

Book Review

Marxism and Freedom

relations of worker to job

MARXISM AND FREEDOM . . . from 1776 until Today: by Raya Duyevskaya; 287 pages plus 70 pages of appendix plus notes, index and bibliography; price \$6.00, published 1958 by Bookman Associates, 31 Union Square West, New York 3, N.Y.

This book by Trotsky's former secretary is a weighty addition to the bit of socialist literature that clearly argues for a world of free men as distinguished from a world of puppets directed by a bureaucracy of planners. This book further argues that this libertarian socialist view is the Marxism of Marx; that mere forms of social ownership, if they carry over the same relations of worker to job as prevail in capitalism, necessarily carry over also the inherent contradictions of capitalism and thus too "contain the seeds of their own destruction."

To this review, the author's central argument appears to run thus:

For capitalism to develop there must first of all be a class of wage-workers, men looking for a job because they find no other workable way of making a living. The labor-power they offer for sale is thus already an alienation of their creative self-activity. They do not go to work producing the things they feel some inclination to produce. They hire out to do as they are told, to produce what their employer has decided, using the materials and processes he has decided upon. He does the planning, or he segregates a section of his hired hands to work out the details of his planning and enforce the subservience of the rest of his hired hands to these plans.

The class of wage workers thus produces its own keep and the necessities and luxuries of those above them and more factories and machines with which their employers hope to expand their businesses. Thus they also produce business cycles and crises, for periodically they produce more factories and machines than can profitably be used; the total profit, even

though it has grown, yields a lower rate of profit when it is divided by this greatly enlarged capital, and the disappointed capitalists holler that wage costs are too high, and start doing what they are doing at the time of this review.

The competition between various groups controlling the industrial equipment tends to be shaped by the inherited system of national states and becomes competition between national economies, or more typically in recent years between groups of such nations talking about differing ideologies. The working class as the result of this competition is assigned to the further alienated production of war material and H-bombs.

The direction or plan of production is steadily toward channeling more of labor's creative capacity into the production of these means of production and these means of destruction. And it is required that labor be ever more efficient about doing this, with the work more subdivided so that the worker becomes increasingly only a fragment of a man, working with machines that drive him rather than with equipment that he drives, taking him steadily further and further away from the creative self-activity of free men.

All this, the author points out, is a description of what goes on alike in capitalist America and Soviet Russia. There is a steady resentment against it on the part of the machine-tending wage-workers. This resentment is over the relation of the worker to his work. It may appear as "simple trade union demands" for shorter workdays and bigger pay checks; in fights against speed-up, in demands that objectionable foremen be removed. It may blossom forth in full recognition that this direction of

his work into producing the steel rails and electric motors for the imperialistic export of capital, and his later shift to war worker or military conscript to protect these interests, is all alien to what is good for him and his fellow workers. But whether it is the uprisings in East Berlin or Budapest, or the revolt in the slave labor camp of Vorkuta, or the Western Electric fight against time-study, or the rank-and-file dislike for automation, it is all the revolt of a man who is being used, and who doesn't like it because he finds that being used is necessarily being abused.

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The alienation of our productive capacities is implicit in the circumstance that we are for hire. This begets by indirect means the external circumstances of economic and social crisis on the one hand, and the drive for organized, co-operative rank-and-file resistance building up the revolutionary urge and capacity to create a world where production is the self-activity of freely co-operating men, and where the social superstructure that develops from this economic basis is appropriate to it.

That, as this reviewer understands it, is the author's central argument. Perhaps it isn't, for the author is steeped in the Hegelian dialectic, and has long passages written with a fogginess that only Hegelians can achieve. Moreover she wants us all to learn to reason in these same Hegelian terms and buttresses her point with the contention that Lenin never understood Marx until in those dark days of the collapse of the Second International, he took up the study of Hegel, wrote the notes here first published as an appendix, contradicting much that he had earlier written in his anti-Mach dissertation on Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.

Now this Hegelian dialectic, again as this reviewer understands it, is the rather obvious proposition that what is to be must grow out of what is and be brought about by the actual forces in operation as the result of preceding antagonisms. There is nothing very mysterious about that and it is plainly useful for sifting out the meat in any study of what goes on from the plain verbiage. But the forms of speech customary among devotees of Hegel are baffling. They probably account for the lamentable fact that Marx is so much more talked about than read. And they may

stop many a worker who should read this book from reading it.

Unfortunately the first hundred pages of this book, apart from some oversimplifications of what workers did at certain historical crises, is rather largely taken over with this rather incomprehensible lingo. Then come some chapters on Marxian economic theory written with refreshing clarity, completely readable even though they tackle the intricate point that popularizations usually gloss over. Then a good deal on the development of Lenin's thinking. Summed up this way, the contents of the book do not seem to correspond to what has been offered above as the central argument that makes it book worth reading, but that is the way of it.

The economic systems of both Russia and USA could be described in these terms: Production is by wage workers who turn out goods for sale and whose wages are not equal to the prices of these products; and in both countries they work according to the planning of a managerial hierarchy. The difference most often pointed out is that here the means of production are privately owned by private corporations, while in Russia they are "socially owned." This book is largely a discussion of what difference, if any, does this make. In the experience of Russia the difference is that the accumulation of capital, the growth of heavy industry and war potential has been much more rapid than could have been expected without state control, but this rapid accumulation has been bought by massacres, avoidable famines, low living standards and the exhaustive work of Stakhanovism, slave labor camps and the stratification of labor into the strawbosses and planners on the one side and the guys doing the work on the other, and the consequent social and political despotism.

We shudder at this Russian situation. In the light of the argument of this book we have good reason to shudder, for it may be pretty much the situation in which we and our children will live unless we take action to avert it. No, not because Russia is so likely to defeat America militarily, but for deeper reasons. We can get into that situation either of two ways: the competitive struggle for position in a cold war and for superior war potential could get us there; or the tempting idea of many a social democrat that a planned economy, if only the planners are men of good will, could avoid all the topsy-turviness of free enterprise, grasp the technical advantages of totalitarianism and its greater co-ordination, and do so in a world of free civilians to whom the beneficent planners were directly responsible. This author says that cannot be: the social superstructure is determined by the relations of the workers to their work.

What better future can there be? It cannot be blue-printed; only its general character can

be vaguely surmised from the forces in capitalist (or Soviet) society that can be counted on, in their basic antagonism to the existing arrangements, to generate a better society. These are the efforts of wage workers, especially the machine-tending, non-planning wage workers, says the author, both co-operatively to resist their exploitation, their being used against each other, and their common-sense spontaneous organization and effort to arrange things so that self-activity results in the productive cooperation of free men. This is all very vague but it's about something that definitely is there.

Dunayeskaya tends to illustrate her point with references to how the Paris Commune generated activity and forms of organization that surprised Marx for he had not anticipated them, and similarly the soviets grew without benefit of any intellectual's planning them, to surprise Trotsky and Lenin both in 1905 and 1917, and make Lenin change his thinking. Though her logic and the experiences she cites should guard her against it, she repeats Leninist language that these are the specific forms through which labor is to emancipate itself.

Here we could cite a wide range of experience to support the main point: the actions of ~~un-organized workers~~ to limit ~~plant output~~ the spontaneity of the 1987 sit-downs, the undirected co-operation of people in a crisis, as in putting out a neighbor's fire, or how smoothly production in a plant goes when the bosses for some reason have to be away, or how rank-and-file action has frustrated many an unacceptable deal made by the labor bureaucracy.

The future to build towards is one that avoids the stratification of planner and worker, that practices unionism without bureaucracy, that achieves co-ordination through all knowing what is going ahead so that there may be this self-activity of free co-operation among free men. That is the way to the good world of goods, for free and work for the fun of it. And that seems to be the point of the book despite the encrustation of discordant carry-overs from Leninist and Trotskyite thought.

—Fred Thompson

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

BOOK REVIEW BY ERIC S. HEFFER



IS Marxism a theory of freedom, or does it mean despotism as many thinkers believe? That is obviously a fundamental question, one which has increasingly come to the fore since the Krushchev revelations, and the Hungarian revolution. Many look at Russia, and believing that it is a Marxist state, rightly recoil with horror. They then develop illusions about the West, and equate Western capitalism with 'freedom'.

Freedom exists neither in the East nor the West, although the potential exists for its complete development. This is brought out most clearly in an epoch making book by Raya Dunayevskaya (one time Secretary to the great revolutionary Leon Trotsky), entitled *Marxism and Freedom*.

In its own way this book is a landmark, and all those who call themselves Marxists should seriously study it. Unfortunately it has not yet found an English publisher, and must be obtained from the U.S.A.

Marxism and Communism

In her introduction the author sets out clearly the objective of the book. "This book," she says, "aims to re-establish Marxism in its original form, which Marx called 'a thoroughgoing Naturalism, or Humanism'." Does she do this? I am not quite certain. I am sure, however, that this book is an important contribution towards that goal, and is the most serious work on Marxism for many years. I say this without reservation, and also without necessarily accepting all her conclusions.

"Marxism is a theory of liberation or it is nothing," she says. Communism on the other hand she condemns as "the theory and practice of enslavement". Communism as we know it in Russia, China, Hungary etc., she argues has nothing in common with Marxism. Therefore it is not correct to call the Communists, 'Marxists'.

What they stand for and what they have built is a system of State capitalism. It is not as some Marxists believe a Workers' State in Russia, it is State capitalist. This process to State capitalism is not confined to the East but is going on throughout the entire world, including the West. Capital is being continuously concentrated, and all the time constant capital, i.e., the actual machines, raw materials, etc., gets larger, whilst variable capital, i.e., labour power, gets less.

This must inevitably lead to severe crises which cannot be avoided under capitalism where the means of production are directly controlled through the State apparatus. The growth of machinery, where the workers have no real say in production, dehumanises all work, and makes it a sheer burden. The workers are continuously striving to overcome this dehumanisation, and are all the time meeting with small successes, which augur well for the future, when they themselves will control all production.

It is her belief that it is only now with the development of the totalitarian state that it is possible to fully

understand the philosophic foundation of Marxism. Marxism as we know is made up of three streams (a) German idealist philosophy, (b) French revolutionary doctrines and (c) English political economy. All are interconnected and must be taken as a whole. In the same way as it is impossible to sever a man's head and legs from his body and expect him to live, the same is true of Marxism. It has a wholeness, and must be studied as a whole.

Marx took his philosophical stand on the basis of Hegelianism. Hegel however was not a Materialist, he concerned himself purely with ideas, and worked out his philosophical views in that realm alone. He it was who showed that all development arose through contradiction. "It is through the struggle of opposites that the movement of humanity is propelled forward", says Miss Dunayevskaya, summarising Hegel's view.

