the challenge from practice, but of being able to meet the challenge from the self-development of the Idea, and of deepening theory to the point where it reaches Marx's concept of the philosophy of "revolution in permanence."*

It was at that point that I asked that the following paragraph be added:

*This is the further challenge to the form of organization which we have worked out as the committee-form rather than the "party-to-lead." But, though committee-form and "party-to-lead" are opposites, they are not absolute opposites. At the point when the theoretic-form reaches philosophy, the challenge demands that we synthesize not only the new relations of theory to practice, and all the forces of revolution, but philosophy's "suffering, patience and labor of the negative," i.e. experiencing absolute negativity. Then and only then will we succeed in a revolution that will achieve a class-less, non-racist, non-sexist, truly human, truly new society. That which Hegel judged to be the synthesis of the "Self-Thinking Idea" and the "Self-Bringing-Forth of Liberty," Marxist-Humanism holds, is what Marx had called the new society. The many paths to get there are not easy to work out.*

I also suggested an addition to the Introduction of the book, to be added directly after I pointed out that "Just  
(continued on page 12)



The more than 60 years of Raya Dunayevskaya's life in the revolutionary movement overflow with such passionate and philosophic engagement in the human struggles for freedom in our time, that they not only illuminate the present, but reach toward humanity's future. Everyone remembers when they first "met" Raya—whether in person, in lectures, on TV, on the picket line, through reading one of her books or pamphlets, or in the pages of *News & Letters*. That first experience with the founder of a whole new philosophy for our age, Marxist-Humanism, was never forgotten, because Raya's passion for human liberation, her determination to see it actually become reality, and the uniqueness of her concept of the Idea of freedom, was what each one caught. That was true whether the encounter took place in a village in The Gambia, West Africa; at a gathering of autoworkers in Detroit; at a discussion with Women's Liberationists; or at a conference of Hegel scholars.

What Raya Dunayevskaya expressed as "the new that characterizes our era, the 'energizing principle,'" can serve equally well to describe the "energizing principle" of her own life and work:

*"The transformation of reality has a dialectic all its own. It demands a unity of the struggles for freedom with a philosophy of liberation. Only then does the elemental revolt release new sensibilities, new passions, and new forces—a whole new human dimension." (Philosophy and Revolution, 1973, p. 292)*

Dunayevskaya's opposition to all forms of human oppression, whether in capitalist countries, or in those calling themselves Communist, brought forth her ceaseless participation in freedom movements and her deep digging into philosophy. It led her to single out the specific "new passions and new forces" of the post-World War II world—Blacks, rank-and-file workers, women, and anti-war youth. It impelled her deep probing of contradictions within revolutions, as she constantly posed the question: "What happens after the revolution?"

What she characterized in her last years as a "changed world," which began with Reagan's invasion of Grenada, and which deepened with his bombing of Libya and threats to Nicaragua, meant for her both an intensification of activity and a new digging to work out all dimensions of her philosophy of liberation. Just a year ago she wrote:

*"The changed world of today is expressed on the one hand in the great new uprisings in South Africa, South Korea, Haiti and the Philippines, and on the other, in its exact opposite—counter-revolution spear-headed by Ronald Reagan, including the most ominous U.S. imperialist adventures in Libya. It is this which makes it urgent not alone to fight Reaganism, but to create new visions of the future in the present." (The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II, 1986, p. 2)*

The new visions of the future that Raya left us from her work in the 1980s are rooted in her re-discovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism," and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as "Marxist-Humanism." That arduous trek involved first clearing away the debris accumulated under the name of "Marxism" since Marx.

#### THE SINGLE DIALECTIC OF THOUGHT AND ACTION IN THE CREATION OF MARXIST-HUMANISM

Out of World War II came a profound crisis in the Marxist movement, as new revolutionary forces appeared in the Third World, in Black America, among rank-and-file workers and youth just released from the armed forces, and among women brought into the factories for war production and then forced out again at the end of the war. In response to the failure of Marxist tendencies to face up to the new realities of the post-World War II world, Dunayevskaya turned to Marx's archives. She translated his 1844 Humanist Essays for herself, and then published them for the first time in English as an appendix to her 1957 work, *Marxism and Freedom*. There is no better way to get a sense of the newness of that original 1957 work, which Herbert Marcuse—whom Raya called her "friendly enemy"—termed "an oasis in the desert of Marxist thought," than to

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### Memorial Meeting Saturday, July 25 Newman Center

University of Illinois  
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Archives Exhibit  
on her life and work,  
on loan from the Wayne State  
University Archives of Labor  
and Urban Affairs in Detroit  
opens 12:00 Noon

Memorial Meeting  
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# Dunayevskaya's unique concept of Women's Liberation...

## Illuminates the present and road to the future

New York, N.Y.—I may be the luckiest person on earth. I'm young enough yet to live to see world revolution, and old enough to have lived through many years of the development of Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism. Lived through is the right phrase, for my whole adult life has been formed by the knowledge and vision of a philosophy so grounded in reality and so permeated with the future, that I believe I have been made continuously new and grand.

I met News and Letters in the mid-1960s, when I was young, in college and in the Civil Rights Movement. The Black movement's mass nature and concept of freedom had captured my heart. But I might have become any New or Old Left activist. I met News and Letters, and Marxist-Humanism made sense—a philosophy which explained the world and changed it too.

The attraction was immediate. The comprehension will take the rest of my life, as it took all of Raya's. The founder of the philosophy did not consider it finished; she expected all of us to contribute to it. "Expected" is too mild a word. It is part and parcel of her view: the necessity for the dual movements, from practice to theory and from theory to practice, to come together, means all of us becoming philosophers.

Working with her, being with her and hearing her think and recollect and project, was a joy. I had it easy. She had to break with everyone and everything that she had been taught: from Engels and Bebel on women; from Kautsky and Stalin and Trotsky on Marx; from C.L.R. James and male chauvinism; from vanguardism and anti-philosophy. I had been taught none of that. Oh, I had to break with pragmatism and elitism and an administrative mentality, like everyone else in this society. But I "grew up" free and comfortable in News and Letters Committees, with workers and Blacks and women who were thinkers and writers and leaders.

Feminists of my generation: do you remember when your "consciousness" was "raised"? Do you remember how it felt, like a curtain or series of curtains going up,

## 'Opened world of ideas'

Queens, N.Y.—It was in 1950, at a Socialist Workers Party event, that a young woman with long dark hair came up to me and introduced herself as Freddie Forest. She did not ask me what tendency I belonged to but proceeded to ask me why I didn't do some work on the women's movement of the 19th century, giving me names and dates, to begin to dig into women's history.

You see, where the socialists didn't even think of women as a force of revolution, Raya never forgot their history and knew that they would create something anew. Although it was not until the new Women's Liberation Movement of the '70s burst forth that she created the slogan "Women as Force and as Reason," she believed in the reason of ordinary people from the beginning.

Her genius lay not alone in diving into and grasping Marx's Marxism and Hegel's philosophy but in seeing reason in the masses and in individuals reaching for freedom.

Dear Raya, you opened up the world of reality and the world of ideas (never allowing the two to be separated) to a young Italian working-class woman from Astoria. You touched me like no one else has ever done. You showed me not only that I could write for a revolutionary paper but that it would be important.

For over 30 years you challenged all of us to meet the challenge from the great revolutionary upheavals, as well as from the counter-revolution. And all along the way you challenged us to meet you as philosopher.

Dear Raya, you leave us with so many questions unanswered. The inner turmoil can only be quieted by meeting this greatest of all challenges. Only history will tell if we succeed.

Dear Raya, the world will not see the likes of you again.

Dear Raya, I miss you.

—Angela Terrano,  
co-author, Working Women for Freedom

stripping off ever-more layers of the dominant ideology and revealing a whole different truth? Well, that happened to me too, but it also happened before and after the rise of the women's movement, with everything I read or heard from Raya Dunayevskaya.

When the objective situation was bad, Raya dug deep for the forces who would oppose it. When they appeared, she rejoiced and recognized and wrote, helped and prodded and critiqued, urged them to universalize their experiences, urged them to become philosophers. Sometimes she expressed what was revolutionary in them better than they did themselves. All her analyses illuminated the present and pointed the road to the future.

The frontispiece to her *Philosophy and Revolution*, that beautiful quote from Marx about people someday being "in the absolute movement of becoming," was his vision of free men and women after the revolution. Raya said it would take a whole new generation, after revolution had swept away this society's "mind-forged manacles" (a phrase she loved from William Blake), to begin to work out the second negation, the positive side of revolution.

Living with her writings, working with such an engaging person, was already a pleasure as well as a challenge, already made me feel I was part of an "absolute movement of becoming." Thank you, Raya, for me.

—Anne Jaclard, N&L columnist



Raya Dunayevskaya with Natalia Trotsky, Mexico, 1938

The death of Natalia Sedova Trotsky marks the end of the generation that achieved the greatest, and only successful, proletarian revolution in history—the Russian Revolution in 1917. It has brought into sharp focus that other unique phenomenon—the unusual role of women in the original Russian Marxist movement... I shall remember Natalia as the great revolutionary whose thoughts were as majestic as her devotion and her daring in speaking out even against those who had led the movement her husband had founded because nothing at all could stay in the way of principles.

—Raya Dunayevskaya, "In Memoriam: Natalia Sedova Trotsky," February 1962, from *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development*, microfilm # 3015. (See ad, p. 9.)

## Meridel LeSueur

Hudson, Wis.—Yes it is a shock. Such a living mind and spirit, and I valued her as a woman theorist and activist. She brought a nourishment of thought I think of as feminine attributes, especially, certainly, her feeling of the rising of the people of the world, and the humanism only in the working class.

I especially value her wonderful illuminations on Rosa Luxemburg, who along with Clara Zetkin (made) great contributions as women to the struggle.

She also expressed to me the responsibility as living activists in the struggle to contribute and illuminate the theory as well as the action, of the complicated labors of making a new world.

I cannot say anyone of such luminous thought is gone, is dead. They never die who have the future in them.

Love, Meridel LeSueur

## Adrienne Rich

Santa Cruz, Cal.—It was a deep shock and sorrow to read of Raya Dunayevskaya's death. I have been thinking about her a great deal, returning to her books to touch again that spirit in her writing which "makes revolution irresistible" (in Toni Cade Bambara's phrase). I have also been thinking about all of you at News & Letters who were her close co-workers, her sisters and brothers, who had the privilege of knowing her as a person. I had been hoping to meet her. After my review of her work in *The Women's Review of Books* last year we had some correspondence, and she invited me to visit her in Chicago. I feel keenly the loss of that opportunity, and regret that I never heard her lecture.

But how much she has left behind, for all of us to draw on and pursue in our several ways! She wrote me, "Revolution in permanence is my passion," and one thing I love in her writing is the vigor and persistence of that passion. How she kept alive that sense of the "transformation of reality" and of "what comes after" from decade to decade, how there is no room for despair or defeat in her vocabulary, though she can bristle with impatience at the short-sighted and the petty. She went so often to the very heart of the matter, as when she wrote:

"To grasp the Black Dimension is to learn a new language, the language of thought, Black thought. For many, this new language will be difficult because they are hard of hearing. Hard of hearing because they are not used to this type of thought, a language which is both a struggle for freedom and the thought of freedom."

or:

"It is our generation that has suffered through so many transformations into opposite and new tyrannies even after the old was overthrown and power won. It is to our generation that what happens 'the day after' became so urgent. It is not a question of asking for a blueprint. It is the imperativeness for a philosophy that has as its goal not only the overthrow of the old system, but creation of the new that would be truly a classless, non-racist, non-sexist society of new human relations... A new relationship of practice to theory demanded also that no single force of revolution tower above the others; all new forces of revolution had to be synthesized on the day after as well as the day of revolution."

Dunayevskaya's writings (except perhaps the most philosophically technical) impart that energy of joy in the struggle which is so essential as we continue, because only through it can we imagine the conditions we would choose to live in, the quality of the society we are trying to build.

I will be teaching from her writings and continuing to draw on her for inspiration. I look forward to the "In Memoriam" issue of News & Letters, and I shall follow your on going work with great interest. I also am greatly interested in seeing—as I hope we shall—the direction of her thinking about the "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy."

In sympathy and solidarity,  
Adrienne Rich

## Getting our heads back

Chicago, Ill.—One of the things that so struck me about Raya Dunayevskaya when I first met her and News and Letters in 1969 when I was a young independent women's liberationist was a phrase she used describing what we were doing: "Women are fighting to get their heads back." That meant so much to me because I felt that this society had told me in so many ways that women couldn't think—that I couldn't think. By the time I was 24 years old, I believed it.

That is why Raya's emphasis on self-development was always so important to me. When I moved to Chicago in 1976, I began to write women's liberation columns for News & Letters and in 1980 Raya wrote me because she wanted me to expand my writing for the paper. She wrote me, "Just dig deep into yourself." And "do not underestimate yourself... just talk to yourself, and you will be surprised to find that once you begin answering yourself and seeing the dialectic, that is to say, whether one thing flows naturally from another, you will come up with the most brilliant columns." She knew just what to say to someone who, even after 10 years, was still fighting to get her head back.

What was tremendously exciting about a relationship with her was that she saw our self-development as being more than us alone. We represented a movement to Raya so that my conversations with her let her know something about the Women's Liberation Movement. Even my mistakes were useful and told her something, not because I was profound, but because of the intensity and attitude Raya had to what I said and did.

The fact that I represented a movement to Raya was not dehumanizing. On the contrary. I felt that I was elevated, and that through my association with Raya I truly entered history, became a part of the movement in a unique way that would have been impossible without her. None of this was separated from her philosophy. It was the personal/human expression of the concept of the objectivity of subjectivity so that you always felt your self-development was not only for yourself, but by that development you could advance the whole movement for freedom.

That is what Raya Dunayevskaya's own self-development meant—the self-development of the movement for freedom, indeed, the development of the very idea of what freedom is and will be.

—Terry Moon,  
Women's Liberation columnist, N&L

## Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

Today's Women's Liberation Movement has introduced new and unique aspects, previously raised neither by non-Marxists nor Marxists. But the very fact that the task remains unfinished points to the need to study further Luxemburg's works both as feminist and as revolutionary. And that means grappling with Marx's works, not just as "writings" but as a philosophy of revolution. To do anything short of that impedes the development of the Women's Liberation Movement to its full potential as Reason as well as force...

For precisely this reason we must turn to Marx—the whole of Marx Without his philosophy of revolution, neither Women's Liberationists nor the whole of humanity will have discovered the ground that will assure the success of the revolution.

—From the Introduction, and Chapter VIII, "The Task That Remains to be Done: The Unique and Unfinished Contributions of Today's Women's Liberation Movement," 1982.



## 'Raya was a worker's intellectual'

**Dearborn, Mich.**—As a sensitive young assembly worker at the Ford Rouge plant in the early 1970s, I became radicalized by the very nature of the production process. I encountered various left political groups which I sometimes checked out if their literature didn't seem too extreme and "party" advocating. Even the "saner" ones usually repelled me as I got involved and got to know their beliefs and how they operated.

When *News & Letters* was distributed at the plant gate, I found a radical paper that was different from the others. I began going to *News and Letters* meetings every month. The meetings were open and democratic, in which I felt a sense of belonging. The meetings were special to me also, because a revolutionary presence radiated from Raya. She made the labor movement seem alive in that she never was skeptical or pessimistic in her thoughts and speech, but instead inspired those about her. She helped us realize we have the potential and capability to change things for the better.