Hegel called his 'system' dialectics, and from this Marx developed Dialectical Materialism, which applied to history is Historical Materialism. It is precisely in the realm of philosophy that one must seek the answers to the present crisis in Marxist thought and practice. This is what Miss Dunayevskaya does, she in fact goes back to the beginning. By doing so she overcomes much of the intellectual mess we find ourselves in when we seek only half-measures, half-way stops and a new analysis of Stalinism, usually based on ideas which are semi-Stalinist anyway.

According to the author, Marxist intellectuals in the main have given nothing to the movement in a philosophical sense for many years. The words she uses are that they 'are in a slough'. This is not to say that Marxism is wrong. On the contrary, what is required is to get down to a serious study of Hegelian dialectics, to once again study Hegel, as Lenin did when the Socialist movement fell apart at the crisis of 1914, when all the Social Democratic parties supported their own governments and betrayed the movement.

Lenin at that stage sat down and studied the philosophical basis, in order to find out what really went wrong. His conclusions, led him to develop his new line of thought and ultimately develop his new type of organisation, which led to the victory of the October Revolution in 1917.

Today we live in an age of absolute tyranny, therefore it is now possible to emerge to absolute freedom. It is precisely freedom that has been destroyed in the totalitarian states controlled by the Communist Parties. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels say "The free development of each is the condition of the free development of all." To get this, it is essential for the proletariat to take control, particularly of the productive process, because it is in production that the answers lie to the problems of today.

We live in the age of revolutions. Many people (some supposedly social-

ist) prove that revolutions are things of the past, and then along comes another revolution, and further hammer blows shatter their wonderful 'theories'. The big problem of our age is 'What happens after the revolution?' Is it possible for man to be really free or must a bureaucracy inevitably develop like those in Russia, China and Yugoslavia?

Wide Scope

Miss Dunayevskaya's book has a broad canvass. She traces the development of Marxism from 1848 to the present day. Of particular interest are her chapters dealing with Marx's support of the Abolitionists in the American Civil War, and the roots which Marxism has in America, also the one dealing with the famous Trade Union debate in Russia in 1920-21. She puts great emphasis on this debate as the decisive one for the future of Russia.

She rightly condemns Trotsky's position during that debate, but surprisingly enough defends the Bolshevik's action at Kronstradt. Here, I think she errs, as documents I have recently read seem to clearly indicate that Kronstradt was a genuine workers' movement and was something akin to the East German rising and Hungarian revolt, but on a much lower level, with of course the Bolshevik Party still not a bureaucratic Stalinist machine.

The author says elsewhere that within the guts of the revolution is the counter-revolution. Equally true is the reverse. The counter-revolution is a process, not a single event, and within it is the future revolution, and it is my belief that Kronstradt was in fact the harbinger of the future.

Conclusions

I have not of course been able to do justice to this book. It is brilliantly written, and is clever in its arguments. It is a positive book, a helpful book, and above all else a book which opens up new fields of thought and possible action.

As one who has been trained in the leadership complex, and who has accepted much of the 'Vanguard Party' theory, I find difficulty in accepting many of her arguments, especially those connected with what could be too great a reliance on spontaneous action by the workers. Perhaps I have misread her here.

I would, however, urge all those who can get hold of this book, read it, study it and discuss it, especially by writing to the author. I understand she is particularly keen to know what British workers think of it. The book apart from Miss Dunayevskaya's writing is valuable in that it contains Marx's *Private Property and Communism* and his *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic* plus Lenin's *Hegel's Science of Logic*.

The book has a preface by the famous American philosopher, Herbert Marcuse, and can be obtained from Bookman Associates, Inc., 21 Unlan Square West, New York, U.S.A. Price 6 dollars.

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The Algebra of the Revolution

Alasdair MacIntyre

Marxism and Freedom by Raya Dunayevskaya, Bookman Associates Inc., New York, \$6.

"HEGEL'S logic is the algebra of the revolution." Herzen's aphorism is often quoted, but rarely taken seriously. That Herzen had a real insight here is suggested by the fact that key periods in the thought of both Marx and Lenin followed hard upon a close reading of Hegel. The first classic statement of Marxism in *The German Ideology* was an outcome of Marx's struggle with the *Phenomenology of Mind* in 1844. The reevaluation of Marx by Lenin after 1914 follows on his reading of the *Science of Logic*. "It is impossible fully to grasp Marx's *Capital*, and especially its first chapter, if you have not studied through and understood the whole of Hegel's *Logic*. Consequently none of the Marxists for the past half century have understood Marx." What gives this

crucial role to Hegel's philosophy? Hegel's picture of human activity as rational activity, and of rational activity as activity that has freedom as its goal. Certainly for Hegel this picture is ambiguous, hovering between assertions about the real human condition and statements of the ideal, not yet realised, form of human life. Certainly Marx had to transform Hegel. But the ferment of the concepts of freedom, reason and consciousness in Marx's philosophy is the Marxist debt to Hegel. Hegel without Marx is unrealistic, and in the end obscurantist. Marx without Hegel would have been rigid, mechanical, inhuman. And when later Marxism displays these characteristics it is often a sign of a neglect of the Hegelian stimulus in Marx. "The question of Hegel was settled long ago."

said A. A. Zhdanov in 1947. "There is no reason whatsoever to pose it anew." When would-be Marxists talk like this, it is usually a sign that the freeing of human nature is no longer the central goal of their socialism.

This is perhaps the most important theme in Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*. Miss Dunayevskaya was at one time Trotsky's secretary. When Trotsky declared in the last war that Russia was genuinely a workers' state which ought to be defended, she broke with him, and since then has played her own very individual part in the American labour movement. She only wrote the final draft of her book after earlier drafts had been discussed and criticised by groups of miners, steelworkers, auto-workers and students. A book that is the product of an interest in Hegel on the one hand and participation in a miners' strike in West Virginia on the other promises to have unusual qualities. And this book is unusual.

It has three great merits. The first is that she has tried to write a history of Marxist theory in which the development of the theory is linked at every point to the corresponding developments both in society and in the political experience of socialists. The second is that she has utilised some of the source material of Marxism more fully than any previous commentator. I have spoken already of her Hegelian concern. In this connection she has included in appendices translations of a major part of Marx's Economic-Philosophical manuscripts of 1844 and of those portions of Lenin's philosophical notebooks which deal with Hegel. But she has also been in a position to make use of the stenographic reports of the early congresses of the Russian party and especially of those of the Ninth Party congress of 1921 when the crucial debates on the role of the trade unions in a socialist society took place. The third merit of this book, and it arises out of the other two, is that it provides a framework for a reevaluation of Lenin in which a change can be noted from an emphasis on the party as the revolutionary manipulator of a passive working class to an emphasis on the potential revolutionary spontaneity of the working class. And this change goes along with what we may call Lenin's Hegelian conversion.

It will be already clear that this book is an important contribution to socialist thought. What has to be said in addition is that it is a book in which important insights and scholarly research are often sacrificed to a new framework of dogma. For Miss Dunayevskaya this is the age of state capitalism, a form of economy common to both U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. This leads her into a fantastic undervaluation of socialist achievement in the Soviet Union. She writes of the Soviet state as though the Moscow trials, Vorkuta, and Hungary were its supreme and authentic expressions. And because of this standpoint she tends to treat as Soviet crimes and heresies what are in fact at least attempts to face the problems of a socialist society.

Miss Dunayevskaya criticises Soviet industrialisation; she says nothing of how industrialisation ought to proceed in a socialist society. She attacks Soviet collectivisation of agriculture; she says nothing of what socialist agriculture should be. And the result is that this portion of her book is negative and sterile. She sees no more hope in Yugoslavia than in Russia. Her only hope is in the world-wide working class. And the suspicion grows as one reads that she has an entirely idealised view of that class.

What has happened to her book seems to be something like this. She has been repelled by the arid, seminary textbook Marxism of the Stalinists and the Trotskyists (who share all the dogmatism of the Stalinists without any of their achievements). She has gone back to the sources and reread her Marx and her Lenin. But what she has in the end tried to extract from this is a new dogmatism, a new fixed scheme. And in doing this she misses seeing in Marxism a perspective on human affairs which her return to Hegel might have brought home to her. We are so used to having Marxism interpreted for us as the science which lays bare the laws of society, that we tend to take it for granted that Marxism presents us with a picture of man as a being whose behaviour is essentially predictable. But in fact it is truer to say that Marxism shows us how in class-divided society human possibility is never fully revealed. There is always more potentiality in human beings than we are accustomed to allow for. And because of this, human development often takes place in quite unpredictable leaps. We never perhaps know how near we are to the next step forward.

It is when Marxists lose faith in the possibilities of human life in our age that they begin to look for some substitute faith. In Stalinism it is belief in the party and above all in the party bureaucracy. For Miss Dunayevskaya it is her largely idealised version of the working class. And of course those who have to idealise the workers are precisely those who have lost their faith in the real flesh-and-blood working class.

Many socialists want to look out on society and be able to read off the signs of hope with some kind of theoretical barometer. Out of Marxism they have tried to fashion such an instrument. But if we look back at Marx and Lenin, perhaps the most impressive thing about their lives is the way in which they were prepared to live without signs of hope. I think for example of Lenin reorganising among the despairing Russian socialists after 1905 or isolated after the betrayals of 1914. It is from Lenin's stance of hope in a situation which to the ordinary eye would be one of hopelessness that we have to learn. And if we learn what Marx and Lenin have to teach here, and what Miss Dunayevskaya can help us to learn from them, one outcome will perhaps be that we shall no longer want to write books like hers.

A Piece of Revelation: Zhivago

Michael Kullmann

Doctor Zhivago by Boris Pasternak. Collins and Harvill Press, London. 21s.

LET me begin with a few words about commitment in criticism. It is all very well to judge minor contemporary artistic and literary events by a set of standards embodying a socio-political dimension: when dealing with a work

of the significance of *Dr. Zhivago* this simply will not do. Boris Pasternak's novel cannot and should not be judged from the standpoint of prior commitment, for it is the kind of revelation of man and of the meaning of things

upon which commitment should be based. What I am saying here is not that the greatest works transcend committed criticism, but that in reading *Dr. Zhivago* I am made forcibly aware of the shallowness of my prior committed-

From the Finland Station

A Short History of the Russian Revolution

by Joel Carmichael.
Basic Books, 240 pp., \$4.95

Marxism and Freedom
(second edition)

by Raya Dunayevskaya.
Twayne, 363 pp., \$1.98

George Lichtheim

Let us try a mental experiment. Suppose Lenin had not got to Petersburg in 1917, had arrived too late, or had been jailed by the Provisional Government. Would there have been a Bolshevik seizure of power? It seems most unlikely. Lenin himself in October (old style) insisted that it was now or never: the fleeting chance might not return; the Government would somehow extricate itself from the war, satisfy some of the peasants, and disarm the workers; then the opportunity would be gone. Lenin's opponents agreed: this was indeed what they were working for. Most of his colleagues were against an armed rising and followed him with the greatest unwillingness. No other leader had either the ability or the will to act in his manner. Trotsky indeed was willing, but he lacked an organization. The others were for a coalition with the Mensheviks and the Populists. None dreamed of dictatorship. In February (March) they had been ready to support liberal democracy and the Provisional Government.

The October Revolution, then, was the work of one man in the sense that without him it could not, would not, have happened. This was the view of Lenin's opponents at the time. It was the judgment of Trotsky years later. It is reflected in the numberless incidents that crowd the pages of Sukhanov's famous *Diary* (edited by Mr. Carmichael some years ago). It appears to be the conclusion to which Mr. Carmichael is brought in his excellent *Short History* now published. Yet it is totally subversive of Leninism as a doctrine. For if the October Revolution depended upon one man, it was fortuitous; and a fortuitous event cannot be in tune with "determined necessity."

Or can it? The Third Reich depended on Hitler, and Hitler ruined Germany; but perhaps it is arguable that Germany's overweening ambition would anyhow have caused trouble sooner or later. But trouble on this scale, leading to national catastrophe, and much else besides? Clearly the element of chance in history can have fateful consequences. Lenin's arrival in Petersburg,

in April 1917, fated Russia, in the sense that once he was there and had got control of the Bolshevik party he was able to exploit a unique opportunity. Whence a historical breakthrough: not just a revolution (there have been many revolutions), but the phenomenon called Communism. For Communism is defined not by anything Marx wrote, but by what Lenin did in 1917. Thus the shape of our present world depended on one man.

Or so it seems. In fact of course we do not know what would have happened to Russia and the world if Lenin had failed. Yet certain things are tolerably clear. For example, Russia would surely have become a great industrial and military power (it was already a sizeable one in 1914). Pretty certainly,

too, liberal democracy would have proved a failure in Russia. After all, it failed in Spain twenty years later, and Spain was better prepared. Already in 1917 the battle-lines of the future were being drawn. The ruling democrats were beset on their Right as well as on their Left. Failing the Bolshevik seizure of power, there might—there probably would—have been a brief Anarchist rising, followed by the inevitable military repression and dictatorship. Russia would then have passed under the



rule of White generals and landowners. And how long would *that* have lasted? After all, the revolutionary forces were still powerful, and the peasants dissatisfied. Before long, a democratic upheaval would have brought the Left to power. But it would not have been a Communist Left—its leaders would have pursued the old Narodnik dream of agrarian socialism. After a while these illusions would have faded (as they are now fading in India), and the Russian bourgeoisie would at last have taken over. And would its leaders have looked and sounded so very different from technocrats like Brezhnev and Kosygin?

Or try another track. Suppose there had been Fascism—i.e., Russian National Socialism. But what was Stalinism

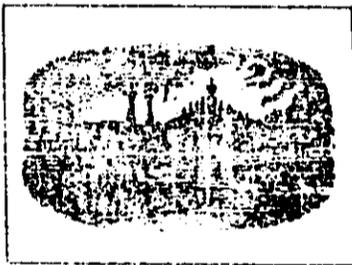
If not National Socialism? A Fascist dictatorship would doubtless have crushed the labor movement, dragged the peasants, set up concentration camps, militarized the country, persecuted national minorities, Jews, and intellectuals. In short, it would have done what Stalin did (though probably less effectively). Would there have been a difference? Industrialization might have been pushed a shade less rapidly, and there would certainly have been no *kolkhoz*. But heavy industry would surely have been nationalized (much of it was under State control before the Revolution), and everything would have been done to turn Russia into a great power. War with Germany would have been more, not less, likely. The annexation of Eastern Europe would have been pursued, as it was under the Tsars. It is true the ideology would have been different; there would have been no Marxism, just plain Russian National Socialism. But it is arguable that this is going to happen anyhow. The Chinese think it has already happened. They may be right.

What I am suggesting, of course, is that in the end Lenin made no difference. Millions of people died, or were killed, for the sake of Communism; but Communism has not been established in the USSR. What has been established is a great industrial structure (and a somewhat shaky agricultural one). The structure is centrally planned, but then this seems to be an economic necessity, especially in backward countries. If one is so minded, one may call it socialism, though Trotskyists and others in-

sist that the proper term is "state capitalism." (There are objections to this, on Marxist grounds, since "capitalism" without private property and the market hardly makes sense). Whatever one chooses to call it, the system is such that it can be operated by people who are not Communists and who do not believe in Marx or Lenin. If Russia's rulers turned Fascist tomorrow (Stalin was pretty close to it in 1940, at the time of his alliance with Hitler), they could go on operating the system without changing its essentials. They would indeed have to change the ideology—admittedly not an easy job. On the whole they are better off with Leninism, on condition that they do not take it seriously. For Leninism is not really relevant to Russia any more, and the troubles of the regime really spring from the fact that the political elite has to operate with concepts derived from the traditions of a revolutionary movement which at one stage had gen-

uinely Utopian aims in view. The reality of technocratic planning, hierarchical control in industry, and great-power politics abroad, undermines the official creed. Yet the creed also serves the regime by providing it with a doctrine, a good conscience, even the semblance of a universal idea. The political elite is *not yet* an ordinary ruling class: sheltering behind slogans it has ceased to believe, despising in private what it professes to hold sacred in public. It will probably get there in the end (and then we shall see the start of true political warfare, perhaps even a two-party system), but for the time being the veil of illusion still holds.

I have wandered some distance from the theme of Mr. Carmichael's admirably compressed work: yet not, I



hope, so far as to lose sight of the two ends of the argument: Lenin's central role in 1917, and the ultimate irrelevance even of Lenin. This last naturally does not appear from Mr. Carmichael's account, since he is concerned with the October coup and what made it possible. Yet the future already cast its shadow in 1917-18: Mr. Carmichael reminds us that, although the Bolsheviks officially introduced workers' control (the workers having anyhow seized the factories), the real agent of economic coordination was the State: in other words, the bureaucracy. Thus the cloven hoof made a very early appearance. True, the Communist leaders at the time still thought of themselves as representatives of the workers, and were determined to keep the bureaucracy in its place. But the decisive step had been taken: in the three-cornered struggle between the old capitalist owners, the working class, and the state bureaucracy, the latter had gained the key position. All it needed now was a leader who would identify the State with the Party, and himself with both. Then it would become apparent that it was not the workers who had won power.

As with the workers, so with the peasants: they seized the land, won formal ownership of it in 1917, and lost it some years later, when Stalin went back on the promises of the October Revolution. Stalin hardly appears in Mr. Carmichael's account (or for that matter in Sukhanov's). Which is as it should be: after all, his role in 1917 was quite secondary. To Sukhanov he seemed no more than a "gray blur"—a remark which cost its author dear at a later stage, when the "gray blur" had come to fill the center of the stage. Among the numerous legends which find no room in Mr. Carmichael's scholarly account (so much more reliable, and so much more readable, than some of the volumes to which we have been lately treated) there is that of Stalin's important role in 1917. But he is perhaps entitled to even more praise for having put Trotsky in his place. For there is a myth which comes close to suggesting that Trotsky might have taken Lenin's place in 1917, had the Bolshevik leader been killed or incapacitated. This is not so, and the reader of Mr. Carmichael's *Short History* will discover the reason. Bolshevism was Lenin's creation from start to finish, and though his colleagues balked at the critical moment, he was able to carry the party machine with him and drive his reluctant associates into what they privately regarded as the crazy gamble of the October rising: a rising predicated on the Utopian idea that a worldwide proletarian revolution was only waiting for the signal from Russia. When these phantom armies failed to make an appearance, the Bolsheviks knew in their hearts that they were lost, unless they could turn Russia into an invincible fortress. By 1921 at the latest it was clear that the initial gamble had not come off; but by then it was too late to go back.

Mrs. Dunayevskaya's lengthy essay (first published in 1958 and now available in paperback) plays variations on this theme. A former close associate of Trotsky—with whom she broke in 1939 over the Hitler-Stalin pact and other matters—she belongs to the "ultra-left" or libertarian stream of socialist thought. Understandably in the circumstances she treats the Revolution as a tragedy, and Lenin as a genius whose vision ran ahead of its time. Though sentimentally attached to him, and even inclined to overrate his intellectual accomplishments (notably his rather amateurish Hegel commentaries) she has a firm grasp of the essentials so far as the descent from Lenin to

Stalin is concerned. Her own utopianism comes out in the chapter devoted to 1921, the NEP, and the failure of the "Workers' Opposition." It is true that Lenin in 1921 tried to salvage what was left of party democracy, where Stalin later ruthlessly destroyed it. But to say that the Kronstadt mutiny "compelled sharp measures which are certainly no model for a workers' state to follow" is to display a rather ingenuous view of politics. What "workers' state"? There never was such a thing. And conversely, if the Bolshevik regime in 1921 was what she imagines it to have been, why should it not have suppressed the rebellion? "The tragedy of the Russian Revolution," in her view, was that "the masses" were not really drawn into public life, in the way Lenin had envisaged when he wrote *State and Revolution*. But in the absence of democracy, how could they

have been so drawn in? Mrs. Dunayevskaya might have learned the reasons of the failure from Rosa Luxemburg, whose general outlook is somewhat akin to hers. It is not enough to say that "the young workers' state could not lift itself by its own bootstraps, particularly as it didn't have any boots." When will these Utopians realize that there never was a "workers' state"? Probably never. If they did, they would have to stop being romantic about it.

In the case of Mrs. Dunayevskaya and those who think along similar lines, the matter is complicated by arguments over "state capitalism." This is now the label fixed by these purists upon all Communist regimes, including that of Mao Tse-tung. (Oddly, they combine this approach with naive adulation of colonial liberation movements). Stalinism and Maoism are both "state capitalist." Very well, but then why do the Russians and the Chinese quarrel? Be-

cause it is in the nature of the unregenerate to come to blows? Because they are not really Communists? But where and when shall we see real Communism, if it is not embodied in these self-styled regimes? The answer seems to be: when the workers and the intellectuals have seized power from the bureaucrats and installed true socialist democracy, on the model of the Hungarian rebellion in 1956. One would like to see some hint that, even in this happy event (for which we are all waiting), the workers will not in fact become a new "ruling class." At most they will have some of the liberty now denied them. They will also, one hopes, be able to restrain the planners, with whom the ultimate control will continue to rest. But more than that? These neo-Marxists really must get it into their heads that a "workers' state" is no more possible than a "peasants' state." Even Marx never went beyond saying that it was the task of the workers to "liberate the elements of the

new society already forming in the womb of the old." His disciples would do well to ponder this message. It holds no encouragement for utopianism.