She made philosophy and history interesting and understandable to average people. When she was not conversing with someone personally, she was speaking to us as a teacher, as one who enlightens others with their gifted intellect.

Raya's intellect undeniably was one to enlighten and

## Making revolution real

**New York, N.Y.**—I first heard Raya in 1976. Our shop steward had been fired and some friends told me Raya would have some ideas how to help. So I went to her talk at Queens College, so concerned about getting a lawyer.

Everything Raya talked was revolution, revolution. I had heard of revolution before but it was abstract. Raya was taking revolution and putting it right at my feet, making it real! And I thought, what am I looking for a lawyer for? So I forgot at that time about a lawyer.

From that time I decided to make a revolution in the U.S. I followed Marxist-Humanism from the time I heard Raya. The supervisor has often been very anxious to fire me, but has never gotten me out, because Raya's ideas are there with me all the time, working with the mass of the people.

—Runa, Latino worker

## Marxist-Humanist Archives

*The whole point is that Automation, as the new stage of production, has produced two opposite class reactions. On the one side stands not only the capitalist but also the intellectual who thinks that all the productivity now comes from the machine, not man, that "scientism" is classless. On the other side stands the proletariat who not only shows that Automation has not lightened labor, not only has created the ever lengthening line of the unemployed even though, for the moment, hidden by militarization and actual war, but, above all, tends further to separate the mental from the manual powers. He therefore asks: what kind of labor should man do? Why the division between mental and manual? How to reconstitute the wholeness of man? We concluded that it was not accidental that the "backward worker," not the advanced, party-minded intellectual, even when he is a Marxist, raised the question of Humanism, made it the urgent question of the day.*

—Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya which accompanied Draft Chapters of *Philosophy and Revolution Volume VII 1968-1973—Objective Crises Compelling Theoretic Clarification of Revolution, Culminating in the Work Around Philosophy and Revolution*, microfilm #4289

## Always deeper and lower

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—As a Black worker, it is hard for me to believe Raya's powerful "rank-and-file" presence is no longer with us anymore. I can visualize Raya on a platform, speaking from her heart, with her hands waving, expressing her passion and love for freedom. It is hard to imagine that she is gone.

She was a leader and founder of an organization of Marxist-Humanists. In a historic sense, I respect Raya for holding on to her rank-and-file sensitivity, which most "leaders" lose in their race to the forefront of a movement. But Raya knew where ideas of freedom come from and held onto that concept of going lower and deeper into the most oppressed layers of the population where the Idea of Freedom will take on its most concrete form.

*News and Letters* Committees at its founding in 1955 was created with a Black production worker, the late Charles Denby, as editor of the newspaper. I felt we were the only Marxist organization in the world to have this new beginning!

This is part of the reason why I joined *News and Letters* Committees in 1979, on the basis of the Black Consciousness dimension as in a Frantz Fanon, and the labor struggle; but it took years before I consciously recognized my attraction to the Marxist-Hegelian dialectic that Raya pounded into our subconscious minds. Only then did I find the truth for Black and labor, which cannot be separated from a philosophy of revolution which is internal to its existence, but must be made explicit and worked out for today.

—Gene Ford,  
Los Angeles Local Committee

educate, yet no matter what level of understanding workers entered her life, she was never condescending or aloof. She was approachable and truly listened. Our problems and difficulties she embraced as hers. Is this not an essence of being human?—to care. She gave a damn and then some.

Raya was a worker's intellectual, of and for working people, as are her works that will remain and be read by workers throughout the world, who seek solutions to the problems we mutually confront.

My life and many, many others have benefited from her teachings for we can relate with people the world over as fellow beings in a truly human way. Help and understanding can strengthen the world labor movement far more than fear and hatred, and this, I feel, is how Marxist-Humanism is helping advance humanity universally.

—Joseph Blough



Raya Dunayevskaya with Yoshimasa Yukiwama, translator of Japanese edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, and Charles Denby, editor of *News & Letters* and author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, at the *News & Letters Black/Red Conference*, 1969.

*"The 75 years of Charles Denby's life are so full of class struggles, Black revolts, freedom movements that they illuminate not only the present but cast a light even on the future...I first met Denby in 1948 when he had already become a leader of wildcats, a politico, but the talk I heard him give on tenant farming in the South and factory work in the North was far from being a political speech. Listening to him you felt you were witnessing an individual life that was somehow universal, and that touched you personally."*

—Raya Dunayevskaya, Memorial issue for Charles Denby, Worker-Editor, November, 1983

## Staying on the trail

**Grand Forks, N.D.**—I never met Raya—at least not that I recall and I gather that, if I had, I'd remember her!—but I certainly had a good feel for her from *News & Letters* and from the very favorable assessments of others (Fred Thompson always spoke well of her). I join you in your sadness and in the renewal of your consistent commitment to effect democratically radical social change.

I have a good many thoughts these days on things and here are a couple: It takes a lot of strength and vision to develop and maintain a position that is democratic and genuinely radical and sensibly optimistic. Some people wind up on "the other side"; others retreat into a kind of tired liberalism; still others sour into a mesmerized-by-the-Reds kind of social democratic stance; a few others wind up in the old, totalitarian churches like the Communist Party. All of those are "easier" trails than the one that goes up to the Sun. Dunayevskaya took the tough trail of sunlight and flint—that of the genuinely libertarian and sensible radical. There are never enough of those people and it's tough to see the Raya D's and Fred T's pass through the fog and beyond. People like ourselves are now moving into the voids left by our mentors, and it's a mighty challenging and somewhat awesome responsibility. But I know that we all will keep right on going—joined always by new, often younger faces—and the world is a better place, each age.

—Solidarity, John Salter

## A true friend of labor

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—When I heard the news that Raya Dunayevskaya had died, I thought to myself, "The greatest friend of the working class, of working people everywhere, has died." To me, Raya could always understand what a worker was saying. She often commented: "Everyone is ready to talk and to lead the workers, no one to listen." Raya knew how to listen, she knew how to hear what workers were saying.

I think that Raya's first book, *Marxism and Freedom*, is easier for workers to understand than for the intellectuals. It came out of the consciousness of workers and their struggle. The struggle at the point of production is a life-and-death struggle. Everything depends on the factory clock and the assembly line.

Before I met Marxist-Humanism, my attitude was that the everyday struggle I went through working at General Motors was just a normal part of living, working and struggling and living, fighting to exist. But Raya helped me to see the meaning of my struggle, she helped me to understand my own self.

When I read Chapter 1 of *Philosophy and Revolution* on Hegel, I could just feel the scales peeling off my mental seeing. Hegel wrote: "Individualism that lets nothing interfere with its Universalism, that is, Freedom." What a lot of smog she looked through to be able to say that. This is what Marx developed, and then Raya for our age.

I was always called a troublemaker all my life. I was always rebelling against everything I saw, anyone who told me what to do. I was always a fighter since when I was growing up as a Hillbilly in Hell-fer-Certain, Kentucky. And I saw that kind of kinship between Raya and myself. That helped give me the patience to stick with my self-development.

To me as a worker, this Marxist-Humanist organization founded by Raya Dunayevskaya and Charles Denby, is what all of history has been struggling toward, an organization where workers and intellectuals can come together and work out these new ideas, where each can become a whole human being, to free ourselves from this butchering, inhuman system.

Now for the first time we are without Raya. It's like we lost our navigator at sea. But all through the 1980s Raya was trying to help our self-development so we would all become navigators, Marxist-Humanist thinkers and activists.

—Felix Martin, Labor Editor

## One for whom Marx lived

**New York, N.Y.** — How ironic that Raya should have written, in her new introduction to her *Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology* (see *N&L*, May 8, 1987) an unusually somber and foreboding note on the "darkness before the dawn." How much darker it is suddenly without her clarity of thought, her cutting through "mind-forged manacles" on both sides of this nuclear world, her clear placing of workers—live human beings—at the center of theory.

It was Raya who showed us, in her restatement of Marx's *Capital* for our age of Automation, *Marxism & Freedom*, that there was a whole proletariat, American as well as international, whose objective interest was to oppose the Vietnam War—and more, who had the ideas and capability to create the whole new society which up to then had seemed only a dream!

As Marx in his day had broken with all socialists and communists to declare that the Silesian weavers' revolt was a greater expression of freedom than the Magna Carta or the Bill of Rights, so we came to see that Raya, coming from the Left, had broken with all of what she called post-Marx Marxists to return to the human being as central, to show that the worker is a thinker. Only because she recognized how greater is the workers' own creativity could she also so forcefully stand for not letting these magnificent workers' movements stand all alone, without the responsibility for revolutionaries to develop the meaning of these struggles.

You always feel Marx was very, very much "alive" for Raya. I can only hope that, as we face the coming crises and revolts, we can learn to continue that kind of revolutionary dialogue with Marx and Raya through intense digging into the Body of Ideas she has left us, Marxist-Humanism. Never have the crises been so intense, nor the challenge so great.

—John Marcotte, Workshop Talks columnist

## Marxism and Freedom

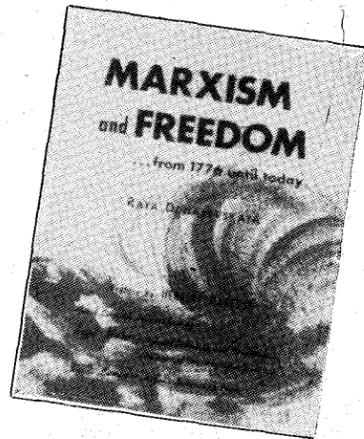
*This book aims to re-establish Marxism in its original form, which Marx called "a thoroughgoing Naturalism, or Humanism."*

*Hitherto, the American roots of Marxism have remained hidden. It is known, although not widely, that Marx aided the North during the Civil War in the United States. Less well-known is the fact that the paths of the Abolitionists and Marx crossed at that time. What is not known at all is that under the impact of the Civil War, and the subsequent struggles for the eight-hour day, Marx completely reorganized the structure of his greatest theoretical work, Capital...*

*This book covers the modern machine age from its birth in the Industrial Revolution to its present-day development in Automation...*

*Three leading strands of thought are developed here: (1) The evolution of English political economy, French revolutionary doctrines, and German idealist (Hegelian) philosophy, in relation to the actual social development of the period of 1776 to 1831. (2) The development of Marxism in Marx's day and since, in relation to the actual class struggles in the epoch of the Civil War in the United States and the Paris Commune, as well as World War I and the Russian Revolution. (3) The methodology of Marxism applied to the problems that*

*arise from the trend towards state capitalism, on the one hand, and a movement for total freedom, on the other. The unity of theory and practice, which charac-*



*terized the forty years of Marx's maturity (1843-1883), is the compelling need of our own epoch.*

—from Introduction to first edition, 1957

# A Post-World War II View of Marx's Humanism, 1843-1883; Marxist-Humanism, 1950s-1980s

by Raya Dunayevskaya,  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

The essay printed below is excerpted from an article submitted in May, 1987 to East European colleagues for publication.

The two-fold problematic of our age is: 1) What happens after the conquest of power? 2) Are there ways for new beginnings when there is so much reaction, so many aborted revolutions, such turning of the clock backward in the most technologically advanced lands?

Self-emancipatory movements, both from the emergence of a whole new Third World which had won its independence from imperialism—Africa, Asia, Latin America, Middle East—as well as revolts within the Western world itself, articulated themselves as what I have called "a movement from practice that was itself a form of theory." The ambivalence in the theoretical developments persisted though they reached for a total philosophy.

The world had hardly caught its breath from the devastation of World War II than already it was confronted with the birth of the nuclear age in the form of the A-bomb. Nor was the "high-tech" confined to war; it at once moved into production, first into the mines and then soon invading all of industrial production. The very first to battle automation were the U.S. miners on general strike in 1949-50 against the introduction of the continuous miner, which they called the "man killer." What was new in this proletarian revolt was that, instead of just fighting unemployment and demanding better wages, the miners were posing totally new questions about what kind of labor man should do, and why there was an ever-widening gulf between thinking and doing.

Three years later, we witnessed the first-ever uprising from within the Communist world, the East German Revolt, which had been preceded by Yugoslavia's first act of national independence from Russia, and which was followed by revolts within the Vorkuta forced labor camps in Russia itself....

On October 23, 1956, a student youth demonstration in Budapest was fired upon.<sup>1</sup> Far from dispersing the young students, these were soon joined by the workers from the factories in the outlying suburbs. The Revolu-



The 1956 Hungarian Revolution

tion had begun in earnest. During the following 13 days, ever broader layers of the population revolted. From the very young to the very old, workers and intellectuals, women and children, even the police and the armed forces—truly the population to a man, woman and child—turned against the top Communist bureaucracy and the hated, sadistic AVO (secret police). The Communist Party with more than 800,000, and the trade unions allegedly representing the working population, just evaporated. In their place arose Workers' Councils, Revolutionary Committees of every sort—intellectuals, youth, the army—all moving away from the Single Party State. Overnight there sprang up 45 newspapers and 40 different parties, but the decisive force of the revolution remained the Workers' Councils....

The East European revolts seemed to be continuous. They expressed themselves most luminously in one form or another of Marxist Humanism: in Poland there appeared a work in 1957 called "Toward a Marxist Humanism"; in Yugoslavia there was a tendency that called itself "Marxist Humanism"; in 1968 in Czechoslovakia it was termed "Socialism with a Human Face." The revolt has continued to this day in ever-new forms, such as Solidarnosc in Poland today. Multi-forms of struggles for new human relations to free us from the limited choice of East or West circled the world.

In the United States, the first full theoretical declaration of Marxist-Humanism was my work, *Marxism and Freedom*,<sup>2</sup> which declared the whole purpose of the work as "aiming to re-establish Marxism in its original form, which Marx called 'a thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism,' ...."

In Latin America, the young Fidel Castro embraced Humanism in 1959. He said at that time, "Standing between the two political and economic ideologies being de-

bated in the world, we are holding our own positions. We have named it Humanism, because its methods are humanistic ... this is a humanist revolution, because it does not deprive man of his essence, but holds him as its aim.... This revolution is not red, but olive-green."<sup>3</sup>

## I. New Passions and New Forces: The 1950s' Rediscovery of Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays

Rather than a seeming accident, and far from being at best a remembrance of things past on the part of the Old Left, the 1950s' rediscovery of Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays was altogether new, todayish, precisely because it speaks to this age's problematic—"What happens after?" How could so great a revolution as the November 1917 Russian Revolution, the only successful proletarian revolution in the world, which established the first workers' state, degenerate into Stalinism? What happens after the conquest of power?

Nothing like that was facing Marx and yet, by discovering a whole new continent of thought and of revolution, which he had named "a new Humanism," Marx had pointed to a direction beyond communism. In his break with capitalism, though he had singled out the proletariat as the revolutionary class, he expanded the need for totally new human relations by at once questioning the capitalistic alienated concept of the Man/Woman relationship. Not only that. It was clear that the overthrow of private property capitalism would not end by overthrowing private property; it was necessary to break with "vulgar communism." Instead of either materialism or idealism, there would be a new unity of idealism and materialism:

*"Just as atheism, as transcendence of God, is the becoming of theoretical humanism, and communism, as transcendence of private property, is the vindication of actual human living as its own property, which is the becoming of practical humanism, so atheism is humanism mediated by transcendence of religion, and communism is humanism mediated by the transcendence of private property. Only by the transcendence of this mediation, which is nevertheless a necessary presupposition, does there arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself."<sup>4</sup>*

In 1950, when the workers battled automation and raised the question of "What kind of labor?" a new stage of cognition appeared in the economic sphere. This, as we saw, was followed by political and social battles for truly new human relations.