Be that as it may. By the time the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution comes around, we shall still see the new technocracy installed in the seats of power, disputing border issues with the Chinese, and combining Leninist rhetoric about the class struggle with discreet overtures to whoever sits in the White House. But when, if ever, will these men, who hold power over 220 million Soviet citizens, cut the Gordian knot and proclaim that the goals of the Revolution have been attained? Khrushchev was getting close to it, and this may have been a factor in his political demise. But the problem remains what it was: the new society needs an ideology appropriate to its real (as distinct from its spurious) aims and interests. Lenin left his successors an immense estate, but he also saddled them with the problem of legi-

timizing themselves in the eyes of their own people and the world. Hitherto they have not solved it. Utopia continues to beckon, and the lesser breeds (most of them colored) are getting obstreperous: they dimly sense that Russia is no longer the revolutionary power it once was—may indeed be on the point of turning conservative. Will the Leninist synthesis of nationalism and socialism hold in the face of this challenge? There have been other revolutions, but none with a universal creed claiming to offer mankind a solution for all its ills. Lenin's heirs are also the prisoners of this claim. To become realists they would have to repudiate it. Perhaps they will. But it is well to remember that nations have committed suicide for less. Spain ruined itself for the sake of the Counter-Reformation, Turkey for Islam, Germany for the myth of the Nordic Race. Russia might just conceivably ruin itself for the sake of Communism. One must hope that it will not. □

Reprinted From:

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Friday, August 21, 1959 — LONDON, ENGLAND

FOR OUR BRITISH READERS—We are happy to announce a British Edition of *Marxism and Freedom*. Other News will follow in future issues.

Marx's Heirs And Antecedents

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA: *Marxism and Freedom from 1776 Until Today*. 384 pp. New York: Bookman Associates. London: Vision Press 48s.

The author of this book was for a short time one of Trotsky's secretaries; and, though she cannot be described as an orthodox Trotskyite (if such a category exists), her thinking has been deeply influenced by Trotsky's criticism, from a Marxist standpoint, of the Stalinist regime. Above all, she is steeped in the Marxist tradition. But it seems impossible to discuss Marxism to-day without becoming involved in more recent controversies. Was Lenin a faithful Marxist, or did he "adapt" or "falsify" Marxism in order to make it fit Russian conditions? Did he vindicate the earlier against the later Marx? Did Stalin break with Marxism? And did he also turn his back on Leninism? How in Marxist terms should the Stalinist regime be described? And what prospect does the future offer to the Marxist—in the Soviet Union or in the United States? Mrs. Dunayevskaya's book, which starts as a straight interpretation of Marxism, soon begins to revolve round these 64,000-dollar questions.

As the title suggests, *Marxism and Freedom* stresses Marx's position as the heir and exponent of the liberal and humanist traditions of Western rationalism. Marx denounces the "alienation" of the human personality of the worker inherent in capitalism, and treats socialism as the essential condition of the liberation of labour. "Marxism is a theory of liberation or it is nothing." This aspect of Marx's teaching emerges most conspicuously in his earlier writings, and accounts for a certain Utopian element in Marxism which reappears strongly in the period of the Paris Com-

mune. Mrs. Dunayevskaya gives in an appendix a translation of two early manuscripts by Marx which were first published in Moscow in the 1920s. This is claimed as the "first English publication," though as a matter of fact another translation has been issued almost simultaneously in a collection of Marx's *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* issued by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow.

The most original and at the same time most controversial part of Mrs. Dunayevskaya's book is her treatment of Lenin. She includes in translation a section of Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks* first published long after his death—an abstract made by him in the autumn of 1914 of Hegel's *Logic*, while he was engaged on an article on Marx for a Russian encyclopedia — and represents it as a fundamental turning-point in Lenin's thought. It is true that in Lenin, as in Marx, there were always two conflicting strains. Lenin was always a revolutionary who passionately believed in the liberation of the workers. But he was also an organizer, and therefore not one of those who were prepared to carry liberty to its logical extremity in anarchism. Already in 1902 he had published in *What is to be Done?* his views on the necessity for disciplined party organization, in which both Rosa Luxemburg and the youthful Trotsky detected the symptoms of dictatorship. Even in 1905 it was Trotsky rather than Lenin who hailed and celebrated the spontaneous action of the proletariat in the Soviets. It was

only in 1917 that the Soviets came to occupy the central place in Lenin's thought and action; and it was in that year that he penned the most "Utopian" of all his writings, *State and Revolution*, with its vision of the centralized bureaucratic State of the past being replaced by the free administration of workers.

Something can be made of this argument. Shifts of emphasis, or of point of view, occurred in Lenin's thinking and writing at different periods; in so chequered and dramatic a career it would be astonishing to find it otherwise. It is fair enough to trace back the extreme anti-state attitude of *State and Revolution* to the shock experienced by Lenin in 1914 when the German (and other) social-democrats threw in their lot with the national cause, and logically embraced what was to Lenin the "spurious conception of state socialism."

The remainder of the book follows more familiar lines, Leninism being opposed to Stalinism, and Marxism to the form of Communism practiced under Stalin and Khrushchev. The author is emphatic in declaring the present regime in the Soviet Union to be not socialism but state capitalism — "Collective Leadership under Khrushchev, Inc." The argument is well worn and goes back to the days of Lenin. But, like all terminological disputes, it tends to become scholastic, and to lose touch with realities. Capitalism anywhere to-day differs widely in many ways from the capitalism contemplated and analysed by Marx; and the assertion that "a single capitalist society is governed by the same laws as a society composed of individual capitalists" may be true in some

contexts but false in others. To grind the faces of the workers does not seem to be an exclusive characteristic of capitalist societies. Mrs. Dunayevskaya's assumption that the present regime in the Soviet Union, whatever it may be called, cannot and will not raise the standard of living of the masses of workers seems particularly rash, and tends to discredit the case which she builds on it.

The final chapter on labour conditions in the United States entitled "Automation and the New Humanism" is too short to make it quite clear how the author applies her concepts to capitalism in its current American form. Unlike the earlier sections of the book, it is full of portentous but somewhat cryptic pronouncements. "What is new in Automation, is the maturity of our age in which the totality of the crisis compels philosophy, compels a total outlook." "The creation of a new society remains the human endeavour. The totality of the crisis demands, and will create, a total solution." Automation is, one gathers, the ultimate and complete form of the subjection of man to the machine — of the "alienation" of labour. It can only provoke the spontaneous revolt of the workers, which must be the beginning of any true process of liberation. The conclusion is lost in these floating clouds. But the book contains enough stimulating argument and enough glimpses of insight to prove attractive and valuable to those whose thinking can accommodate itself to the Marxist categories.

(Editor's Note: The American edition of *Marxism and Freedom* with the first English publication of Marx's "Private Property and Communism" and "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" was published in 1958. Fully more than a year before the Moscow publishing house came out with their publication.)

DECEMBER, 1960

AS OTHERS SEE US

The Streams Beneath The Straws

By Peter Cadogan

From: CAMBRIDGE FORWARD, Cambridge, Eng.

From time to time a book appears that alters human experience by making explicit the possibilities of new relationships. When thought and deed have come to a standstill such a book makes it possible for them to move again—along untrodden ways.

It may be that a book of this order has recently been published in America—MARXISM AND FREEDOM by Raya Dunayevskaya.

Its thesis? Much of the intractability of the present situation stems from the fact that little or no original political thinking has been done since the early 1920s. This means that although immense changes have taken place in science, technology and economics there is nothing to match them in political ideas and forms. (What have we but the New Deal and John Maynard Keynes?) Thus humanity today has all the parts with which to build a new world but no idea how to set about it.

Early socialist ideas were bases, or thought to be based, on the concept of socialist internationalism . . . The dream was shattered by the total collapse of the Second International in 1914.

When Lenin heard the news of the collapse he was frankly incredulous: "When it proved to be true, the theoretical ground on which he stood, and which he thought so impregnable, gave way under him." He then did a very strange thing. Instead of throwing himself into the fray to recreate the International he retired from the political scene

to re-examine his whole philosophy. "He began reading Hegel's Science of Logic. It formed the great philosophical foundation of the great divide in Marxism." After weeks of study he came up with this startling conclusion: "It is impossible completely to grasp Mark's Capital, and especially its first chapter, if you have not studied through and understood the whole of Hegel's Logic. Consequently none of the Marxists for the past half a century have understood Marx!"

It is difficult to begin to convey in a few words just what this means. Modern thinking has been vitiated by the assumed oppositeness of the subjective and objective. It was this that Hegel destroyed. Lenin in 1914 (for the first time) grasped the significance of Hegel's discovery.

Dynamic qualities are in things and in persons—not merely operating upon them. Energy, atomic or human, does not require to be controlled, organized, "mastered." It requires rather to be discovered, understood, made free. When it is free it is creativity itself and its own justification.

Thus human society can be self-activating and self-correcting and this makes any sort of government (the rule of men over men) ultimately absurd. This is the kernel of dialectics. Today homo sapiens is afraid of himself because of ignorance of the character of movement within himself. Straws are preferred to the stream. Lenin, seeing this for the first time and thus being free, had no option but to make history. This he did and the fact that others undid it for him was not his fault. He was much too alone, too far ahead. We have still to catch up with him, and Dunayevskaya has located the trail.

From CAMBRIDGE FORWARD, NOV. 1960

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AFZAL MOHAMMED

MARNISM AND FREEDOM :
From 1776 until today; by Raya Dunayevskaya, Bookman Association, New York, 1958, Pp. 384 Price 6.

Can man be free? This question is as big as life. Mankind is facing this intriguing problem ever since the dawn of civilisation. From the days of Spartacus until today, countless efforts have been made to solve this problem. However, the wave of revolutions in the last two centuries, The Industrial Revolution, The American Revolution, The French Revolution and lastly The Russian Revolution—took mankind from one stage to another towards the goal of freedom and contributed immensely to universal consciousness and emphasised the need for freedom. Raya Dunayevskaya has discussed in her book man's struggle for freedom from the first Industrial Revolution until today, with special reference to

the role Marxism played during this period.

Raya Dunayevskaya, was secretary to Leon Trotsky but at the outset of the II War broke with him because of his stand that Russia was a workers state which had to be defended. She belongs to the class of anti-communist Marxist thinkers who are of the opinion that Marxism has wrongly been identified with Russian communism. She holds that the beureaucratization of economy in the Soviet Union is the negation of Marxism. "Marxism is a theory of liberation or it is nothing," she says.

The main purpose of the book, therefore, in the words of the author is "to re-establish Marxism in its original form, a thorough-going Naturalism or Humanism."

Discussing Marxism and tracing its foundations in Hegel's philosophy the author says that Hegel's idealism is the most important aspect of Marx's philosophy. She says that Marx did not reject idealism, and quotes him saying "Thorough-going Naturalism or Humanism distinguishes itself from idealism and from Materialism and is at the same time the truth uniting both". And hence Raya Dunayevskaya says: "Marxism may be said to be the most idealistic of all materialistic philosophy and Hegelianism the most materialistic of all idealistic philosophy". She has discussed in detail the circumstance-

especially the American Civil War that made Marx write *The Capital* Vol. I. She has also discussed the Humanism and dialectic of *The Capital* Vol. I.

Discussing private property and communism, she says that Marx was not so opposed to the private property as he appears to be. She says "for Marx the abolition of of private property was a means towards the abolition of alienated labour, not an end in itself."

Of Russian revolution of 1917, she says, "it was a successful workers revolution", but failed to stand to the Marxist ideology. Instead, state capitalism developed in the Soviet Union, and hence she poses the question. 'Are we always to be confronted with a new form of state tyranny against the individual freedom?'

For a total, an absolute answer, Raya Dunayevskaya asks us to turn to Marxism which alone can enable mankind face the problems of freedom, prosperity and progress.

Of special interest is the research work the author did before writing this book. She had discussions with many scholars and workers and gave shape to her ideas "No theoretician, today more than ever before, can write out of his own head," she says.

The appendix contains the first publication of Marx's "Private

property and Communism", and "Critique of Hegelianism" and "On Hegel's science of logic", by Lenin.

The book is, therefore a serious contribution to the ever increasing literature on Marx and a fitting reply to those who call Marxism an out-dated philosophy.

M. T. KHAN

IN OTHER JOURNALS

- (1) *International Affairs* 12, 1959; Moscow
- (2) *Dissent*, Winter 1960; 509 Fifth Avenue, New York 17 N.Y.
- (3) *New Left Review*, May-June 1960; 7 Carlisle st., London W. 1
- (4) *Encounter*, Jun-1960; 25 Haymarket, London, S W 1
- (5) *Commentary*, May 1960, 165 East 56th st., New York 22.

With the arrival of the Machine human life seems to have undergone certain changes. In the beginning we found that the Machine made our life easier, it gave us more leisure. But before long the Machine turned us into mass men, the society into a mass society. From Mass Society it became an impersonal society and from that the descent to a dehumanised society did not take long.

Take International Affairs of December 1959. In the editorial it says: "In effect, it was not just a meeting of the heads of Government of the world's two greatest powers; they are powers which embody two different ideologies, the two main political systems of our

AUGUST, SEPT

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OCTOBER, 1964

As Others See Us

London Tribune's Review of Marxism and Freedom

Marxism and Freedom

Raya Dunayevskaya (Twayne, USA, available from Harry McShane, 31 Balbeg Street, Glasgow, S.W.3. 10s. 6d.)

A RECENT Panorama programme dealt with the seventieth birthday of Nikita Khrushchev. Among the contemporary politicians invited to comment on the Russian leader was Mr. Harold Wilson. Wilson started his remarks by saying that Khrushchev "had never had much time for theory." He went on: "I've never really been very interested in theory myself."

Perhaps unwittingly, the leader of the Labour Party was voicing one of the most remarkable trends in the modern Labour movement—the headlong stampede from theory. Reasons for this are hard to come by, but among them, certainly, is the fear of reviving an old and terrible ghost—that of Karl Marx.

FOR those Socialists who are still interested in the questions "Why are we in the game at all?" and "What best can we do?" (which Socialist theory answers), and who are not in the least terrified by Marx, the range of relevant literature is scant indeed. The works of the old masters are still with us, of course, but we are now a hundred years on from the foundation of the First International. Lenin and Trotsky have been dead for 40 and 24 years respectively. For Socialist theory conceived in the forties, fifties and sixties we have had to make do with sectarian arguments.

That is why the second edition of *Marxism and Freedom* by the American lecturer Raya Dunayevskaya takes on perhaps an exaggerated importance. The book was first published in America in 1958. Recently it has reappeared in paperback form, and is for the first time easily available in this country. The appendix to the old edition is replaced by a marvellous last chapter on the Sino-Soviet dispute and Mao Tse-tung.

MISS DUNAYEVSKAYA'S main thesis is that the healthy development of Marxism as a political philosophy has been blocked by a dull, dry economism. For decades Marxists of every nationality have confined Socialist theory to a discussion about economics. A deluge

of "organisation" and economic definition has swamped the true substance of Marxism—which is rooted deep in the day-to-day lives of working men and women.

The long chapter on Marx's earlier philosophical works abounds with quotations about "that thoroughgoing Humanism (which) distinguishes itself from both Idealism and from Materialism and is at the same time the truth uniting both." In his diatribes against Proudhon and Lassalle, for instance, Marx savagely disposed of the idea that changes in property forms made any essential difference to the worker at the bench. It is the workers who matter above all—the workers as human beings, their passions and energies cramped and channelled by the dictatorship of the machine. Changes in property forms which do not establish a society of "freely associated individuals" have nothing to do with Socialism.

Raya Dunayevskaya disposes once and for all with the popular view that these were the romantic fantasies of an immature adolescent, and that Marx "got down to brass tacks" when he wrote *Capital*. On the contrary, as the best three chapters in the book show, the "humanist" substance formed the very basis of *Capital*. In letters to Engels Marx wrote that in the process of transform-

ing the *Critique of Political Economy* into the masterpiece that is *Capital* he "had to turn everything round." The format of the *Critique*—"an intellectual, that is a remote work"—was drastically revised. History and theory were fused. The vital 70 pages on the Working Day were written (for the first time in 1866). Detailed explanations about surplus value and historical materialism were oiled with the sweat of working man and women.

IN MISS Dunayevskaya's own words "Marxism is a theory of liberation or it is nothing." To lose that libertarian thread is to strip Marxism, literally, of its flesh and blood. The dry bones which are left are not only useless, they are dangerous. Their three main effects are spotlighted by Miss Dunayevskaya against an exhilarating background of 20th century working-class history.

First, there is the obsession with organisation. As the famous reformist Bernstein put it: "The goal is nothing: organisation is everything." Yet the superbly organised Second Socialist International, its theory grounded in the works of the "intellectual" Kautsky, found it possible to give its assent to the futile slaughter of millions of its adherents in the First World War.

Secondly, the hypnosis of property forms distracts the minds of modern Socialists from the real human class relationships. Latter-day Marxists saw the Stalinist Plans and the 1936 Stalinist Constitution as the millennium, while the unspeakable misery of millions of Russians in the cause of "Socialist accumulation" was carefully overlooked. Monstrous bureaucracy, industrial stagnation, lies and murder have become "minor details" compared with the fact of State ownership.

FINALLY, there is the arrogance and condescension of modern Marxists fighting against capitalism. Communists and Trotskyists all over the world form themselves into "vanguards" which will one day lead the workers to glory. Yet in Paris, Petrograd, Barcelona and Budapest—at crucial points in history—the workers themselves showed a revolutionary, an organisational potential far in advance of the "vanguards." Workers' Councils and Soviets as organs of power over production were not dreamed up in advance by a self-appointed elite. They were formed by working men and women in the course of struggle.

Raya Dunayevskaya draws these three threads together into one grim paradox. Just as the feudal barons celebrated their bloody victories with renderings of *In Terra Pax* and quotations about sending the rich empty away, so the High Priests of modern Marxism wash away the blood of Russian, Spanish and Hungarian revolutionaries with incantations about "emancipating the working class." The thought and works of Marx, designed to help the struggles of working people all over the world to smash the constricting chains of capitalism and to release their energies in a new freedom, are exploited to serve the ends of a mean, barbarous and chauvinist State Capitalism.

THE PROBLEM of our age, then, is State Capitalism or Freedom. Adam Smithian capitalism has vanished. So, as Marx predicted, has "planlessness." On both sides of the Iron Curtain bureaucracies make their plans and counterplans to invigorate their national capitalisms... (in Wilson's—or Home's—own words, for instance, "to make Britain

great"). The plans serve only to intensify the control over living labour by dead labour—the alienation of man from the machine. To hysterical cries for higher productivity, human beings are supervised closer and closer to the grindstone. In Dagenham, Detroit, Prague and Warsaw the "wildcats" make their irrepressible protest.

Miss Dunayevskaya's book has several glaring flaws. Her attempts to prove that Marx "predicted" State Capitalism on Russian lines are often strained beyond reality. In her eagerness to turn her fire on Russian and Chinese State Capitalism, she scrimps on her enormous experience of American labour. We are left without a proper analysis of capitalism (still predominantly "private enterprise" capitalism) in the United States and Western Europe.

Yet it is a supremely intelligent book, attractively written. Above all, it is inspiring. To the Socialist of today, fed to the teeth with the barren opportunism of contemporary party politics and shocked by the gangster-like dishonesty of "vanguard" revolutionaries, *Marxism and Freedom* will bring a new inspiration and a new hope.

Paul Foot

(Reprinted from the London TRIBUNE, Aug. 21, 1964)

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As Others See Us

Review of Marxism and Freedom

From *Il Popolo**, Rome

by reviewer Silvio Bertocci

"Launching satellites into outer space cannot solve the problems of this earth. The challenge of our times is not to machines, but to men. Intercontinental missiles can destroy mankind, they cannot solve its human relations. The creation of a new society remains the human endeavor. The totality of the crisis demands, and will create, a total solution. It can be nothing short of a New Humanism." (Marxismo e Libertà, La Nuova Italia editrice, Firenze, 1962, L.2, 700)

But what are the directives and in which dimensions will this new humanism materialize? Moreover, which revolution, and it can only be a peaceful revolution, will lead to this new solution? Modern society, as it is presently structured, whether in capitalist countries or under a communist regime, is but a consequence of past revolutions: the industrial one, the American and the French ones. They emerged from deep social contradictions, and for the moment it seemed that the contradictions, at least the most glaring ones, had been resolved. In reality man today still lives without having resolved the central problem of his work, of his fight, of his revolt: that of freedom. . . .

Yesterday's problem, that of integrating the working class, is today's problem: the worker, in whatever place he sells his labor, is alienated, subject to the iron rules of private capitalism and of state capitalism. This is because, in substance, the great revolutions have not eliminated the de-personalization of the worker, even though some situations of exploitation have been eliminated.

The industrial revolution, in overthrowing the ancient feudal order, enriched private "entrepreneurs." In the same year in which the American Revolution was born, Adam Smith launched his economic theory on which the whole of Western economic politics would hinge. The French Revolution, even though it put into motion the disinherited masses and the work-

**Il Popolo* is the main paper of Democrazia Cristiana (The Christian Democrats) controlled by the Right-centrists.

ing masses, overthrew one system by creating another which was substantially little different. . . .