The emergence in our age of a new Third World, not only Afro-Asian but Latin American and Middle East, was no mere geographic designation, as massive and substantive as that was. Rather, Third World became synonymous both with new forces of revolution and with those new forces as Reason. These new revolutionary forces—peasants as well as proletarians, Women's Liberationists as well as youth anti-war activists—saw in that most exciting color, Black, so deep a revolutionary dimension and so intense an internationalism imbedded in their national liberation struggles that, far from being a "Third" World, it encompassed the whole world.

The world of the 1960s, indeed, was aflame with rebellion, North and South, East and West. The depth of the revolt that freedom fighters in East Europe unleashed against the Communist totalitarians characterized, as well, the new generation of revolutionaries in the West, rebelling against the bureaucratic, militaristic, capitalist-imperialist world they did not make.

The African Diaspora meant not only South Africa but South U.S.A., and Black meant not only Africa—South, West, East and North—but also Latin America, including the Caribbean....<sup>5</sup>

Black consciousness in the United States put American civilization on trial. There is very nearly no end to the varied forms in which the Black Dimension expressed itself. It was the Montgomery Bus Boycott,<sup>6</sup> where the daily revolutionary activity—taking care of transportation, organizing meetings, holding marches, creating their own direct democracy in mass meetings three times a week—helped launch the Black Revolution.<sup>7</sup>

A look at another new force—Women's Liberation—will show that by the 1970s it had developed from an idea to a movement. Though it was itself faced with contradictions of class, race and culture, it had a determining effect on the whole emancipatory process, whether this came from East or West, North or South....

The Youth, who have always been what Marx called the energizing force of every revolution, are now showing themselves not only as the most courageous but as those who are developing new ideas, new forms of organization, and new relationships of theory to practice. Even the bourgeois press has had to note a new type of radical who goes from his classroom, whether in academia or in an underground discussion club on Marx, di-

3. See *New Left Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1961.

4. Karl Marx, *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic*, 1844.

5. See Ngugi wa Thiong'o's "Politics of African Literature" and Rene Depestre's "Critique of Negritude." Both are included as appendices to *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* by Lou Turner and John Alan (Chicago: News & Letters, 1986). In general, it is necessary to become acquainted with the underground press in South Africa. The journal, *News & Letters*, publishes many uncensored articles and letters each issue as a "South African Freedom Journal."

6. See especially pp. 181-189 in Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* (Boston: South End Press, 1978).

7. On the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, at the beginning of the Black Revolution in the U.S., the National Editorial Board of *News & Letters* published *American Civilization on Trial* (Detroit: May 1963). A fourth, expanded edition was published in 1983, with a new Introduction on "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa."

rectly into the mass demonstrations and battles—as is true right now in South Korea, South Africa, Haiti and the Philippines.<sup>8</sup>



Mass meeting, Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1956

## II. The Global Myriad Crises and Counter-Revolutions

The counter-revolutions that we in the 1980s are now battling had been nurtured by the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, because the U.S. had been operating on the grand imperial illusion of the 1970s that they supposedly could have both guns and butter. This was the lie; what the militarization actually produced was the global structural economic crisis of 1974-75.

Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, marched onto the present historic stage even among bourgeois ideologues, since there is no other way to understand today's global economic crisis. Thus, *Business Week* (June 23, 1975) suddenly started quoting what Marx had said on the decline in the rate of profit as endemic to capitalism....

The capitalists may not be ready to "agree" with Marx that the supreme commodity, labor-power, is the only source of all value and surplus value, but they do see the decline in the rate of profit compared to what they consider necessary to keep investing for expanded production in a nuclear world....

Inseparable from the continuing economic crises has been the extension of the U.S. imperialist tentacles, which came to a climax in the Spring 1986 imperial intrusion into the Gulf of Sidra and the actual bombing of the headquarters and the home of Col. Kadafi. Without resting for a single instant, the U.S. continued with its raising of a counter-revolutionary army of mercenaries trying to overthrow the legitimate government of Nicaragua. This series of outright invasions of other countries began with the unprovoked invasion of Grenada in October 1983.

The fact that the first shot of counter-revolution in Grenada was fired by the "revolutionaries" themselves, its army, politically and militarily headed by Gen. Austin (plus Coard), demands that we take a deeper look at the type of revolution that erupted in Grenada in 1979....

That first shot opened the road for the imperialist U.S. invasion that, it is true, lay in wait from Day One of the revolution. This, however, in no way absolves the "Party" of its heinous crime. The fact that Castro—though an "internationalist" who spelled out his solidarity in concrete acts such as sending Grenada doctors and construction workers, teachers as well as military advisers—nevertheless failed to develop the ideas that were at stake, left the masses unprepared for ways to confront the divisions within the leadership that were to have gory consequences.

Instead of Castro focusing on a theory of revolution, he substituted and based himself on what he called the "principle of non-interference in internal affairs." He proceeded to praise Bishop for adhering to that "principle" by not asking for help in the leadership disputes—as if these were mere matters of "personality" and merely "subjective," rather than the result of the objective pull backward because the revolution itself was

(continued on page 5)

8. See both *The New York Times*, June 17, 1986, and *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 26, 1987.

9. See my pamphlet, *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis* (Detroit: News & Letters, 1978).

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# A Post-World War II View of Marx's Humanism, 1843-83; Marxist-Humanism, 1950s-1980s

(continued from page 4)

barren of a philosophy. Castro disregarded the dialectics of revolution—that is to say, the digging into what was coming from below, the mass consciousness, its reasoning. Instead, both he and the Grenadian leadership reduced the ideas of freedom to “subjective, personality” matters.

While the savage, unprovoked, long-prepared-for imperialist invasion and conquest of Grenada makes it imperative to never let go the struggle against U.S. imperialism until it is vanquished, it is urgent to face the retrogressive reality in the Left as well.

This is exactly why, in the whole post-World War II period, Marxist Humanists have been raising new questions on forms of battle, on the need for spontaneity, on the struggle against single-partyism; indeed, raising the whole question of what kind of philosophy can become the motivating force of all the contemporary struggles. The most acute expression of this was articulated by Frantz Fanon, who, while giving up his French citizenship to become an African revolutionary, at the same time critiqued the new leadership that arose with decolonization: “Leader: the word comes from the English verb, ‘to lead,’ but a frequent French translation is ‘to drive.’ The driver, the shepherd of the people no longer exists today. The people are no longer a herd; they do not need to be driven.” Fanon further concretized his critique of the “Leader” and his cohorts who formed the dominant party: “The single party is the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous and cynical.” His conclusion about the African revolutions was that: “This new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others...”<sup>10</sup>

### III. Once Again, Marx — This Time with Focus on His Final Decade and on Our Age

...It is urgent to turn once again to Marx, this time not to the young Marx and his “new Humanism,” nor to the mature Marx as a supposed economist, but to Marx in his last decade, when he discovered what we now call his “new moments” as he studied pre-capitalist societies, the peasantry, the women, forms of organization—the whole dialectic of human development.

Because politicalization has, in the hands of the Old Left, meant vanguardism and program-hatching, we have kept away from the very word. It is high time not to let the “vanguard party to lead” appropriate the word, politicalization. The return is to its original meaning in Marx’s new continent of thought as the uprooting of the capitalist state, its withering away, so that new humanist forms like the Paris Commune, 1871, emerge. Marx himself was so non-vanguardist that, although the First International had dissolved itself, he hailed the railroad strikes spreading throughout the U.S. and climaxed by the 1877 St. Louis General Strike, as both an elemental “post festum” to the First Workingmen’s International Association, and the point of origin for a genuine workers’ party.

For that matter, the whole question of pre-capitalist societies was taken up long before that last decade. In the 1850s, for example, what inspired Marx to return to the study of pre-capitalist formations and gave him a new appreciation of ancient society and its craftsmen was the Taiping Revolution. It opened so many doors to “history and its process” that Marx now concluded that, historically-materialistically speaking, a new stage of production, far from being a mere change in property-form, be it “West” or “East,” was such a change in production-relations that it disclosed, in embryo, the dialectics of actual revolution.

What Marx, in the *Grundrisse*, had defined as “the absolute movement of becoming” had matured in the last decade of his life as new moments—a multilinear view of human development as well as a dialectic duality within each formation. From within each formation evolved both the end of the old and the beginning of the new. Whether Marx was studying the communal or the despotic form of property, it was the human resistance of the Subject that revealed the direction of resolving the contradictions. Marx transformed what, to Hegel, was the synthesis of the “Self-Thinking Idea” and the “Self-Bringing-Forth of Liberty” as the emergence of a new society. The many paths to get there were left open.

As against Marx’s multilinear view which kept Marx from attempting any blueprint for future generations, Engels’ unilinear view led him to mechanical positivism. By no accident whatever, such one-dimensionality kept him from seeing either the communal form under “Oriental despotism” or the duality in “primitive communism” in Morgan’s *Ancient Society*. No wonder, although Engels had accepted Marx’s view of the Asiatic mode of production as fundamental enough to constitute a fourth form of human development, he had left it out altogether from his analysis of primitive communism in the first book he wrote as a “bequest” of Marx—*Origin of the Family*. By then Engels had confined Marx’s revolutionary dialectics and historical materialism to hardly more than Morgan’s “materialism.”

In Marx’s revolutionary praxis, the germ of each of

the “new moments” of his last decade was actually present in his first discovery. Take the question of the concept of Man/Woman, which he raised at the very moment when he spoke of the alienations of capitalist society and did not consider them ended with the overthrow of private property. This was seen most clearly in the way he worked during the Paris Commune and in the motions he made to the First International. One such motion at the 1871 London conference recommended “the formation of female branches among the working class.” The minutes recorded: “Citizen Marx adds... The women... play an important role in life: they work in the factories, they take part in strikes, in the Commune, etc.... They have more ardour than the men. He adds a few words recalling the passionate participation of the women in the Paris Commune.”<sup>11</sup>

Nor was it only a question of the women. In a speech at this same London Conference of the First International—Sept. 20, 1871—Marx said: “The trade unions are an aristocratic minority. Poor working people could not belong to them; the great mass of the workers who, because of economic development, are daily driven from the villages to the cities, long remain outside the trade unions, and the poorest among them would never belong. The same is true of the workers born in London’s East End, where only one out of ten belongs to the trade unions. The farmers, the day laborers, never belong to these trade unions.”<sup>12</sup>

Or take the whole question of human development. Marx definitely preferred the gens form of development, where, he concluded, the communal form—whether in ancient society, or in the Paris Commune, or in the future—is a higher form of human development. The



Soweto, South Africa, 1976

point is that individual self-development does not separate itself from universal self-development. As Hegel put it: “individualism that lets nothing interfere with its universalism, i.e., freedom.”

While Marx considered the gens a higher form of human life than class society, he showed that, in embryo, class relations actually started right there. Most important of all is that the multilinear human development demonstrates no straight line—that is, no fixed stages of development.

The difficulty is that post-Marx Marxists were raised not on Marx’s Marxism, but on Engelsian Marxism—and that was by no means limited to Engels’ *Origin of the Family*. Rather, Engels’ unilinearism was organic—which is why we must start from the beginning.

Marx’s Humanist Essays showed his multilinearism, his Promethean vision, whether on the concept of Man/Woman relationship, or the question of idealism and materialism, or the opposition not only to private property capitalism but what he called “vulgar communism,” which is why he called his philosophy “a new Humanism.”

These motifs are the red thread through his final decade, as well. The Iroquois women, the Irish women before British imperialism, the aborigines in Australia, the Arabs in Africa, Marx insisted in his *Ethnological Notebooks*,<sup>13</sup> have displayed greater intelligence, more equality between men and women, than the intellectuals from England, the U.S., Australia, France or Germany. Just as he had nothing but contempt for the British scholars, whom he called “rogues,” “asses,” and “block-heads,” who were expounding “silliness,” so he made a category of the intelligence of the Australian aborigine, since the “intelligent black” would not accept the talk by a cleric about there being a soul without a body.

How could anyone consider the very limited quotations from Marx that Engels used in the *Origin of the Family* as any kind of summation of Marx’s views? How could someone like Ryazanov think that those *Ethnological Notebooks* dealt “mainly with landownership and feudalism?” In truth they contain nothing short of both a pre-history of humanity, including the emergence of class distinctions from within communal society, and a history of “civilization” that formed a complement to Marx’s famous section in *Capital* on the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation which was, as he wrote in answer to Mikhailovsky, “only of Western civilization....”

It was in his last decade, as he finished the French edition of *Capital*, that Marx wrote his *Critique of the*

*Gotha Program*, on which Lenin’s profound revolutionary analysis of the need to break up the state was based. Lenin failed, however, to say a word about what in Marx’s *Critique of the Gotha Program* is the foundation of a principled proletarian organization, which led Marx to separate himself from the unity of the Eisenachists (who were considered to be Marxists) and the Lassalleans. Nor was there any reference by Lenin to his own critique of *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin’s main organizational document.<sup>14</sup> He thus disregarded the 12 years of self-criticism during which he insisted that *What Is To Be Done?* was not a universal, but a tactical question for revolutionaries working in Tsarist Russia. Instead, it was made into a universal after the revolution. This set the ground for a Stalin—that is to say, for the problem that remains the burning question of our day: What comes after the conquest of power?

It gives even greater significance to the question that Rosa Luxemburg raised both before the 1917 Russian Revolution and directly after.<sup>15</sup> “The revolution,” Luxemburg wrote, “is not an open-field maneuver of the proletariat, even if the proletariat with social democracy at its head plays the leading role, but is a struggle in the middle of incessant movement, the creaking, crumbling and displacement of all social foundations. In short, the element of spontaneity plays such a supreme role in the mass strikes in Russia, not because the Russian proletariat is ‘unschooler,’ but rather because revolutions are not subject to schoolmastering.”<sup>16</sup>

The dialectic of organization, as of philosophy, goes to the root of not only the question of the relationship of spontaneity to party, but the relationship of multilinearism to unilinearism. Put simply, it is a question of human development, be it capitalism, pre-capitalism or post-capitalism. The fact that Stalin could transform so great a revolution as the Russian Revolution of 1917 into a state bureaucracy tells more than just the isolation of a proletarian revolution in a single country. The whole question of the indispensability of spontaneity not only as something that is in the revolution, but that must continue its development after; the question of the different cultures, as well as self-development, as well as having a non-state form of collectivity—makes the task much more difficult and impossible to anticipate in advance. The self-development of ideas cannot take second place to the self-bringing-forth of liberty, because both the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, and the development of theory as philosophy, are more than just saying philosophy is action. There is surely one thing on which we should not try to improve on Marx—and that is trying to have a blueprint for the future.

—May 1, 1987

14. Lenin’s many critiques of the concept of vanguardism and centralism during the development of Marxism in Russia were published in Russia as a pamphlet entitled *Twelve Years*.

15. Lenin’s philosophic ambivalence had become so crucial for our age that I wrote a chapter with that as its title for my work, *Philosophy and Revolution*; the chapter, indeed, was published separately even before the book itself was published. Its timeliness in the year 1970 opened many new doors for Marxist Humanism. Thus, I spoke to such widely different audiences as the Hegel Society of America and the first conference of the young radical philosophers of Telos. The chapter was also published by Aut Aut in Italy and by Praxis in Yugoslavia...

16. The whole question of Luxemburg as a revolutionary, as a theoretician, as an unknown feminist, is developed in my work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution*, cited above.

## Native American view...

*Livingston, Montana*—I first became involved with News and Letters Committees when I was asked to participate in the writing of the pamphlet *Black, Brown and Red* in 1975. I was interested in finding out what else was being written about the occupation of Wounded Knee. And I was excited to see that N&L was not only willing to let us write about what was happening in our movement, but encouraged us to talk about what made the Indian struggle so great at that time.

Raya talked about finding connections between Marxism and the Indian movement. At that time I felt this was an impossible task. It was not until I read *Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution* in 1982 that my mind began to change. I found the 12th chapter of that book to be the most difficult, but also the most important for the Indian movement, with its writing about Marx’s and Engels’ view of our society.

I made copies of that chapter and sent them to people considered leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM). I heard very little from them, but I did get a letter from a man on the Rosebud reservation in South Dakota who said he found a copy in the tribal office. He wanted to learn about Marxism and asked me about the *Ethnological Notebooks*.

I sent the book to a man from my reservation—Fort Totten in North Dakota. He said we could learn from the *Critique of the Gotha Program* as Raya presented it. We need to remember that the Indian movement can get support from, and give support to, other movements, without giving up their own principles.

There must be a time for grieving. I am doing that now. But the greatest challenge for me will be to try, through her Marxist-Humanist philosophy, to make a stronger and more cohesive movement, a movement with freedom ideas. In this way we can continue Raya’s work.

—Shairape Shcapwe

10. Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, Evergreen Black Cat Edition, 1968), pp. 197, 316. See also my pamphlet *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* (1961 edition published by Left Group, Cambridge University; new 1984 edition by News & Letters, Chicago). Consult also the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, “Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development,” held by the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, and available from them on microfilm, which includes my letters written from Africa, 1962.

11. See *La Premiere Internationale, Recueil et documents Vol. II*, edited by Jacques Freymond, Publication de l’Institut Universitaire de Hautes Geneve: Lib. Droz, 1962.

12. Quoted in Padover, Saul, ed., *On the First International* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973), p. 141.

13. Lawrence Krader transcribed Marx’s *Notebooks* which were published as *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx* in 1972 (Assen: Van Gorcum). For my analysis, see my *Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution* (New Jersey: Humanities, 1982).

# Raya Dunayevskaya, Founder of Marxist-Humanism

(continued from page 1)

hear Dunayevskaya speak for herself from its pages:

*"Until the development of the totalitarian state the philosophic foundation of Marxism was not fully understood. Only today is it possible to comprehend that Marx's rejection of the Communism of his day was not a nineteenth century humanitarian adjunct to his scientific economic theories. Far from being a vulgar materialist, Marx based his new perspectives... on a realization that workers would seek universality and completeness in their actual social lives as producers. Because Communism was a mere rejection of private property, Communism to Marx was 'not the goal of human development, the form of human society.' Marxism is a theory of liberation or it is nothing..." (Marxism and Freedom, 1957, pp. 21-22)*

Dunayevskaya always stressed that all forward movement in society was characterized by "a single dialectical process in both thought and activity." At no time was that more true than in the decade of the 1950s, the moment of the birth of Marxist-Humanism as a world concept. Again let us hear Dunayevskaya describe that historic moment herself:

*"It was because the masses had found a new way to freedom that a new leap in cognition was possible... The revolt that erupted in East Germany in 1953 and came to a climax in 1956 in the Hungarian Revolution was articulated also in new points of departure in theory. By the 1960s this was manifest not only in 'the East,' but also in 'the West.' It was as if Hegel's Absolute Method as a simultaneously subjective-objective mediation had taken on flesh. Both in life and in cognition, 'Subjectivity'—live men and women—tried shaping history via a totally new relationship of practice to theory." (Philosophy and Revolution, 1973, pp. 39, 42)*

## THE 'BIOGRAPHY OF AN IDEA'

Throughout her life, Dunayevskaya often turned aside questions about her "life story," insisting that the only biography that mattered was the "biography of an Idea." It was only when Dr. Philip Mason, Director of Wayne State University's Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, asked her for some "anecdotes" from her "early years" as part of a special lecture and exhibit of her life and work to be held in March 1985, that a search was begun for her documents of the 1920s and 1930s. And when those early documents were found, they revealed that the telling of the stories in no way violated her dedication to following through the "self-determination of the Idea." She said at the lecture then:

*"Two points are involved in this remembrance of things past. One is that embedded in embryo in the past is the presence of the next step, whether or not one is fully conscious of it. Two is that the presence of the future inherent in the 'here and now' charac-*



Raya Dunayevskaya at W.S.U. Archives Lecture, March, 1985

*terizes also the first instinctual reaction which is philosophically called 'first negation.' What makes you move to the second negation creates a new humus for future development." (News & Letters, April 1985, p. 8)*

The "humus" in the remembrance of Raya's early years begins with her experience as a "child of the Russian Revolution," brought to the United States at age 12, settling in an immigrant neighborhood in Chicago, and quickly setting out to join "American Bolsheviks" to help make an American Revolution. She was elated when, more than 60 years later, the words of the "alternative version" of the Pledge of Allegiance she had written in 1923 were located. Before the words could be read to her, she recited them from memory: "I pledge allegiance to the workers' Red Flag/ And to the cause for which it stands/ One aim thruout our life/ Freedom to the working class!" And she described the first strike she ever led—the 1924 Cregier Elementary School walk-out, in protest against corporal punishment and anti-Semitism. From her earliest period in the revolutionary movement, the Black Dimension was central to Raya's activity and thought. In the 1920s, she wrote book reviews for the *Negro Champion* and participated in the work of the American Negro Labor Congress.

Expelled from the youth group of the Communist Party in 1928, she joined the Trotskyist movement. The 1930s were filled with activity, with her participation in the San Francisco general strike of 1934 and support for striking Black sharecroppers in 1936. In 1937 Dunayevskaya travelled to Mexico to become Russian-language secretary to Leon Trotsky. During her period at Coyocan, Trotsky and his staff had to face both the chal-

lenges of the Spanish Revolution and the fight against the Moscow Frame-Up Trials. Stalin was attempting to tie Trotsky and other leaders of the Russian Revolution to Hitler, while secretly negotiating with Hitler himself.

She broke with Trotsky at the time of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact, opposing his view that Russia was a "workers' state though degenerate." Determined to work out what had actually happened to the Russian Revolution, she plunged into both a study of the Russian economy of the 1930s from original sources, and dug into Marx's archives—what were known only as "Preparatory works for the writing of *The Holy Family*," but which later became known as Marx's 1844 *Humanist Essays*. She concluded that Russia had become a "state-capitalist society," and saw in it a new world stage of capitalist oppression. That theory was developed while Dunayevskaya (under the party name of Freddie Forest) was co-leader with C.L.R. James (J.R. Johnson) of the State-Capitalist Tendency within Trotskyism. Yet even this theory of state-capitalism—which was never merely economic analysis, but was permeated with a humanist dimension—did not fully reach to the philosophy of revolution that Dunayevskaya was driving for.

## THE PHILOSOPHIC POINT: 1953 BREAKTHROUGH ON HEGEL'S ABSOLUTES

The single dialectic in thought and in action exploded dramatically in the events of 1949-50. At one and the same time, Dunayevskaya's translation of Lenin's 1914 "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic" and her participation in the 1949-50 coal miners' general strike, laid the ground for different ways of thinking. Of all Marxists, only Lenin had returned to the philosophic foundations of Marxism as a guide to action at the outbreak of World War II. Dunayevskaya's study of the *Philosophic Notebooks* Lenin wrote in 1914, which she called "a great divide" in Marxism, convinced her to deepen her own studies of the dialectic. It was precisely at this moment that coal miners striking against automation raised the totally new question: "What kind of labor should man do?" The experience of looking back on the work of that 1949-50 period in 1984—after a lecture in Morgantown, West Virginia, where the strike had been centered—offered new insights about those years. As Dunayevskaya put it:

*"The telling of (the story) today shows that it was in our activities in that historic 1949-50 strike—where our theoretical and practical work were inseparable—that we find the roots of what became the whole body of ideas we call Marxist-Humanism." (The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1984, p. 42)*

## FROM THE RANKS OF LABOR, BLACKS, WOMEN, YOUTH...

It was only this morning that I got the news of the passing away of Raya. I was shocked. Even now I cannot imagine her gone. Raya, though not with us physically, is there, will always be there, in our hearts, in her ideas and all the works she left behind, a legacy to us all. Through Raya, Marxist-Humanism has come into its own and it is the banner around which freedom and peace can be won in the world.

Phyllis Ntantala  
South African exile

I never met Raya. But I have read a little of what she wrote, and I have come to know the group she founded, News and Letters Committees. It was a shock to me when I heard that she died. As a striking P-9 Hormel worker, I have met just about every group on the Left. But the other Left groups, all the parties, are really on the side of the bureaucrats, not the rank-and-file. They want to be in control of something too. News and Letters is different: you're not trying to take control and run people's lives for them. Raya spent her life trying to make something better for humanity.

P-9 striker  
Austin, Minn.

It is with profound sorrow and deepest regrets that I write you today. I want to extend to the *News & Letters* staff my deepest condolences. I enclose an article I just wrote for a book titled *Wild Women in the Whirlwind: Culture and Politics of the Renaissance in Afro-American Writings*. In it I acknowledge my debt to Raya for her perspicacity in recognizing and publicizing Black female leaders as vanguards in liberation movements. It has been inspirational. Raya's work and her person have made us all so very much richer intellectually and spiritually on the global level. We must all work harder so that her legacy will thrive.

Gloria Joseph  
Christiansted, Virgin Islands

I was saddened to learn of Raya's death. We met in New York City during her speaking tour in 1983, and I im-

mediately felt an affinity toward a kindred spirit. I especially admire her for her emphasis on the role of women in revolution, and in the evolution of political struggle. I regret I was unable to spend more time with her.

Katherine Davenport  
San Francisco

Raya Dunayevskaya has gone, yet I don't totally realize what she has meant to us. My eyes are just opening up and I'm trying to find my place in the struggle. So there's going to be a time when I wish she were around to ask her a question. A event like Howard Beach bothered me, but I didn't have an outlet to discuss it. That is when I began reading *American Civilization on Trial* in a study group. It's not just a pamphlet, when you have people to discuss it with, and explore ideas about what can be done using her philosophy.

Recent graduate  
New York

It is with great sorrow that we learn of the death of Raya Dunayevskaya. Hers has been an exceptional and seminal contribution to the ideas of our times, and her absence will be felt from now on. Personally, I admire her great and original mind. I would like to contribute to the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund as soon as *Extramares*, our new international magazine of arts and letters, gets off the ground.

Cecilia Bustamante  
Peruvian feminist,  
Director, "Extramares"  
Austin, Texas

Although I've only become familiar with a small portion of her work, it's apparent that Comrade Dunayevskaya has done much for the liberation of working people from their oppression. Her faith was that working people wanted and were worthy of freedom. Her concern was that we all be better equipped to understand our situation so that we could know best how to change the system.

Jake Edwards,  
packinghouse worker  
Iowa

It is with profound regret that I learned of Raya's death—but I know that her spirit will be carried on in her writings of, and understanding of Marx's philosophy of revolution. When I first met Raya I was an activist in Black struggles, working with the Panthers, and thought of myself as a 'left' Black Nationalist. Her insight into the philosophy of revolution, which I, as a Black person, found to be of the greatest importance, pointed to the role Blacks play in the struggle for Freedom.

Aaron Chapman  
San Francisco

It was a great shock to hear of the death of Raya Dunayevskaya. Her work, of course, will live on. On behalf of the staff of *Labour/Le Travail* and of the Committee on Canadian Labour History, let me extend our deep condolences, while at the same time noting our shared hopes for a realization of her aims and aspirations.

Gregory S. Kealey  
Editor, "Labour/Le Travail"  
St. John's, Newfoundland

As a new reader of *N&L* my knowledge of Raya Dunayevskaya is limited to reading a few of her columns and the first three chapters of *Marxism and Freedom*. Having considered myself a humanist, I was glad to find the door opened to Marxist-Humanism. In a few short chapters she has broadened both my philosophical horizons and my knowledge of Marx. I will do my best to make her works known to others.

New subscriber  
Tallahassee, Fla.

Beyond the shadow of doubt, Raya was a great woman. She made Marxist history live again in the pages of *News & Letters*, and all of her writings revealed to us a new way of life under Marx's banner of freedom. *American Civilization on Trial* still speaks to me, and I can still hear Charles Denby telling me that this is a great pamphlet. Surely there is no greater gift to hu-

## Responses from Re

mankind than Marx's philosophy. Raya explained it in all she wrote and raised the new banner of freedom in the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

John Allison  
Detroit

## FROM SOCIALIST FRIENDS...

We are saddened to learn of the death of Raya Dunayevskaya. Raya represented a generation of revolutionary socialists who linked the best traditions of the Russian Revolution, and the powerful upsurges of workers in the U.S. and internationally, to the new struggles for freedom in the 1960s, 1970s and '80s. The work of Raya and others like her educated a new generation of activists in the importance and the power of revolutionary ideas when embodied in the activity of mass movements, an understanding which is at the heart of Marxism. Her death is a loss to all of us committed to the worldwide struggle for socialism from below.

"Solidarity" Coordinating Committee  
Detroit

The death of Raya Dunayevskaya came the same day as an earthquake. For those who knew of her contributions to understanding the struggle for human liberation, the quieting of her voice was a shock. She spoke the truth which caused tremors of hope in the oppressed and of fear and rage in those who side with oppression. She was a revolutionary socialist whose dedication to the victory of worker control in production did not blind her to oppressions of race and sex, but rather showed how liberation was to proceed for all together. Her insights into the need for new forms of organization and a philosophy of revolution will continue to challenge all who would draw any tactical peace with any form of oppression...