AUTHORITARIAN INVOLUTION

With this premise, which is not difficult to agree with, Miss Dunayevskaya leads us to Karl Marx whose thought has revolutionized Europe and constitutes, today more than ever, the moving force of a political movement of great dimensions which threatens to submerge the world without at the same time resolving the central problem of man, that of his freedom, of his liberation from alienation, as can be fully demonstrated.

The pages dedicated to Karl Marx constitute the central fulcrum of this book and are without a doubt the best: they succeed in giving a picture of Marx which, by now, has been lost from sight for a long time due to the enormous deformations of Marxist thought, and above all through the exaltation of the superiority of a regime which is a mere authoritarian involution of Marxism, if not an outright ideological deviation decidedly heretical. "The Marx of Dunayevskaya is the thinker, the agitator who fought for a world in which the freedom of the individual would be the condition for the freedom for all." (Preface by Gaetano Arfe)

The author, a secretary of Trotsky for several years in America, tries to give a new dimension to the theory of Marx, going back to his youth, to his fight against Prussian censorship which motivated him to write "No man fights freedom, he fights at most the freedom of others. Every type of freedom has therefore always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, another time as a universal right." Furthermore, she has remained faithful to the libertarian interpretation of Marxist thought, to the discovery by Marx of the concept of dialectical materialism based on the criticism of Hegel, which led him to conclude "that legal relations, as well as forms of state, could neither be understood by themselves, nor explained by the

so-called progress of the human mind, but they are rooted in the material conditions of life. . . . It is not the consciousness of man which determines their existence, but, on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness."

THE TRIAL OF COMMUNISM
The fundamental error would be therefore that of the theoreticians of the Second International who yielded to revisionist suggestions, without having fully understood Marxist thought, so that they separated Marx and Hegel. The idealism of Hegel has no consistency without Marx's dialectical materialism, for this would be a negation of the historical process without the Hegelian dialectic of negativity. This amputation of Hegel from Marx generated a notable confusion, confusion of ideas, which ended with the collapse of the German Social Democracy, the only powerful and organized Marxist party then in existence in Europe. . . .

Lenin is the only one who is aware of the reasons for the disintegration of the Marxist movement, and, consequently, becomes the theoretician and leader of the libertarian movement, giving birth to the Soviet State. But Lenin's work has a short life. The capitalism which he had fought, defeated, rebuilds itself: there is born the deformations of Marxism. . . .

Parallel to this structural involution, an ideological involution has manifested itself which has led to the falsification of Marxist texts, to a false interpretation of them, determined by the new conditions of the capitalist State. Stalinism is nothing more than an assimilation of diverse totalitarian ideologies which justify the one-party system, the suppression of every freedom, and even the German-Russian Pact of 1939.

According to Dunayevskaya, the only thing that is left of Marxism in Soviet Communism is the ideological thrust, the inherent drive of the masses towards the building of socialism as Karl Marx conceived it. Today, Soviet society with its powerful industrial machine is not in any better condition than American or British society.

Automation, the understanding on the part of the intellectuals that society is everywhere in a state of change, the fact that the worker has the principal role in such changes, a greater understanding of the workers, will, according to Dunayevskaya, give birth to a new society. "A new humanism," in which Marxist thought will show the path to follow, if it won't be its outright panacea.

Leaving to one side this "mirage" entertained by the author (Who, in one way or another, does not dream of the birth of a new society?), it must be pointed out that her book, even with its limitations and one-sidedness reaches the goal of presenting the heresies of Marxism and delineating the libertarian thoughts of Marx which were presented in his early works and in the three volumes of his Capital. This is particularly real today when the Communist parties of the West are in deep crisis, as Soviet communism reveals its daily contradiction and its inability to solve the problems of freedom for its millions of workers.

Silvio Bertocci

Il Popolo, Feb. 8, 1963

AS OTHERS SEE US

Japanese Reviews of Marxism and Freedom

(Ed. Note: The following are excerpts from two Japanese reviews of *Marxism and Freedom*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, published in Japan by Gendai-shishoshiya (Modern Thought Publications), under their title of *Alienation and Revolution—Reformation of Marxism*.)

• • •

Review by Jiro Shimiju in Waseda University Paper

Dec. 1965

This book should be introduced to Japanese under the original title of *Marxism and Freedom*, not as *Alienation and Revolution*. I suggest this not only from a moral point of view, but from the view that the original title symbolically points out its significance and its limitations. That is, that present orthodox Marxism loses humanistic freedom. The basic standpoint of the author consists in advocating rebuilding freedom which Stalinism lacks.

In the first and second parts, the author analyzes the trends of philosophy which formed the historical basis for Marxism. In the third part, titled "Marxism: The Unity of Theory and Practice", the author takes the position that we should seek the "unity of a theory and practice" in Capital.

The contents of the fourth part, titled "World War I and the Great Divide in Marxism", which the author should have analyzed with a revolutionary investigation, comes on the pages without any relation to the third part . . . Therefore, the significance of the book up to the third part is that the author focused on Marxism in relationship to humanism as pointed out in the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts." But she does not try to reconstruct Marxism in opposition to the Stalinist distortion of Marx's philosophy. Rather, her argument only gives support to the accusation that the present-day Soviet Union is "the theory and practice of enslavement." Here the basic limitation of the book is exposed.

Since the author discusses the present day Soviet Union with the blinding assumption that the Soviet Union is bureaucratic state capitalism, she fails to analyze it as a desperate problem of how to defend the proletarian power once established and develop it into the world revolution, an analysis which is more practical.

The originality of this book, rather, lies in her unique view about the main controversial points of the Bolshevik party after the revolution. She made an important criticism that Stalin and Trotsky lacked philosophically what Lenin had.

Review by Soboku Yamada in Reader's Weekly

Oct. 19, 1964

The book has something impressive for us, post-war Japanese Marxists, with a singular conception and strange passion: stress on early Marx, criticism of Soviet Communism, and a tendency to return to Lenin.

On the one hand, the author declares a passionate struggle not only against American state monopoly capitalism, but also against a state monopoly capitalism of Soviet Communism. And on the other hand, she criticizes the Asiatic despotism of the Chinese Communist Party from the standpoint of various conditions which these developed nations (the USA and the USSR) have already attained. (There is a view that mainland China is moving toward a communism which is state monopoly capitalism—this chapter of criticism of Mao Tse-tung is newly added in this edition).

Looking at it in this way, the composition of Miss Dunayevskaya's book has something unique which no Japanese Marxist has. It is interesting when you read this book, to consider that something in America brought about such a theory.

When I read this book in 1958, I was interested in the analysis of the history of the theoretical formation of Capital in relation to the Paris Commune and the Civil War in America. But now that I have read it in a translated edition, I find it suggestive, but rough. As a whole, the book is based on an old composition and cannot be a basis for the re-establishment of Marxism. With regard to particulars, however, it has much that is instructive for reconsideration of the views of Marxism by the various factions which are accustomed to a Japanese way of analysis.

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La presse et l'information objective.

La fin, quelle qu'elle soit, ne justifie pas les moyens ! R. HAUGNAUER

A travers les livres : Marxisme et Liberté (P. Aube-
ry). — Le Mal de la C.G.T. (Herbés).

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ros et des martyrs. Nous en convenons, mais cela ne prouve rien, rien quant à l'efficacité de leur sacrifice, la valeur de leurs idées.

Et dans la grande majorité des cas, leur postérité n'utilisa la fin glorieuse que pour justifier les opérations les plus avilissantes ou les plus abominables. Quant à l'abstraction qui colle des étiquettes verbales sur des schémas théoriques et artificiels, Monatte avait raison de s'en méfier. C'est par elle que la propagande fabrique ses slogans qui excitent et soulagent ceux qui ne voient dans les ruines et cadavres que des arguments, des mobiles d'agitation et des motifs de représailles.

Ce qui est justement le plus aberrant et le plus odieux dans les manifestations terroristes de Nixon, c'est la disproportion entre le moyen et la fin. Car — et là encore l'histoire nous l'enseigne — la politique britannique ou américaine, si elle fixe une limite à ses reculs et la fait respecter par tous les moyens, se laisse rarement entraîner par son succès à dépasser ses objectifs. Après avoir anéanti Hiroshima et Nagasaki, les Etats-Unis ont favorisé la restauration de la puissance japonaise. Truman a limogé Mac-Arthur qui logiquement voulait porter la guerre en Chine. Nixon sait fort bien que les bombardements aériens peuvent multiplier les destructions sans aboutir à aucune conquête de territoire. Faut-il répéter que jamais les troupes américaines ou sud-vietnamiennes n'ont franchi le 17° parallèle... tandis que des troupes nord-vietnamiennes campent au Sud-Vietnam; au Laos pour le fonctionnement de la piste « Ho-Chi-Minh », Cambodge dans les fameux « sanctuaires » ?

Que les logiciens, les « saouls d'abstractions », les propagandistes laissent enfin la réalité apparaître dans sa sinistre nudité. Que l'on nous épargne la valse des slogans sur l'impérialisme, l'unité nationale du Vietnam, l'indépendance symbolisée par les uniformes nord-vietnamiens, garantie par de lourds équipements soviétiques et chinois, la liberté représentée par un Etat dont l'historien Jacques Pirenne disait en 1956 : « Chaque habitant du Nord-Vietnam est étroitement encadré et surveillé. La solidité de l'Etat est acquise par l'embrigadement de tous les habitants dans une double organisation, civile et militaire, les deux fortement hiérarchisées. Aucune action clandestine, aucune propagande hostile ne sont possibles ».

Quant aux sentiments de la population, nous les décelons dans les mouvements de ceux qui, de 1954 à 1972, ... « ont voté avec leurs jambes » — 2 millions de réfugiés du Nord au Sud. Une population du Sud qui fuit les envahisseurs du Nord (Nous avons vécu l'exode tumultueux de 1914 de foules fuyant devant l'avance allemande... Nous avons vu en 1944, les Normands attendre sous les bombes l'arrivée des Américains libérateurs).

Lorsque se déclencha la grande offensive du Nord-Vietnam au printemps de 1972, nous formulons des souhaits qui peuvent exprimer nos espoirs, au lendemain des bombardements de Nixon :

Que la négociation s'engage sans autre préalable que la suspension de toute action militaire, quelles qu'en soient la forme et la motivation... que cette négociation ne discute que des conditions et de l'organisation d'une consultation au peuple sud-vietnamien impliquant un contrôle international neutre... il n'est pas d'autre voie pour aboutir au rétablissement de la Paix...