Abraham Bassford, Sec'y  
Socialist Party of Illinois

# Raya Dunayevskaya, Founder of Marxist-Humanism

When Stalin died in March 1953, so overjoyed was Raya that she felt an "incubus" had been removed from her brain. She deepened her studies of Hegel, finally taking a week off from organizational work in May 1953 to plunge directly into a study of Hegel's Absolutes. In the letters which she wrote expressing her excitement at the new discoveries, Hegel, Marx and Lenin were still so alive for Raya that she carried on a veritable battle of ideas with Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, as she commented on the final chapter of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, "The Absolute Idea":

*"I am shaking all over for we have come to where we part from Lenin. I mentioned before that, although in the approach to the Absolute Idea, Lenin had mentioned that 'Man's cognition not only reflects the objective world, but creates it,' but that within the chapter he never developed it."* (Letter of May 12, 1953, included in Dunayevskaya Archives, #1802)

Dunayevskaya then refused to stop where Lenin stopped, and simply applaud Hegel's "stretching a hand to materialism." Instead she argued with Lenin as though he were right in the room with her:

*"My dear Vladimir Ilyich... you didn't have Stalinism to overcome, when transitions, revolutions, seemed sufficient to bring the new society. Now everyone looks at the totalitarian one-party state: that is the new which must be overcome by a totally new revolt in which everyone experiences 'absolute liberation.'"* (Archives, #1803)

Dunayevskaya's grappling with the todayness of Hegel's Absolutes convinced her not to stop with "Absolute Idea" in the *Science of Logic*, but to go on to the final three syllogisms of "Absolute Mind" in the *Philosophy of Mind*. Those three final syllogisms were added by Hegel only in the last year of his life. Out of her study of both "Absolute Idea" and "Absolute Mind," Dunayevskaya found a dual movement—a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory and a movement from theory which is reaching for philosophy. Hegel's final syllogism, she argued, is really no syllogism at all, but the "Self-Thinking Idea," "the self-determination of fact, reason and reality, self-developing toward the ideal." Here philosophy fully reaches for the "action of cognition."

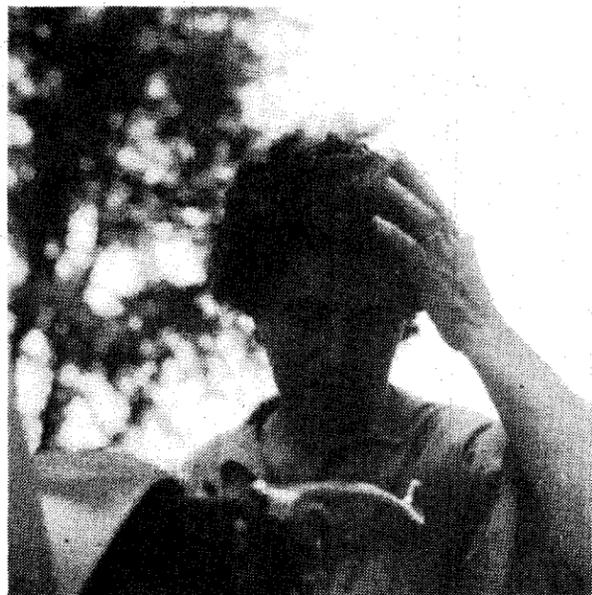
Dunayevskaya's breakthrough in her 1953 letters was itself extended in 1973 in her book, *Philosophy and Revolution*, with the creation of the category, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning." There she pointed to Absolute Negativity inherent in all of Hegel's Absolutes, and argued that "whereas these Absolutes are usually analyzed as 'ends'... this author views them as

new points of departure." (*Philosophy and Revolution*, 1973, pp. xvi-xvii)

The philosophic point, which governed all the concretizations of Dunayevskaya's life and work in the more than three decades that followed, resides in those May 1953 letters on Hegel's Absolutes—whether that concretization be any of her voluminous writings, or the totally new type of organization she was attempting to found. Indeed, even in the last weeks of her life, she returned to these 1953 letters once more, as part of her study of the "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy."

## FOUNDING OF A MARXIST-HUMANIST ORGANIZATION

Thus, when the Letters on Hegel's Absolutes were written in 1953, Dunayevskaya tested all previous theories and searched for new beginnings in the activity of the masses. She felt that the incubus that had been lifted from her brain with Stalin's death must have affected the workers in Russia and East Europe as well. Six weeks after the letters were written, the East German workers burst forth in the first of the East European revolts, challenging not only Russian domination and their own rulers, but all established categories of thought in Marxism. Although it was to take nearly two years, it was this breakthrough on Hegel's Absolutes which led to Dunayevskaya's break with C.L.R. James,



Raya, 1957

the break-up of the State-Capitalist Tendency, and the founding of News and Letters Committees in 1955.

It was the ramifications of the dual movement she saw within the Absolute—from practice and from theory—that were developed concretely in the establishment of *News & Letters*, whose editor was a Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, and in the creation of a column by Dunayevskaya within this worker-edited paper, on philosophic/political questions. Charles Denby had been the colleague with whom Dunayevskaya, in 1953, had discussed the impact of Stalin's death on American workers. And it was Denby who reported to Raya what workers in his auto plant were saying: "I have just the man to fill Stalin's shoes—my foreman."

The first assignment of the newly-formed Committees to their National Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya, was the completion of the book she had been laboring on for 10 years—*Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today*. And the first publication issued by those Committees contained Dunayevskaya's translation of Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic*" and her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes.

The enduring attraction of all of Dunayevskaya's works has been seen not only in their many editions in Italian, Japanese, Spanish, French and German, as well as in English, but in the way revolutionaries in the midst of struggle have found in them new perspectives for their own movements. That was true in her 1962 trip to Africa with her *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* in hand. She challenged all to see that the needed philosophical basis for their rejection of both superpowers—the U.S. and Russia—was the Humanism of Marx.

Iranian revolutionaries translated portions of *Marxism and Freedom* into Farsi in 1979 as they struggled to work out how to fight Khomeini's usurpation of their revolution against the Shah. Raya's books have been circulated underground as well, in Czechoslovakia and Poland, South Korea and South Africa, China and Chile. Chinese dissidents, during Mao's Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, created underground editions of her essay on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-Tung."

## DUNAYEVSKAYA'S HERITAGE AND HER CHALLENGE

Raya's participation in the struggles and ideas of rank-and-file workers, youth, Black activists and women's liberationists drew responses which extended over her entire life:

• Just three months ago, meatpacking workers fighting Reaganism and concessionary contracts, told *News* (continued on page 10)

## Readers and Friends

### FROM SCHOLARS...

I had hoped to meet Raya at one of the Hegel Society of America conferences, but unfortunately we never met. Although our interests lay in different fields, we shared a common interest in Hegel, and it gave me great pleasure to receive her complimentary comments on my translations. She was an indomitable and tireless fighter for a true appreciation of Marx, and she must have been a great inspiration to her colleagues and students.

Arnold V. Miller  
Cirencester, England

I regret very much the sudden passing of Raya Dunayevskaya, an outstanding humanist. It was a real honor for me to have met her personally. Her writings were a source of inspiration for me.

Hanna Batatu  
Virginia

With all of Raya's wonderfully decent soul, and with her admirable balanced appreciation of American democracy in its hope and so often its achievements, this day (July 4) seems to be a good one to celebrate her life and works. Independence Day! What a great slogan for Raya Dunayevskaya every day. I shall hope that more women and men will come to read, ponder, and exercise their minds and hearts over her books.

Robert S. Cohen  
Center for Philosophy and  
History of Science  
Boston University

I have great esteem and admiration for the life, the work and the thought of Raya Dunayevskaya. She knew how to cross the desert without losing hope. Her death leads us to discover how indispensable she was to us all.

Edgar Morin  
Ecole des Hautes Etudes  
Paris, France

## ...AND FROM FRIENDS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM AROUND THE WORLD

The death of Raya Dunayevskaya was the occasion of great sadness for us. We feel that the peoples of the "Third World", and all humanity, have lost a good loving friend and a great thinker.

We were introduced to Raya's writings sometime last year and have been reading and discussing them since. The relevance and applicability of these writings to our Iranian society are astounding. We only regret the fact that our revolutionary movement is still so unfamiliar with Raya's thought. We firmly believe that unless our revolutionary movement rids itself of vulgar Marxism and arms itself with Marxism as a theory of human liberation, a revolutionary victory will not be forthcoming. Raya will always live among us.

Organization of Iranian  
Democrats Abroad  
Chicago

I first saw the news of Raya's death in the [Manchester] *Guardian*, which mentioned it in an article about Leon Trotsky. That the *Guardian* should describe her as "former secretary to Leon Trotsky", not "founder of Marxist-Humanism," underlines the fact that her work is still largely unrecognized. I am confident that in time she will be recognized as the great Marxist thinker of the period from the 1940s through the 1980s. But the recognition will not come automatically; it depends on our task of projecting and developing Marxist-Humanism.

Richard Bunting  
Oxford, England

When I came back from my trip to Bihar, I got the sad news of Raya's death. There are people who should never die and Raya is surely one of them. In fact they don't die—their life and spirit continues on in those who loved them and can carry on their work and ideas. Raya's contribution to revolution and to a new humanity was very deep. Now it's our turn to take up the task. As you say: "we have to proceed together down the untrodden path."

Women's Liberationist  
Bombay, India

It is hard to believe. I find no words indeed. Raya's death is more terrible than you perhaps imagine. This rare woman I knew only through her writings personified the vision of freedom and social equality for which I see no equal. I am with you and the whole "family", and if only as a shadow, I'll stand there with you on July 25 at the Memorial meeting. All of us will continue with Raya's work. That is what all of us owe to her and her memory. That is all I can say at the moment. Still overwhelmed by the news.

Marxist-Humanist  
Czechoslovakia

I don't know how to express my shock and deep sense of loss at Raya's passing away. I love and admire her. She possessed that rare combination of great intellect and selfless love for the exploited working people.

Chinese dissident in exile  
California

I am surprised to hear about the death of Raya Dunayevskaya. I regret having delayed my translation of her book *Philosophy and Revolution*. Though I couldn't publish this translation before her death, I will make efforts to complete the translation and to realize its publication in Japan. I will send some money for the memory of Raya.

Isao Nishida  
Yokohama, Japan

I want to express my sorrow and sympathy with all of you who loved Raya for her being an exceptional human being, respecting her as well as a devoted Humanist Marxist and democratic socialist. It is a great loss of both a dear friend and a passionate philosopher who did not spare her talent and energy when advocating humanism and freedom, not only as individual values, but as the substantial principles upon which alone it is possible to create a better life suited to all individuals and peoples.

Zagorka Golubovic  
Belgrade, Yugoslavia

It was with sorrow bordering on shock that I read your statement announcing the death of Raya Dunayevskaya on June 9. I had only met Raya once, but had for a long time been deeply interested in and impressed by her work, both theoretical, and in practical terms of sustaining and strengthening *News and Letters Committees*. Her commitment to a particular strand of Marxist theory and praxis, Marxist-Humanism, is sorely needed, both in the United States and in the world at-large.

Arieh Lebowitz  
Editor, *Israel Horizons*  
New York

Thank you for the sad news about Raya's death. I offer sincere condolences, personally and on behalf of *Thesis Eleven*. The next issue of our journal will carry an appropriate obituary for her.

Peter Beilharz  
Melbourne, Australia

### 'TO LIVE UP TO HER LEGACY'

To say that I am shocked, stunned, distressed would be to grossly understate the impact of the news of Raya's death, an impact intensified by my assumption that she was immortal, that death was not for her. Of all persons I've had the privilege of knowing in my life, only Martha Graham could match Raya in her uncompromising dedication to a vocation. I use the term advisedly—a dancer to her art, Raya to the one great cause to which all her causes were ancillary—the betterment of humankind.

Richard Huett  
Tarrytown, New York

When I tell others about Raya Dunayevskaya, I usually refer to her as the youngest woman I know. Certainly she has never been younger than in her most recent lectures on youth and in the new look she has taken at her own critique of Lenin's philosophy. I hope to live up to her legacy.

Tim B.  
St. Paul, Minn.

# Black Dimensions, 1920s-1980s, national and international Washington, D.C.

*San Francisco, Cal.*—I first met Raya Dunayevskaya a half century ago when I attended a series of lectures sponsored by the Socialist Party on "The New Deal and the Negro." This may not be the exact title of those lectures, but it was essentially what those lectures were all about—held in a hall on 14th St. in the Northwest section of Washington, D.C. At that time, I considered myself to be part of a "new generation of radicalized Black youth" and came to those lectures both because of the subject matter and the fact that they were featuring a speaker from Howard University.

I can still remember the experience of climbing the steep stairs from the lobby of that hall through a set of double doors that opened into the main auditorium, and just to the right, there was Raya Dunayevskaya standing in front of a table piled with radical literature, engaged in an animated discussion with several people. On the wall behind the table was a colorful display of large Spanish Civil War posters, mostly of CNT (National Confederation of Workers) origin.

Eventually Henry Payne, a Black friend and a former "walking delegate" for the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) in the South, introduced me to Raya. My first impression was mildly skeptical. I thought that she was a small, friendly, white radical literature agent selling Marxist pamphlets. I had encountered many of those people before in Roosevelt's "New Deal."

## From Chicago to Harlem

*Chicago, Ill.*—The Marxism that Raya Dunayevskaya articulated made its first appearance in the Black dimension. Chicago was no simple accident of location for Raya in the radical days of the 1920s when the Palmer Raids, Black migrations from the South and the Garvey Movement made the Americanization of the Russian Revolution more than a vision. For her it meant the unorthodox practice, as an immigrant radical youth on Chicago's Near West Side, of working with the newly founded American Negro Labor Congress and its newspaper, the *Negro Champion*, and with Lovett Fort-Whiteman, their national organizer and editor. She was there, in other words, at the birth of "Black Marxism" in the U.S. Moreover, it was the Black dimension of American society which, she always held, "made me see how much America needed a revolution."

Location—this time Washington, D.C.—had a special significance for Raya Dunayevskaya in the 1930s Depression America. It was the Black intellectual center, with Howard University and Carter G. Woodson's Association for the Study of Negro Life and History as its academic pivots. It was also a city where Jim Crow was still very much alive.

The year 1941 marked the beginning of the State-Capitalist Tendency with C.L.R. James. But while the debates over the state-capitalist theory are what generally get singled out as Dunayevskaya's contribution in this period, it is her original studies in what was then called the "Negro Question" that contained in embryo the new subjective principle that now began to determine Dunayevskaya's search for an indigenous Marxism.

Harlem, and quite singularly the Schomburg Library, was the Black intellectual location of Raya Dunayevskaya's theoretical labors on the "Negro Question" during World War II and in the immediate post-war period. The Schomburg Library was where she wrote such pathbreaking essays as "Marxism and the Negro Problem" (1944 and 1946) where Lenin's thesis on self-determination of nations is comprehensively applied to the Black struggle for the first time; "Negro Intellectuals in Dilemma" (1944) which critiqued both Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* and the Black intellectuals who worked with him (many of whom Dunayevskaya had known during the Depression); "Negroes in the Revolution: The Significance of Their Independent Struggles" (1945) that polemicized against the leading Black politico in the Workers Party, Ernest Rice McKinney; and "Industrialization and Urbanization of the Negro" (1946, 1948) which provided an early Marxist analysis of the process of Black proletarianization.

It was there, in Harlem of the mid-1940s, that a new dimension made its appearance in the "Negro Question"—Africa. At a meeting held at the Schomburg right after the war and sponsored by the NAACP to discuss the question of what attitude to have toward the newly-forming United Nations, Dunayevskaya took public exception to the speech that W.E.B. DuBois had given at the meeting in which he admonished the Africans to look toward the UN for their independence from colonialism. Dunayevskaya argued fervently against such a course and received immediate support from the Africans present when she said that the Africans could expect nothing from an imperialist-dominated UN except more colonialism.

Her next encounter with Africa was not with its intellectuals but with its masses in motion. Revolutionary Africa came to Dunayevskaya in the form of a "magnificent Camerounian" she met in Paris when she was on an organizational tour. He told her of whole villages turning out, "to a man, woman and child," to mass meetings in the formerly German Camerouns to protest the imminent colonial occupation by France.

The year was 1947 and the location was France. Yet, the new African world dimension that had begun to emerge during the war would signal a whole new Third World in less than a decade.

—Lou Turner,  
Black World columnist

But I began to learn, as I continued to attend the forums, that Raya was no mere "literature agent," but was a veteran, for a decade or more, of the historic, ongoing battle against racism in the United States. We were soon engaged in a number of conversations on the current Black political situation, such as Roosevelt's refusal to support an anti-lynching bill, the vile racist speeches of Southern "New Deal" white Congressmen, Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia and the Civil War in Spain. There were no limits to the range of subjects. Raya even brought up Joe Louis as an important symbolic expression of Black liberation as well as Countee Cullen's poem "Heritage" that opens with the line, "What is Africa to me."

I don't want to give the impression that Raya spent a great amount of her time in 1936 discussing current events with a fledgling young Black radical, who was at that time a member of the National Negro Labor Congress and the Workers Alliance. Far from it. She was an activist and agitator par excellence. Indeed, she had come directly to Washington in 1936 from her West Coast activity in the San Francisco General Strike. And at the very moment I met her, she was hard at work building a support organization for striking Black sharecroppers in Arkansas, in cooperation with Professors Ralph Bunche and Dorsey, both then at Howard University. At the same time, she was the most energetic personality among the small group of Trotskyists of which I became a member.

Raya's activity in Washington was only the tip of the iceberg, so to speak, of her previous decade-long activity in the labor and Black movements. It was to take Raya several decades to develop her original, sensitive concept of the Black movement into understanding it as the "touchstone of American civilization" and Black masses in motion as crucial at every turning point in American history. Thus, she established in her philosophy of Marxist-Humanism that the Black struggle for freedom is deeply grounded in "Absolute Negativity" because it seeks a new beginning, a totally new dimension in the concept and practice of human freedom.

—John Alan,  
Black/Red columnist

## African Liberation



Raya Dunayevskaya in The Gambia, 1962

*There is hardly a day one spends in Africa, especially West Africa, when one isn't torn by such conflicting emotions that he is both at a loss for words and so full of them that every word, literally, has a double meaning.*

*You come to Nigeria and see that there really has been no revolution, just a change in Administration...You come to Ghana, and, at first, you are elated, for compared to Lagos, Accra is clean, with wide boulevards where but yesterday there was bush, and the general public does feel it has had more than a change of Administration; there has been a genuine political revolution. Then you pick up the press—and the adulation of Osagyefo, "the Leader," "our Light"... "Nkrumahism, our philosophy, our politics, our life, and our song..."*

*You try to get away, go into the bush where not just neo-colonialism but full colonialism—wave Britannia—rules—the colony and protectorate of The Gambia. There you will meet up with the coming revolution, with the first stages of independence, where the nation is one in wanting out, where this oppression and yet the humor is there—that you even see the international aspect of tribalism. For it is a fact that, whether English or French speaking, each African country speaks that official language only in the cities and only for the whites. Among themselves, not only in the hinterland, but among the sophisticated in the cities, it is the tribal language that conveys the small talk and the big ideas of freedom, freedom, freedom.*

—"The African Revolutions at the Crossroads," Political Letter written from Africa, 1962, microfilm #3038

*Ann Arbor, Mich.*—I was deeply moved by Raya Dunayevskaya's departure. Although I had never really met her, my eyes filled at the news of her departure. I knew she was a friend of Africa and of the human race.

Few Marxists have ever combined so effectively intellectual rigour with such emotional refinement, proletarian consciousness with human empathy.

Although she did not believe in "soul" in my sense, I do wish her soul a proletarian tranquility.

—Yours warmly,

Ali A. Mazrui  
Center for Afroamerican and African Studies  
The University of Michigan

## Marxist-Humanist Archives

*Marx's reference in the Ethnological Notebooks to the Australian aborigine as "the intelligent Black" brought to a conclusion the dialectic he had unchained when he first broke from bourgeois society in the 1840s and objected to the use of the word, "Negro," as if it were synonymous with the word, "slave." By the 1850s, in the Grundrisse, he extended that sensitivity to the whole pre-capitalist world. By the 1860s, the Black dimension became, at one and the same time, not only pivotal to the abolition of slavery and victory of the North in the Civil War, but also to the restructuring of Capital itself. In a word, the oft-quoted sentence: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the Black skin it is branded," far from being rhetoric, was the actual reality and the perspective for overcoming that reality. Marx reached, at every historic turning point, for a concluding point, not as an end but as a new jumping-off point, a new beginning, a new vision.*

—Raya Dunayevskaya, 1983 Introduction to *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard.*

## Black women's liberation

*Chicago, Ill.*—When I first met Raya in the mid-1970s I was emerging as a young Black women's liberationist, participating in some activity with Marxist-Humanist friends. Before then I had not been involved in any freedom movement and had barely heard the name of Karl Marx. Hearing Raya speak on the UCLA campus made me feel freedom is possible, within a hand's reach. The way she presented the reality of the idea of freedom suddenly struck me because the question of the idea and reality were very important to me as an individual. I was into dancing and was being taught that reality and the idea could not possibly meet—that the "beautiful world" had to be created on stage; that the art form was creating the unity that could not be created in the real world.

But Raya spoke of the exact opposite—that the idea of freedom is a part of you and is striving to be made real through revolution. Some months later I was again with Raya, but was very self-conscious as to what I could possibly say to this thinker. I then felt compelled to say: "Raya, I want to break from dance and become a revolutionary." Upon saying this, I felt embarrassed, saying to myself, "How could you speak of something so trivial?" But to my surprise, rather than taking it as trivial, Raya took great interest and had a discussion with me about Martha Graham, who she considered to be a great choreographer but who wanted to make dance the universal.

But for Raya, the universal was the striving to make philosophy and revolution one in the world. Raya had developed her activity and study with Black women for many years before I had met her. Recently she wrote about one incident that I found striking:

*"I started, not with woman scholars originally, but with the working women...I used the following experience to prove how far in advance the so-called ordinary Black women were to the so-called extra-ordinary white intellectual women at the very start of what would become a founder of women's liberation. I'm referring to Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex. I was so utterly infuriated at her existentialist statements that we women haven't produced a Shakespeare in the literary world or a revolutionary like Lenin in the political world and that since men nevertheless are the ones who are oppressing us, it is up to them to free us. I [showed this] to a Black factory worker I was working with. I was happy to see that not only was she just as infuriated as myself, but the first words out of her mouth were, 'Gee, what she's doing to us women is exactly what white men were always doing to Black men. They were always talking about this being the white man's burden.' She proceeded to say that no one ever got their freedom who didn't fight for it..."*

To me that concept of Black women as Reason has always been presented by Raya in her constant search for the development of Black women's thought. This has been my own experience as a Black woman in knowing Raya. The category Woman as Reason had a particular dimension within that Raya helped me see as a task for myself and others—to workout Black women as force and as reason of revolution.

—Diane Lee, Columnist for N&L

*Detroit, Mich.*—I recall the days of the 1960s and the first time I saw the newspaper *News & Letters*. As a Black working mother, I'd seen, heard and done many things, and this paper addressed many things that were important to me. I read several issues all the way through and decided to go to meetings here in Detroit. That's where I first met Raya, and the meetings were all enlightening and educational to me.

I remember when she spoke on the Black Dimension long ago, saying that it was a good time to learn a new language, the language of Black thought. She really developed the concept of time as the space for human development by concentrating on specific historic turning points and what they meant. She will be missed.

—Mary White

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# On the international impact of Marxist-Humanism...

## Japan: Luxemburg studies

**Kamakura, Japan**—Seven years ago, at the beginning of 1980, I established an international association to study Rosa Luxemburg with my colleagues in Europe. Just after that I received from Raya Dunayevskaya a letter and *News & Letters*, which informed me that Raya was writing on Luxemburg. In April 1980, I had a one-hour program on Rosa Luxemburg on Japanese TV. I introduced the Japanese public to Raya's study. That was the beginning of our friendship.

To my great regret I never met Raya. We exchanged letters, and I received her book on Rosa Luxemburg. She identified Luxemburg for the first time as a pioneer of the women's liberation movement in the world. I was impressed very much by the book and shared her assessment, although Peter Netti and others insisted that Rosa Luxemburg had nothing to do with the women's liberation movements of that time.

Surely in May 1898, as Rosa Luxemburg joined the German Social Democratic Party, she rejected the proposal of the leaders of the Party to take part in the women's movement. But the revolutionary theories of Luxemburg contained, of course, women's liberation, and she worked together with Clara Zetkin for it in her praxis. Raya Dunayevskaya pointed out very clearly and sharply this aspect of Rosa's theory and praxis, using the documents of the Women's Conference in 1907 at Stuttgart.

In my view, the most appealing characteristic of Raya Dunayevskaya's life was the unity of her theory and praxis as she wrote on Rosa Luxemburg. Because of the distance between America and Japan, to my regret I could not see her and talk with her. But I know that she worked and wrote always for the freedom of oppressed people and for the liberation of the human being from discrimination and class society. So I share with you our loss of Raya Dunayevskaya.

—Narihiko Ito

## On revolution in Iran

**San Francisco, Cal.**—There could have been no greater time for me to meet Raya Dunayevskaya than March 9, 1979. The still ongoing Iranian revolution had just then brought forth the outpouring of yet another new revolutionary force, Women's Liberation, and Raya had begun the actual writing of her book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which she had been working on since the mid-'70s and to which the Iranian Revolution became integral.

Nothing can erase the fresh memory of that magnificent morning when I—a young revolutionary on my journey to Iran—first saw Raya. She had just finished reading the front-page story in the *Detroit Free Press* with a photo of the mass demonstration of Iranian women on International Women's Day. Her mind was filled with fresh ideas; no sooner did she embrace me than those ideas poured forth. She urged me to translate Ding Ling's "Thoughts on March 8" as her way of a special greeting to embattled women's liberationists in Iran.

As I departed for Iran, I was permeated with hope. This, however, concealed a duality within: both a great desire for the new and a great impatience to get there. I continued my relationship with Raya through correspondence.

Her first letter to me, dated May 14, 1979, begins by pointing out that participation in and analysis of

an ongoing revolution does in fact have a dialectical impact on a revolutionary intellectual, but to assure revolutionary continuity one cannot take the dialectics of thought for granted. In a revolutionary transition period, Raya continued, such as Iran in the spring of 1979, when the impatience to get to the new by practice alone is so overpowering, "nothing is more urgent than to articulate philosophy, practice, organization, in a way that it makes a unity."

Perhaps this is why Dunayevskaya became so delighted when she heard about the translation into Farsi of the chapter from Part two of her work *Marxism and Freedom*, entitled; "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History: 1848-61." As she herself wrote me then: "'Worker and Intellectual...' is a magnificent event, and it is an event rather than just a chapter in a book, both because of its relevance and universality.... I considered the whole idea of the relationship of worker to intellectual (and of how distinct from each other can intellectuals be, depending on their attitude to the proletariat) to be so crucial for the revolutionary movement that I assigned a whole part to that single chapter."

Out of that turning point in history, and out of the rootedness in the philosophic divide between Marx and Lassalle, Raya had created a whole new category for our time that had as well organizational consequences. It was not until later, after my return to what Raya referred to as "the land of Marxist-Humanism," that I first learned that this new conception of worker and intellectual is that by which Dunayevskaya had formed the very core of *News & Letters* as both organization and paper.

—Raha, July 6, 1987

## England: power of ideas

**Hove, England**—It is 20 years ago that I first wrote to Raya. I had been reading odd copies of *News & Letters* along with her *Marxism and Freedom*, which is undoubtedly the best introduction to Marxism in print! I had accused Raya of being obsessed with "past history" and "obsolete terminology." She replied by reiterating the simple truth she was so often to emphasize—that on the eve of great "disasters" the past has a habit of coming to life, illuminating both the present and the future.

Raya went on to suggest that it was no coincidence that while the U.S. establishment was faced by revolts against Automation, the Russians launched their "attack" on a number of obscure essays, written by Marx, accusing their author of still being under the influence of "mystical" Hegelianism. She insisted on relating theory to practice, or practice moving into theory in terms of the bureaucracy's attack upon the "negation of the negation," to the East German revolt of 1953.

The real power of Marx's ideas, especially if approached in the manner of Raya in all her work, but more recently in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, was clearly demonstrated to me 15 years after my first contact with N&L. While working on a Ph.D. at the university, I gave two lectures on the theme "Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution." Approximately 200 students attended.

I based my contribution on the Luxemburg book. Here Raya not only educates the reader in Marxist philosophy—the great divide between Hegel and Capital, the transformation of the former's "revolution in philosophy" into a "philosophy of revolution"—but relates it to the feminist question, that essence of class soci-

ety's problem, the man/woman relationship referred to in the *Ethnological Notebooks of Marx*.

I was myself staggered at the intensity of interest shown by the students. After each session I was bombarded by individuals wanting more information. A further six copies of *Philosophy and Revolution* were placed in the library, and for several weeks afterwards the *Ethnological Notebooks* were transferred to "short-term" loan category.

Raya was truly one of those "live human beings" referred to on the final page of her last major work.

—Bob Potter

## Frank Monico, 1922-1987



Frank Monico (M. Franki) with Raya Dunayevskaya, Scotts Run, West Virginia, 1948

At the end of World War II the American working class, led by the coal miners, erupted in near general strikes that shook the nation. Unlike the other leaders who shook their heads in sorrow and commiserated with Frank over the loss of his right leg to shrapnel fire in Germany, Raya challenged him to realize his revolutionary potential by working with the miners in the coal fields. Frank decided to go to West Virginia.

When the historic coal miners' general strike of 1949-50 exploded, Frank became a familiar figure with the roving miner pickets who closed down all mining operations in the state. It was quite a sight to see him doggedly pick his way along the narrow, gutted dirt roads that snaked precipitously up and down the hills of Appalachia that had to be traveled on foot when we got to non-union mines. And while it is true that Frank gained much inspiration from the magnificent actions of the miners, he also inspired them by his own example.

Frank not only played a major role in those concrete developments, he made an important contribution to the pamphlet, *A 1980s View: The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.* (1984) He regularly contributed articles and editorial cartoons for *News & Letters*. And in 1976, Frank co-authored the *News & Letters* pamphlet, "America's First Unfinished Revolution."

We mourn the death of Frank—friend, comrade and working-class fighter. But at the same time, we celebrate the memory of his life and work.

—Excerpts from the In Memoriam statement by Andy Phillips, read in Berkeley, Calif., June 21, 1987

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# Raya Dunayevskaya, Founder of Marxist-Humanism

(continued from page 7)

& Letters of the illumination cast on their own 1987 struggles by the original concluding chapter of *Marxism and Freedom*, "Automation and the New Humanism."

• Just last year, South African revolutionaries spoke directly to the question of a philosophy of liberation when they told us: "We can understand why the Marxist-Humanists felt a need to call themselves not just Marxists, but Marxist-Humanists, because the humanism has been removed from Marx to such an extent that people thought they could come with certain theories and ideas just from the top—the intellectuals theorizing and telling the people how to liberate themselves." Dunayevskaya's original view of "Black masses as vanguard" of all forward movement in this society, developed in the 1963 work *American Civilization on Trial*, had long singled out the "two-way road between the U.S. and Africa" as the international pathway of freedom ideas.