L'exemple du conflit coréen suffirait pour nous édifier. Ce sont deux Etats qui s'opposent et comme autrefois pendant les guerres balkaniques ce sont les grandes puissances qui se combattent par personnes interposées. Et on peut même supposer — avec quelque vraisemblance — que l'of-

fensive actuelle a pour motif inavouable la compétition entre les deux Etats dits socialistes, et que la surenchère de l'un et de l'autre se traduit par l'intensification des destructions et des massacres. Ce qui est proprement scandaleux, c'est que l'on dénonce les bombardements aériens orientés par des objectifs militaires (avec hélas ! d'atroces déviations... (mais M. Maurice Schumann s'est-il élevé de 1943 à 1945 contre l'écrasement des villes allemandes et italiennes par l'aviation alliée ?) et que l'on juge normal, même satisfaisant et salutaire, le massacre de populations civiles par l'artillerie et l'infanterie des troupes libératrices.

Nous ajoutons en conclusion :

« Pour nous un cadavre n'a pas d'uniforme ; toute guerre est fratricide et la Révolution que nous souhaitons est exclusivement sociale et morale et non militaire et guerrière. »

Que les soldats du Front National se transforment en militants politiques... demandait récemment un professeur sincèrement pacifiste.

Ce n'est pas facile, surtout de la part des officiers. Un maréchal de l'Empire méprise ses origines jacobines. Mais si l'on peut admettre en des circonstances exceptionnelles que le militant devienne un militaire..., on ne pourra jamais muer en militant révolutionnaire ces militaires soumis à l'obéissance passive.

Roger HAGNAUER.

A travers les



MARXISME ET LIBERTE

De Raya DUNAYEVSKAYA, préface de Herbert Marcuse. Paris, Editions Champ Libre, 6, rue des Beaux-Arts, VI^e

Voilà un ouvrage qui apporte un peu de clarté et d'air frais dans les débats confus qui se déroulent autour du marxisme depuis plus d'un siècle. Ancienne secrétaire de Trotsky au Mexique en 1937 et 1938, l'auteur a été militante avant d'être auteur. Son style et son approche directe nous changent agréablement des gloses pédantes des marxologues de profession qui voudraient nous convaincre que leur enseignement est plus révolutionnaire et plus créateur que la pratique de la lutte des classes dans les usines, les bureaux et les magasins de la société moderne.

La question capitale que pose « Marxisme et Liberté » c'est celle des rapports de la philosophie à la réalité, de la théorie à la pratique.

Alors que les marxologues comme Louis Althusser, commodément installés dans de gras fromages, déplorent que les jeunes philosophes de leur génération « s'étaient usés en tâches politiques épuisantes, sans prendre sur elles le temps du travail scientifique » (Pour Marx, p. 17). Raya Dunayevskaya rappelle vigoureusement aux intellectuels et aux théoriciens marxistes qu'ils doivent parfois quitter leur tour d'ivoire s'ils veulent retrouver le sens du dynamisme libérateur du marxisme.

En effet, le leitmotiv de la nécessité d'un parti d'avant-garde qui « dirige » les « empêchés » de voir ce que le peuple, lui, voit, parfaitement : tous sont prêts à le diriger, personne n'est prêt à l'écouter. (p. 23). Or le progrès, l'avenir ne se décident

pas, ne s'organisent pas dans le seul cabinet du philosophe mais d'abord dans la pratique quotidienne de la lutte des classes, de la lutte pour l'appropriation collective des moyens de production et d'échange. La pratique ouvrière est toujours infiniment plus créatrice que les spéculations les plus ingénieuses des philosophes. Ce qui n'est pas dire que ceux-ci n'aient pas un rôle à jouer et un rôle important. En se livrant à un travail théorique sérieux les intellectuels peuvent contribuer à prolonger l'élan sporadique de révolte dans des classes exploitées. Ce n'est en effet qu'en tirant les leçons des pratiques ouvrières, pour en dégager les principes, que s'élabore la science du changement social, politique, économique, psychique, permettant à l'homme de prendre en main le contrôle de son existence et de son destin.

Raya Dunayevskaya étudie les avatars de cette tentative toujours renaissante à travers l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier depuis 1776 jusqu'à nos jours en Europe, en Russie, en Amérique et finalement en Chine. Marx, dans l'édition française du *Capital*, avait proposé la théorie de cette tentative en tenant compte des enseignements de la Commune de Paris.

Un livre à lire par les copains de « la R.P. », un livre à garder à portée de la main sur la planchette du militant pour pouvoir le consulter à chaque fois qu'on risque de perdre de vue la signification actuelle du marxisme « naturalisme ou humanisme conséquent », selon le mot de Marx lui-même, instrument incomparable pour faciliter la compréhension des luttes du présent. — Pierre AUBERY.

« LE MAI DE LA C.G.T. »

Edmond Maire a fait une constatation qui me paraît situer exactement le « premier Livre » de Georges Séguy, en déclarant qu'il s'agissait bien du « Mai de la C.G.T. » et non pas de « Mai 1968 ».

Dans le prolongement de cette constatation, Séguy ne déçoit pas ses lecteurs. Il s'agit d'un bon devoir appliqué de fin de stage de cadre supérieur du Parti communiste, qui à aucun moment ne perd de vue la doctrine qui vient de lui être inculquée et qu'il applique. Le tout paré de bonhomie.

L'avant-propos et « l'anticipation » du dernier chapitre nous indiquent dans quel but réel ce livre a été bâti quatre années après les événements.

Avant-propos : « l'histoire, qui ne saurait se séparer de mai 1968 de la conclusion du « programme commun de la gauche », retiendra qu'il ne s'est écoulé que le court laps de temps de quatre années entre ces deux grands phénomènes cruciaux pour le destin de la France. » !!!

Anticipation : « D'une certaine manière, mai 1968 a préfiguré ce que pourra être notre pays dans l'avenir quand les forces rétrogrades qui le dominent auraient été définitivement rejetées. Les travailleurs manuels et intellectuels pourront enfin déployer sans entrave leurs forces vives au service de leurs intérêts inséparables de ceux du peuple et de la France. » (Fermez le ban).

Un bon éditeur (Juillard) : prix de vente (20 F), un large réseau de diffusion par le canal des syndicats, une excellente affaire financière pour l'auteur et l'éditeur, mais encore meilleure sur le terrain politique.

D'aucuns ont relevé essentiellement la « petite phrase » de M. Pompidou (accompagnée de crédit de formation et de remise en selle de la C.G.T. dans tous les organismes où un représentant

syndical était prévu et dont elle était écartée depuis des années) : « Je préfère être fonctionnaire d'un gouvernement communiste plutôt que premier ministre d'une France dominée par les Américains ». Secret de « compères » partagé avec Benoit Frachon et André Bertheloot (prudence), dévoilé en 1972, mais qui aurait eu tellement plus d'impact s'il avait été révélé avant les élections présidentielles de 1969. Souhaitons tout de même un excellent week-end au « président-arbitre » de la cinquième république dans la « datcha » de Léonide Brejnev.

Outre cela, Séguy en profite pour affirmer les justes analyses de la C.G.T. en direction des étudiants, des gauchistes, de Cohn-Bendit, soutenu par Eugène Descamps (C.F.D.T.) et dont James Marangé (F.E.N.) a serré la main bien que les jeunes ouvriers de 18 ans l'ignorent, de Jacques Sauvageot, du rassemblement du stade Charléty. « Un des aspects les plus négatifs de l'histoire des événements de mai 1968 ».

« A ce singulier attroupement se trouvaient en effet mêlés étudiants gauchistes et réactionnaires attirés par le caractère outrancièrement anti-communiste de la manifestation, syndicalistes C.F.D.T., F.O., F.E.N. et quelques renégats de la C.G.T., la faune des sous-sols de l'Odéon, d'authentiques représentants de la pègre des bas-fonds de Paris et diverses personnalités politiques distinguées. Le tout dominé par les lugubres drapeaux noirs de l'anarchie et la présence de M. Mendès-France... ». (Unité ! Unité !).

Autrement dit, sans hésitation aucune, sans erreur, et sans faiblesse, meilleure analyste de la situation politique, la C.G.T. a su, durant les semaines de mai 1968, ne pas se laisser débordar de quelque horizon que ce soit, et demeurer le guide sûr des travailleurs vers le retour au calme à partir du « constat de Grenelle »... et du week-end de Pentecôte.

Au passage, Séguy, exécute André Barjonet, membre du P.C. depuis 1944, démissionnaire en 1968 en même temps qu'il résumait ses fonctions de secrétaire du centre d'études économiques et sociales de la C.G.T. pour adhérer au P.S.U.

Barjonet, « cet ultra-révolutionnaire qui a déserté la C.G.T. en plein combat — selon Séguy — était favorable à un entretien secret avec le patronat ! Or, à ce moment, la grève n'en était pas à son point culminant et la situation politique était encore très incertaine. Personne ne pouvait savoir avec quel gouvernement nous discuterions... C'est dire combien sa démission nous a semblé suspecte. »

« Depuis, Barjonet a joint sa voix aux calomnistes de la C.G.T. Son ralliement à l'anti-communisme lui a permis d'accéder à la direction d'un parti. C'était peut-être sa grande ambition mais son rôle est devenu si insignifiant qu'on parle cent fois moins de lui qu'au temps où il était au service de la C.G.T. Ceux qui ont cru pouvoir l'utiliser contre nous se sont, comme tous leurs prédécesseurs, cassé les dents. Barjonet est condamné à glisser dans l'oubli... »

D'ici les prochaines législatives, 250.000 à 300.000 exemplaires du « Mai de la C.G.T. » seront « placés ». Ils s'ajouteront au million de « Vie Ouvrière » consacrées au programme commun de la gauche et constitueront un subtil tremplin de propagande du parti communiste.

Si Séguy doit poursuivre une carrière littéraire, bien comprise, dans la ligne de son « premier livre » après « Fils du peuple » à l'image de Maurice Thorez, nous aurons peut-être un « Georges Séguy petit-fils du peuple ». — HERBE.

AS OTHERS SEE US

Three French reviews of *Marxism and Freedom*

Excerpts from reviews in three French journals of the French edition of *MARXISME ET LIBERTE* by Raya Dunayevskaya.

From "La Revolution Proletarienne," Jan., 1973
(Revue syndicaliste revolutionnaire)

Here is a work which brings a bit of clarity and fresh air to the confusing debates which have unfolded around Marxism for a century. Former secretary of Trotsky in Mexico in 1937 and 1938, the author was a militant before becoming an author. Her style and her direct approach are an agreeable change from the pedantic criticism of the professional Marxologists who want to convince you that their teaching is more revolutionary and more creative than the practice of the class struggle in the factories, the offices, and the shops.

The principal question that *Marxism and Freedom* poses concerns philosophy and reality, theory and practice.