• Through 1986 and into 1987, Raya was also absorbed in a correspondence with non-Marxist Hegel scholars Louis Dupre and George Armstrong Kelly, as she returned again to the subject of her 1953 letters on Hegel's Absolutes and probed the differences between Hegel's Science of Logic and his Encyclopedia on the "Idea of Cognition" and the "Absolute Idea."

• In the last year of her life, Raya welcomed the dialogue opened with feminist writer and activist Adrienne Rich, whose review of all four of Dunayevskaya's major books caught the essence of Raya's life and work: "What I hear Dunayevskaya saying above all is that we have reached the point in history where real freedom is attainable, if we are willing to commit ourselves to a more inclusive definition of freedom than has ever been attempted. If indeed Marx was moving in such a direction, we can't leap forward from Marx without understanding where he left off, and what he left to us."

• Raya's last two public lectures were to audiences of youth activists on Illinois campuses. Her words there, on the youth movements of the 1960s and the 1980s, spelled out a challenge to those who heard her to work out the "idea of freedom" in all its dimensions—in thought and in life.

She challenged all to "reach to philosophy." But nowhere was what she called "the battle of ideas" waged more sharply than with all tendencies, who were being tested by the national-international, objective-subjective crises of our age. Her sharp critiques ranged from those of rulers like Mao to non-rulers like the Trotskyist Mandel; from those she considered serious theoreticians, like Adorno, to those she considered dilettantes playing at revolution, like Regis Debray; from such serious Marxist philosophers as Antonio Gramsci to "the outsider looking in," Jean-Paul Sartre. She corresponded with Marxist theoreticians, as well as scholars throughout the world—from Silvio Frondizi to Herbert Marcuse; from Erich Fromm to A.V. Miller; from East European dissidents to African revolutionaries.

After a full lifetime of such battles, by the 1980s Dunayevskaya created the original category of "post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative." A crucial moment in the creation of that category was Dunayevskaya's analysis of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*. This work of Marx's last years, which was only transcribed in the 1970s, revealed to her both how profoundly Marx concretized his 1844 Humanist Essays in the "new moments" of his last decade, and how seriously his closest follower and collaborator, Engels, had diverted from them in his effort to "update" Marx—his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

With her *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* in 1982, Raya

## Among Hegel scholars...

*West Barnstable, Mass.*—Raya Dunayevskaya was my friend for several years, an ever faithful and probing letter writer, particularly on philosophical questions relating to Hegel's dialectics and their misappropriation by certain other schools of thought. Through this correspondence Raya became a familiar presence to me, not because she revealed her life in so many words, but because every sentence seemed steeped in her personality and the energizing flavor of her revolutionary commitment. When I finally met Raya on one of her trips to New York City, she moved immediately into the image I had framed of her. Thereafter, she was physically fastened to her legend, so that I could literally watch her speak while I read her words.

I must say something about her formal writings and her intellectual and philosophical praxis. Raya Dunayevskaya wanted freedom, with dignity, for all people: she understood this as an active goal of human labor, sacrifice, and spirit. And so she was a worker—a journalist, an organizer, an agitator—first, and an intellectual second. But her philosophical and historical understanding was keen; she corrected academically or politically prestigious writers on a number of issues; and she deserves to be remembered as a serious and independent voice in the Marxist social debate.

Raya and I had deep disagreements, she as a Marxist humanist, I as a Christian democrat—and we took friendly pleasure in provoking one another or in conspiring against the bourgeoisie. Yet I honored her, and do honor her, as a great soul, endowed with stamina, charm, wit, and will. Christian words (she must spare me her frown) apply to her: she was "of good cheer"; she wore "the breastplate of righteousness"; she "fought the good fight and kept the faith."

—George Armstrong Kelly

developed the category of "post-Marx Marxism" through a look at the greatest revolutionaries—Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky. Her work was a challenge to all revolutionaries today to measure up to the uniqueness of both Marx's Humanism and Marxist-Humanism. It was with that work and that challenge in hand that Raya undertook an extraordinary two-month tour for the Marx Centenary in 1983—a tour that took her to more than 40 lectures across the country.

## A SUMMATION THAT IS A NEW BEGINNING

Her passion from the last day of that tour to the last week of her life was to create a summation of the 30-year development of the Idea of Marxist-Humanism. She called it "a summation that is a new beginning," and "Marxist-Humanism digging into itself." In her last five years there was virtually no new publication that bore her name which did not include an "Introduction/Overview" by her as "a 1980s view" of the long

## 'A generous legacy'



Raya Dunayevskaya with John Dwyer (Peter Mallory), 1984.

*At the funeral service for Raya, June 12, brief passages from Hegel, Marx and Dunayevskaya were read. The service closed with the following words from her comrade and husband, John Dwyer. She was then buried at Waldheim Cemetery, close by the monument to the Haymarket Martyrs of 1886.*

The passing of Raya Dunayevskaya is a blow that none of us was prepared for. We have become so used to her guidance at every stage of world crisis, organizational difficulties and even personal problems that it will be difficult to know where to turn for the advice that she was so generous in offering.

Although she was self-educated, her wisdom and knowledge permitted her to confront her most learned colleagues on a doctoral level in their own fields and come out best.

She advanced the field of philosophy and Marxism from the morass into which it had fallen under both Stalinism and Trotskyism and advanced it to new heights under the banner of Marxist-Humanism.

From the time of her arrival in Chicago at the age of 12 she began the struggle that she continued up until the time of death at 77. She had traveled throughout the world both seeking enlightenment, and teaching and enlightening others. Her trips to England, France, Italy, several African nations, Hong Kong and Japan, where she lectured at several universities, made her an internationally known and respected figure. Wherever injustice raised its head, she could be found in the forefront combating it—from the coal fields of West Virginia, back to her high school days in Chicago where she first made headlines fighting discrimination.

Raya did not depart without leaving us a great and generous legacy. Her legacy was a body of ideas, Marxist-Humanism, and an organization to implement them.

Her burdens were heavy. She wrote the books, had to overcome prejudice and bigotry and fight the system to get them published. Academia refused to recognize her as one of their own, and she had to claw her way to the top. While working night and day she had to build an organization to promote these ideas and overcome opposition from within and without the organization.

Even on her deathbed she sold copies of her book to doctors and distributed *News & Letters* to her nurses. We cannot allow these heroic efforts to pass unnoticed.

The best tribute that we can pay to her here and now is to swear that her efforts have not gone in vain. That we will continue, not only to promote Marxist-Humanism and its philosophy, but continue her work in enlarging upon it, for no philosophy is a dead instrument. It lives, grows and must be enlarged upon.

If she were here today, that is the task that she would set before us. As she was stricken, she was at work on a new book and the preparation for the fall national meeting. The task of building and expanding was uppermost in her mind.

The very least we, as her comrades, can do is to take up the battle where she left off and carry it on to build the better world for us all that was her dream in life. Let her dream become reality; that is the best memorial that we can offer her today.

—John F. Dwyer  
Read June 12, 1987

trek in the self-determination of the Idea of Marxist-Humanism.

Thus, her "Introduction/Overview" to *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* (1985) concludes:

*"As Marx insisted from the very beginning, nothing can be a private enclave; neither any part of life, nor organization, nor even science. In his Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts he proclaimed that: 'To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie.' The truth of this statement has never been more immediate and urgent than in our nuclear world, over which hangs nothing short of the threat to the very survival of civilization as we have known it."*

What confronts us now is not only the daily new horrors of Reaganism and Gorbachevism, but both the utter failure of post-Marx Marxists to ground themselves in Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence," and the unfinished nature of all the movements from practice. The "changed world" of 1987 which Raya Dunayevskaya pinpointed, crisis by crisis, over the whole past year has been profoundly deepened by the loss of her corporeal presence. Never has Dunayevskaya's original concept of Archives, not as past but as future, been more essential.

In response to the incompleteness of the movements of the 1960s, when too many of the new generation of revolutionaries thought "theory" could be caught "en route," Dunayevskaya donated her documents in 1969 to Wayne State University, and has continually expanded her collection—now called "Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development"—ever since. Her insistence on sharing with the world the process of her creation of the philosophy of revolution for our age, rather than just its conclusions, while she was still alive, is unprecedented—not only in the history of "archives" but in the history of the whole revolutionary movement.

The book she was working on at the moment she died—a work she had tentatively entitled "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy"—must remain unfinished. But the ongoing nature of her concept of archives as rooted in the future can be seen in her last "Theory/Practice" column, which we print in this issue on page one.

It is in that column that she quotes the penultimate paragraph of her *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which reads: "Only live human beings can recreate the revolutionary dialectic forever anew. And these live human beings must do so in theory as well as in practice."

We intend to devote all our energies and passion to help bring this revolutionary dialectic to full realization in our age. We ask you to join us in that effort.

—Olga Domanski and Michael Connolly,  
Co-National Organizers, for  
News and Letters Committees

## Trotskyism in 1930s...

*Los Angeles, Cal.*—I have only the fondest memories of Raya. I was probably the first person that she got to know intimately when as a young Trotskyist she came to New York about fifty-five years ago. In those early years we threw ourselves with all of our youthful energies into the struggle against Stalinism and all of its treacherous and murderous manifestations.

Utilizing *The Militant* which came out in special editions and Trotsky's books which we financed and published in those years of the Depression, holding countless public meetings which the Stalinist hoodlums tried to break up, and taking advantage of every other available forum, we carried on the intense educational work of combatting the nefarious theories and activities of international Stalinist communism.

We exploded the theory of social fascism which contributed to the rise of Nazism in Germany and called for a united front of the Socialist and Communist parties. We exposed the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinists in the Spanish Civil War and called for Workers Councils. We blasted the Moscow Trials. We predicted that the Hitler-Stalin Pact would lead to World War 2. We confronted the Stalinists on every front nationally and internationally with our own revolutionary program. No one was more dedicated and passionately active in these struggles than the young Raya. It was there and in her role as Trotsky's secretary that she served her apprenticeship to become a leader and founder in her own right of the Marxist-Humanist cause.

With her unfaltering integrity, intelligence and dedication, Raya grew to her full height. It was always amazing to me how she was able to draw from what seemed to me an inexhaustible source of energy. She could do many things and do them quickly and well, from political thinking, writing, and activity to the preparation of a meal. She had an extraordinary drive which permitted her to achieve whatever personal and political goals she set for herself. At the same time she was a woman, a soft, caring, and sensitive woman with a great heart. She was a romantic in the best sense of the word. She had a love of beauty and a deep appreciation of music, the arts, and literature. It was she who introduced me to the works of Marcel Proust.

She was always the friend. In April of last year when she heard that I had suffered a heart attack, she promptly sent me a beautiful card in which she expressed her concern and support, asking how she could help, and characteristically included her own thoughts on the then political situation.

—Mark M. Sharron



Raya Dunayevskaya at age 11

I come from Russia 1917, and the ghettos of Chicago, where I first saw a Black person. The reason that I'm starting that way—it happens to be true—but the reason that I'm starting that way is that I was illiterate. You know, you're born in a border town—there's a revolution, there's a counter-revolution, there's anti-Semitism—you know nothing, but experience a lot. Especially if you happen to be born a revolutionary, right? That is, you don't know that you're a revolutionary, but you're opposed to everything.

Now how does it happen that an illiterate person, who certainly didn't know Lenin and Trotsky, who as a child had never seen a Black, had begun to develop all the revolutionary ideas to be called Marxist-Humanism in the 1950s? It isn't personal whatsoever! If you live when an idea is born, and a great revolution in the world is born—it doesn't make any difference where you are; that becomes the next stage of development of humanity.

—microfilm #5818 September, 1978

## From a Philippine student

**Manila, The Philippines**—After a two-month summer organizing activity in one of the provinces, I received news about a fallen friend who died in an ambush in early June. The ambushers were believed to be ultra-rightists. Reeling from the death of this friend, the thought of another death within the ranks of revolutionaries, Raya Dunayevskaya, is so saddening. It is hard to accept the fact that one of the greatest philosophers of our time, who had a link with the historic past, is gone.

It is really saddening for me that my plans of seeing her personally in the future have vanished. The urgency of writing her about my own understanding of Marx and Hegel, my task of developing a Marxist-Humanist perspective for the Philippines, and how that perspective could be put into political practice, did not come. A very unfortunate event indeed for me.

I could not help but admire the consistency of her struggle against bourgeois society, even surpassing the bounds of an "institutionalized radical" philosophy which has divorced theorizing from political practice, and beyond the clutches of a pseudo-Marxist perspective.

The time when I learned about her works way back in 1984 was just an accident when I came to know *News & Letters* in a small library in the university. Practically my understanding of what is Marxism changed as I plunged into a one-year study. I was so challenged by the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism as I came from another strand of Marxist thought. But as the years passed, Raya's philosophy of Marxist-Humanism, its simple and down-to-earth language, and my project of bridging the so-called gap between Marx and Hegel, proved to be enriched as I read Raya's works.

The only task left for me now is to recreate Marxist-Humanism as events in our country unfold in the movement of history, as the workers and the masses continue to struggle for freedom. For me Raya's legacy is now rooted in the Philippines. It is just a matter of developing it indigenously. Raya's contribution is far-reaching, beyond the boundaries of nations and rooted in the thought of humanity—worker's struggles, the Blacks and the women—aiming to create a new world out of the old order.

—Correspondent

## Maturing with Raya's ideas

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—The ideals and issues that *News and Letters* Committees brings out have influenced my family ever since I can remember; because of this I was aware of some of the injustices of our society to different cultures and within itself. Yet it all seemed removed from myself and my life.

Not until this last year, my senior year of high school, did I really start to understand some of the ideals of Marxist-Humanism and realize that not only did our entire world need to be questioned, but my small community too.

I started to read *News & Letters* and some of Raya's writings, and I recently saw on videotape the talk Raya gave on the youth of the 1980s at Northern Illinois University. The talk was exciting, for she pointed out that the surge of demonstrations and awareness of the 1960s is being sparked up again in the 1980s—and I am part of that! The talk also made me realize how my own mind was warped from the books I studied in school. It seems that many of the ideals people fight for get watered down and lost in history books.

As I started maturing through Raya's ideas, I so looked forward to seeing her at the 1987 *News and Letters* Committees national conference—not as the little girl she once knew, but as the woman I am becoming largely due to her ideas. I am only beginning to grasp them, but I do know she has given me a great perspective on life.

Remembering Raya from when I was a small child, I remember that I loved her smile and sweet kindness. I now remember her ideas which have deepened my love and respect for Raya, and will continue to inspire me.

—Samara

## Personality of an idea

**Toronto, Canada**—I am rushing to get this written and mailed before the impending postal workers' strike. Our Reagan look-alike Prime Minister, Mulroney, talks out of one side of his mouth about respecting union rights while, at the same time, his government's response to last week's rotating strikes was to counteract with strikebreakers. In one Canadian city a welfare recipient was told to scab or lose his eligibility. So if this letter doesn't make it in time for the memorial issue, I'm sure Raya would understand.

I attended a *News and Letters* annual convention in the late '70s. I had then recently learned about Marxist-Humanism and was very impressed with what I had read in *News & Letters* and particularly the brilliant writing of Raya Dunayevskaya. In the lobby of the hall before the first session of the conference I attended, some conversations were going on. I was standing next to a group of African intellectuals who were attending as guests. They were talking to an ordinary looking middle-aged woman speaking in an animated fashion.

As I listened in, I began to grow embarrassed for these African guests. The woman spoke as much with her hands and her eyes as she did with her words, which were not very intellectual at all. I began to worry that these guests would get the wrong impression of *News and Letters* from her. Then I chastised myself for being so snobbish and reminded myself that *News and Letters* was a union of intellectuals and workers. I felt ashamed that I should feel embarrassed by this apparently uneducated, though lively, working woman.

It was only a few minutes later that I was introduced to this woman who was, of course, Raya Dunayevskaya, the same Raya Dunayevskaya whose writings on Hegel I was struggling to make sense of.

Raya's writings continue to be—as they were then—a guiding light for me in my understanding of the development of human history (i.e., the history of the struggle for human freedom) and my own place in it. Her discovery of Marx's humanism and its meaning for today's dialectic of liberation has helped me—every day of my life—to make sense out of the chaos of our de-humanized social relations and find the strength to struggle on.

But I will never forget that brief encounter with the person behind the writings, in whose shadow I felt so uncomfortable for a few seconds on that Labor Day weekend. The honesty, vivacity and simplicity of her personality were not, of course, incongruent with the brilliance of her intellectual work. Quite the opposite.

My memory of Raya: in conversation with others, being herself, unaware of my existence...teaching me about "opposites."

—Long-time supporter

## Marxist-Humanist Archives

We feel that the youth are a most precious source of our development. We recognize that even though the youth are not directly involved in production, they are the ones whose idealism in the finest sense of the word combines with opposition to existing adult society in so unique a way that it literally brings them alongside the workers as builders of the new society.

—1958 Amendment to Constitution of *News and Letters* Committees

... tarry at the following words — "source," "idealism," "combined with opposition." Here I must stop to explain the history, the ongoing history, as well as the philosophy needed to fully understand "language." As against the political-economic use of the word "source" as something just material, Amílcar Cabral used it in a unique way. He refused to separate it from the live Subject—revolutionaries; he merged source with Subject; he stressed that the youth—children, actually—had passed out leaflets to the Portuguese soldiers asking why they were fighting African freedom fighters instead of fighting their fascist oppressors. Remember also that both Cabral and Eduardo Mondlane singled out women as well as youth. (See Mondlane's *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Penguin Books, 1969, which has a beautiful picture of the women's delegation at the FRELIMO Congress.) It's in that unique way that I used the word "source" in our Constitution when I wrote "the youth are a most precious source" of our development.

—"On Listening to Marx Think as Challengers to All Post-Marx Marxists," Letter to the Youth from Raya, Volume XI: 1981-1985 — *Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts*, microfilm #8185.

## A new concept of youth

**Chicago, Ill.**—I remember my first meeting with Raya at a national gathering of *News and Letters* Committees in Detroit. She came up to me with a friendly smile and began asking me, a 15-year-old, about my interests, and told me about how important youth were to her as builders of the new society. I was very impressed with her respect for youth as thinkers.

Youth were always crucial to Dunayevskaya. She had singled out youth as a revolutionary category as early as the 1950s when they were ridiculed as the "Beat Generation." She had greeted the Black youth who helped initiate the Montgomery Bus Boycott and made a category of that boycott for being spontaneous, self-organized and at all times about new human relations.

In the 1960s she directly related the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries to the Black Revolution, and inspired the creation of such *News & Letters* pamphlets as *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves* and *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution*, in which she herself participated. But she was also critical of the 1960s youth activists attraction to theories of guerrilla warfare as a shortcut to mass revolution and not taking seriously Marx's new Humanism.

### ENCOUNTER WITH GENUINE MARXISM

I had first encountered Dunayevskaya's ideas in high school at the end of the 1970s, when I was just getting exposed to different tendencies in the Left. I remember reading a Political-Philosophic Letter she had written on the Iranian Revolution. For me it was such a surprise to see her solidarity with the indigenous revolutionary struggles against Khomeini at a time when most of the Left activists I knew were supporting Khomeini, and to see her speak of a genuine Marxism, Marx's Humanism, as what the movement needed to begin on totally new human foundations. That was completely different from the "Marxism" I had been exposed to before. And when I met Dunayevskaya at a *News and Letters* Plenum and heard her speak, a strong bond tied my life to her philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

In the 1980s, Raya was either writing major letters to the youth or giving talks to youth audiences every year. Her very last two public lectures were on "Youth of the 1980s, Youth of the 1960s: The Other America and the Idea of Freedom." In her last public talk on youth at Northern Illinois University this past April, where 500 students heard her, she posed the question of what it means to be "thought divers as well as activists who want to change the world to truly new human relations." She considered Karl Marx's youth, his founding of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution, most relevant for 1980s youth.

To Raya, youth were never just an energetic and enthusiastic force of revolution. Rather, their idealism, their seriousness about the philosophy of freedom and transforming this oppressive society, made them a very important Reason of revolution.

### CHALLENGE TO THE YOUTH

To me, this is what makes it so urgent for us to grapple with what she had written in a letter to youth in 1983, entitled "Challenge to the Youth on the Needed Total Uprooting of the Old and the Creation of New Human Relations":

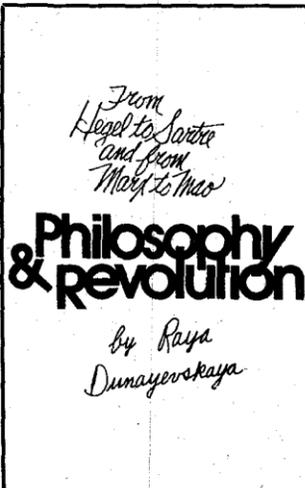
"...I'm really appealing to the Youth....Becoming a thought diver and an activist in this period demands nothing short of practicing the challenge to all post-Marx Marxists, and thereby creating such new ground for organization, such concretization of Marx's revolution in permanence as to find a new way to let the actual revolution be." —Sheila Fuller, youth columnist

## Philosophy and Revolution

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, when the established society is undermined and a foundation is laid for a new social order....

The objectivity of today's thirst for theory has led this author to view, from the vantage point of today's needs, both Marx's analysis of the proletarian "quest for universality," and the "in-itselfness" of Hegel's Absolutes. Whereas these absolutes are usually analyzed as "ends," as if Absolute Negativity were not inherent in them, this author views them as new points of departure. Absolute Negativity pervades, moves, does not let go of Absolute Knowledge, Absolute Idea, Absolute Mind. Because Marx's rootedness in, and Lenin's "return" to, Hegel at crucial historical moments illuminate the problems of our day, their philosophic developments are as central as are Hegel's own works to this book's Part One, "Why Hegel? Why Now?"

—from Introduction to first edition, 1973



As rain drips  
across these New York rooves  
playing the strings and harmonies  
of nostalgia's waterproofs  
I sit here running through  
the pages of my memory

It must about been six years ago  
that we took that early morning ride  
on the Staten Island ferry  
The sun breaking through the clouds  
We sat outside  
against the breeze  
that cut through our hair.  
The same ride you took with Alfred Rosmer  
speaking of the Paris Communards

Their voices are not lost  
over a hundred years  
from France to New Caledonia  
Across the ages ...  
Eugene Debs at Ashland Auditorium  
remembering the great Abolitionist  
Wendell Phillips  
Erich Fromm wondering if there was anybody left  
who knew Rosa Luxemburg  
Like Penthesilea, you smiled  
but my god you people are no Achilles

You, who travelled to Africa,  
Asia, Europe  
and all parts of these dis-United States,  
who befriended auto workers,  
poets  
found wisdom is the words from the streets  
and the sound of the blues,  
truth is not a minted coin  
which can be given and  
pocketed ready made; You  
a thought diver, diving deep and  
coming up again with bloodshot eyes

Ideas were your weapons  
as you cut through the fog  
of these times  
refusing to cease from Mental Fight  
I heard you in a tiny corner of mid Wales  
others came from Teheran,  
or the rust belt USA  
Your words brought new meaning  
Passion, the word comes from the late Latin,  
passio, meaning suffering



Death here becomes a beacon to the future—the inter-communication between the ages will continue until a new, liberated world is born.—Raya Dunayevskaya, In Memoriam for Natalia Sedova Trotsky, 1962

more as pati, meaning patient  
but passion is also the love and feeling  
of sensuous, living, human beings  
And you loved life with a passion  
A passion for all things human  
A passion for freedom

Now you've left us  
passed the unpassable  
in a moment  
where time seemed to stop still  
Left us these hard times  
and the unfinished nature of things  
feeling more vulnerable with what  
the future might bring

The Ideal and the Real are never far apart  
you said  
And I wondered what you meant  
as I heard that your book **Marxism and Freedom**  
was passed from hand to hand, like a Samizdat,  
by those fighting from under Communism  
So called, you said  
**Marxism is a theory of liberation**  
or it is nothing  
History has its leaps and breaks  
and time brings with it shadows snakes  
Mind treads forth but body hesitates  
with that moment it becomes too late.

Betrayed by your body  
the lowest bellow from Coleman Hawkins' sax  
breaks the silence  
as **Body and Soul**  
whispers along the waterfront  
death is also the life of the spirit

There is no turning the clock back  
Now ... history is always in the making  
I scream (I had the feeling that all was lost)  
as I watch the clouds fill with tears  
and thunder shout sheets from  
Indiana to Illinois,  
You laughing in my dreams,  
The night before your body made  
its final journey;  
In full fruition of its essence,  
eternally sets  
itself to work, engenders and enjoys itself as  
Absolute Mind.

Fred Shelley  
June 27, 1987

## Theory/Practice

(continued from page 1)

as the young Marx, in first turning to what he called 'Economics,' had discovered the proletariat as the Subject who would be the 'gravedigger of capitalism' and the leader of the proletarian revolution, so, at the end of his life, Marx made still newer discoveries as he turned to new, empirical anthropological studies like Morgan's *Ancient Society* as well as to the imperial incursions into the Orient and the carving up of Africa."

Here is what I proposed to add at that point:

That seems to have been the first point so misunderstood by post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Frederick Engels, who, without having known of the massive *Ethnological Notebooks* Marx had left behind, undertook to write his own version of Morgan's work—his *Origin of the Family*—as a "bequest" of Marx. When Ryazanov discovered these notebooks, he rushed, before he ever had a chance to decipher them, to characterize them as "inexcusable pedantry." If an Engels, who was a close collaborator of Marx and without whom we could not have had Volumes II and III of *Capital*, could nevertheless suddenly have gotten so overconfident about his own prowess of interpreting Marx as to assume he was speaking for Marx; if an archivist-scholar like Ryazanov could, at a time when he was actually publishing those magnificent early essays of Marx (the 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*), spend a good deal of his first report on the Archives of Marx in asking for 20 to 30 people to help him sort these manuscripts out, and yet pass judgment before he dug into them—it says a great deal about literary heirs but nothing whatsoever about so great an historic phenomenon as Marx's Marxism. Isn't it time to challenge all of the post-Marx Marxists when even those who have achieved great revolutions—and none was greater than the 1917 Russian Revolution—did not, in thought, measure up to Marx? Isn't it time to dig into what Marx, who had discovered a whole new continent of thought, had to say for himself?

My letter to my colleagues then concluded:

The fact that in my latest work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, I focus on Marx's "translation" of absolute negativity as the revolution in permanence, calling that the absolute challenge to our age, will draw still greater criticism from academia and outright attacks from post-Marx Marxists. This makes it necessary to be prepared, not only for that encounter, but for further concretizing that challenge. With this in mind, I decided to add that paragraph quoted earlier directly to the Introduction. For while it is true that the actual events of the 1970s—*Women's Liberation* on the one hand, and the publication of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* on the other—are what first led to a renewed interest in Rosa Luxemburg; and while it is true also that the *Women's Liberation Movement* helped disclose the feminist dimension in Luxemburg never before recognized; it is not true that that is the goal of the new book.

The need to see all post-Marx Marxists in strict relationship to Marx's Marxism is what revealed that even so great and independent a revolutionary as Rosa Luxemburg did not fully comprehend Marx's dialectics of liberation and thereby committed her biggest error—disregard of the revolutionary nature of Polish desire for national self-determi-

nation. Put simply, the determinant of the new book is Marx's philosophy of revolution. This is not for any academic reason, or any sort of orthodoxy, but the fact that his works disclosed a trail to the 1980s and revealed the problematic of this age. The totally new question that Luxemburg posed—socialist democracy after gaining power—pointed to a new aspect of Marxism itself.

The new moments in Marx that the book discloses and that center around what we now call a Third World are not limited to the manner in which Marx revealed an "Asiatic mode of production" in the *Grundrisse*. Rather, this is extended to the 1880s as Marx was commenting on Morgan's *Ancient Society* and other then-new anthropological works on India, on the Australian aborigines, as well as in his letters both on his visit to Algeria and his correspondence with revolutionaries in Russia on the ancient commune there and its possible transformation into an altogether new type of revolution. In a word, it is to revolution in permanence that the book keeps returning, whether the subject is Luxemburg, or Lenin, or *Women's Liberation*, or the Hegelian dialectic. At the same time, we must keep in mind that, whereas it is Marx who transformed Hegel into a contemporary, and transformed the Hegelian dialectic into the Marxian dialectic of liberation, the revolution is also present in Hegel. Hard as Hegel tried to confine this to a revolution in thought alone, he made his presence felt in history, even as he spoke of *The Philosophy of Mind and History of Philosophy*. As Hegel put it:

All revolutions, in the sciences no less than in general history, originate only in this, that the spirit of man, for the understanding and comprehension of himself, for the possessing of himself, has now altered

his categories, uniting himself in a truer, deeper, more intrinsic relation with himself.

Now return to our own situation, and think of the attacks that we will be facing in 1987, when we state openly that even the one post-Marx Marxist revolutionary who did reach deeply into philosophy—Lenin—nevertheless did not do so on the question of organization. In truth, he never renounced his position on the vanguard party set out in 1902 in *What is to be Done?*, though he often critiqued it himself. He profoundly extended his new breakthrough in philosophy to a concretization of the dialectics of revolution, and yet never changed his position on the need for the "thin layer of Bolsheviks" as a vanguard party organization. In 1982 in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, we critiqued Lenin politically. To fully work out the dialectics of philosophy and organization for our age, it is now clear that that critique must dig deep philosophically.

The whole truth is that even Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*, which remains the ground for organization today, was written 112 years ago. What is demanded is not mere "updating," after all the aborted revolutions of the post-World War II world. "Ground" will not suffice alone; we have to finish the building—the roof and its contents. This is what I am working on now in the *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy*. I would appreciate hearing from our readers on their thoughts on this.

—June 5, 1987

## Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund

In memory of Raya Dunayevskaya, her colleagues have established the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund dedicated to:

- 1) Assuring that Raya Dunayevskaya's published writings will remain in print.
- 2) The preservation, organization and presentation of her library and documents to the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs.
- 3) Supporting continued research into the body of ideas called Marxist-Humanism founded by Raya Dunayevskaya.

We urge all readers to lend their assistance. Make checks payable to Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund. Send contributions to:

Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund  
59 E. Van Buren, Room 707  
Chicago, Ill. 60605