MARXOLOGISTS like Louis Althusser, conveniently set up in cushy jobs, deplore that the young philosophers of their generation "are using themselves up in political tasks while losing time for scientific work." (For Marx, p. 17). Raya Dunayevskaya vigorously replies to the intellectuals and to the Marxist theoreticians that they must occasionally leave their ivory towers if they want to regain the liberating sense of the dynamism of Marxism.

In fact, the idea of the necessity of a vanguard party to lead prevents them from seeing that which the masses themselves see perfectly: all are ready to lead, no one is ready to listen. (p. 28). But, progress, its future undetermined, is not evolved in the isolated office of the philosopher but at first in the daily practice of the class struggle, of the struggle for the collective appropriation of the means of production and exchange. The practice of the workers is always infinitely more creative than the most ingenious speculations of the philosophers. That is not to say that they do not have a role to play and an important role. By devoting themselves to serious theoretical work, the intellectuals can

contribute to extending the sporadic outbursts of revolt of the exploited classes. This role is not only to draw out the lessons of the workers' practice, but also to reveal the principles which will elaborate the science of change—social, political, economic, and psychic—permitting man to take control of his existence and his destiny.

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA studies the vicissitudes of this tentative, always renescent course through the history of the workers' movement from 1776 until today in Europe, in Russia, in America, and, finally, in China. Marx, in the French edition of *Capital*, propounded the theory of such an endeavor by taking account of the lessons of the Paris Commune.

A book to read with the buddies of "the R.P.," a book to have on the shelf of the militant to be able to consult it each time he risks losing the real meaning of Marxism as "a thoroughgoing naturalism or humanism," according to Marx's own words . . . an incomparable instrument to make easier an understanding of the struggles of the present. —Pierre Aubery

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Editor's Note: The review of MARXISM AND FREEDOM which appeared in LE MONDE, Sept. 3, 1971, was so scurrilous that Raya Dunayevskaya felt it necessary to concentrate her brief reply to the editor on the slander of associating her name with that of her enemy, James Burnham. We reprint below, first, excerpts from the review; her reply follows.

"Two Revisionists": Karl Marx, by Karl Korsch; *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya

Two classic works, as famous as they are marginal, have just been translated into French: the critical study that Karl Korsch devoted to Marx, and *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya. Although their points of departure are very different—German ultra-Leftism for the one, a deviant Trotskyism eaten up with anti-Communism for the other—the two works join together in the end in their common desire to "de-Bolshevize," to "de-Communist" Marxism . . .

A CLASSIC OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

It is from Hegel and from a fundamental hostility to Lenin that Raya Dunayevskaya draws the theoretical justification for her project. *Marxism and Freedom* proposes not only to "de-Bolshevize" Marxism, but to "de-Communist" it. This book is important for the problems it poses, but distressing in the manner in which it resolves them. Wishing to understand the unity of theory and practice in Marxism, Dunayevskaya offers us a classic of anti-Communism. It is not without interest to recall that in 1937-38 she was Trotsky's secretary in Mexico, and that he separated himself from her as soon as the Second World War broke out on account of her totally negative opinion of the Soviet system, in which she saw only a "state-capitalism"—a theory maintained by another notorious "Trotskyist" James Burnham.

If Raya Dunayevskaya is to be believed, it was through a series of aberrations that Marxism, a theory of liberation, came to be identified with "its opposite, Communism, the theory and practice of slavery." *Marxism and Freedom* tries to reconstitute for us the very essence of Marxism: "Humanism," through a critique of Lenin-Trotsky-Stalin-Maoism. Even more, it tries to show the American roots of Marxism. In fact, the shameful revision she offers us is, itself, very American.

The idea was nonetheless an interesting one: to

Slanderous book review nailed by author's reply

return to Marx and Hegel in order to understand the Stalinist caricature thereof. But the author's anti-Communist spite spares no analysis . . .

The most astonishing thing is that Dunayevskaya attempts to justify her anti-Communism through Marx himself . . . Dunayevskaya's book . . . bears witness to the impossibility of separating Marxism from those who transformed History in the name of Marxism.

—Jean-Michel Palmier
Sept. 13, 1971

Editor, *Le Monde*:

I was shocked to find, in a review of my work, *Marxism and Freedom*, by Jean-Michel Palmier (*Le Monde*, Sept. 3), a manifestation of a rather subtle form of amalgam-building between myself and "another notorious Trotskyist," . . . James Burnham." Mr. Palmier introduced the name James Burnham on the alleged ground that my analysis of state-capitalism is a thesis "defended by . . . James Burnham." James Burnham, however, far from being an exponent of the theory of state-capitalism, is the originator of the theory of "managerial society." Moreover, this generation knows him better as the arch-conservative he now is than as the dissident Trotskyist of the 1930's. Pray tell, what possible reason could Mr. Palmier have for dragging in the name of an American neo-fascist when reviewing the work of an American revolutionary Marxist? Mr. Palmier did not deign to explain, proceeding unabashedly onward. In a tone of finality, as if that, in itself, were sufficient to condemn Marxism and Freedom till kingdom come, he assessed my work as "very American."

I DO plead guilty to attempting to demonstrate the American roots of Marxism. It was Marx, however, not I, who wrote that, just as the American Revolution of 1776 "sounded the tocsin" for the French Revolution of 1789, so the American Civil War sounded it for the working-class revolutions of the mid-nineteenth century. All I did was to show how, under the impact of the Civil War in the United States, Marx restructured the whole of Capital, and how, under the impact of the Paris Commune, Marx deepened his analysis of the fetishism of commodities as well as the law of motion of capitalism in the stage of concentration and centralization of capital "in the hands either of a single capitalist or a single capitalist corporation," Marx's own projection of state-capitalism.

Interestingly enough, American reviewers in the

McCarthyite 1950's criticized me as sharply as does this French reviewer in 1971, for carrying through the American roots of Marxism, from Marx's day and his defense of the Abolitionists, to my heralding of the Black revolution initiated in our epoch by the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56. Permit me to quote from my comments when I contrasted the scepticism which greeted my projection of the Black revolution to the treatment of the same revolution as a veritable cliché by the mid-1960's: "Yet the fact that a revolution can be treated as a mere journalistic phrase only further reveals the failure to grapple with the truth that the American Negro has always been the touchstone of American civilization which had an ever expanding frontier but no unifying philosophy." (p. 12) Evidently, Mr. Palmier considered the American roots of Marxism so outlandish that, instead of citing any, he busied himself with the contention that I was out to "de-Bolshevize" Marxism. Where did he read that? Not in my work. I was too preoccupied proving that Stalin completed the total "de-Bolshevization" of Marxism—or to put it more precisely in my own terminology, the vitiation of Marxism and Leninism as well as the transformation of the first workers' state into its absolute opposite, state-capitalism, which Stalinism (be it Russian or of any other nationality) calls Communism.

THE REVIEWER, not I, linked into a single unit (all duly hyphenated) "Lenino-Trotsky-Stalino-Maoism." I, on the contrary, not only made the gulf between Stalin and Lenin unbridgeable, but also demonstrated that it was Lenin who saved Marxism when World War I caused the collapse of the then-established Marxism, the Second International. If the reviewer stopped reading before he reached page 168, the section entitled "Lenin and the Dialectic: A Mind in Action," he certainly had read the third paragraph of my special preface to the French edition, which states: "Thus, Lenin, to lay the theoretic foundations for November, 1917, 'rewrote' Marx's *Civil War in France as State and Revolution* . . . 'Every worker, every peasant, every toiler, every one who is exploited, the whole population to a man!'"

Since Mr. Palmier considered my personal past as Trotsky's secretary "not without interest," may I recommend to him the documented archives ("*Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*"), "*Marxist-Humanism: Its Origin and Development in America, 1941-1969*," available on microfilm through the Wayne State University Labor Library in Detroit, Michigan?

—Raya Dunayevskaya

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

EDITOR'S NOTE: For the second time, *LE MONDE* has failed to publish any answer to their slanderous attack on *MARXISM AND FREEDOM*, which appeared in their issue of Sept. 3, 1971 in Paris. We print below an exchange of letters between *LE MONDE*'S reviewer and Raya Dunayevskaya. Excerpts from the review and Dunayevskaya's first brief reply appeared in *NEWS & LETTERS*, October, 1971.

September 25, 1971

Chere Madame,

I have received your letter concerning my review of your book in *Le Monde*. It's impossible for me to develop in a few lines the criticism that I could make regarding your undertaking, and I hope that we will one day be able to talk about it orally and clear up a number of these points. I will attempt only to enumerate some points of contention which are not only mine, but which are also shared by a number of my friends who have read your book:

1—Your intention is significant: to understand how Marxism, a theory of liberation, could give birth to repressive practices: Stalinism and neo-Stalinism. But your book makes use of all the anti-communist cliches and in no way analyzes the problems. You constantly speak of "communism's putrescent smog," of the "theory of slavery," of the "most barbarous regime on earth," of "toxic vapors that befog students." This is not an analysis.

2—The return to Marxism starting with the early texts is a myth. The texts of 1844 are without meaning unless considered within the ensemble of Marx's work.

3—Your historic analyses are often surprising: you associate facts which do not at all have the meaning that you give them; for example, the association of the intervention in Prague with the war in Vietnam, of the 1956 struggle in Hungary with the humanist revolt, of the workers of East Berlin with American Blacks.

4—Your analysis of the degeneration of Soviet Marx-

ism is not radically different from the thesis of Burnham . . .

5—That you were attacked by the McCarthyites does not prove your Marxist orthodoxy. Reich, raving mad, was also prey to these attacks, and he was an anti-Communist.

6—I would like to know your position on the Angela Davis question, for example; What do you think of her ideas?

7—I know little about your past and if you could send me some documentation on your work and your life, I would be happy to speak about it in the future in *Le Monde*.

8—I do not in any way dream of associating you with the present-day Burnham, who, as you say, is truly a neo-fascist.

In the hope of hearing from you soon, I send you my highest regards,

Dr. J. M. Palmier
Professor of Philosophy and Sociology

October 11, 1971

Dear Dr. Palmier:

Your letter of Sept. 25, 1971, has just reached me in Canada where I happen to be on lecture tour. I was glad to see you dropped any reference to the American roots of Marxism as if that were an invention of mine; also that you no longer refer to Lenin as if I have placed him in the same category as Stalin, Khrushchev and Mao. Now then, the questions you now pose:

First comes the serious matter of the transformation of Marxism, a philosophy of liberation, into its opposite, the theory and practice of state-capitalism calling itself Communism. My theory of state-capitalism was first developed in 1941, was the first study based on original Russian sources—the three Five Year Plans, 1926 to the outbreak of World War II. The study of this data takes up no less than 46 pages (p. 233-278) of *Marxisme et Liberte*, which proceed to prove the operation of the law of value in Russia, and cite such horrendous new features as forced labor camps, all of which was being dished up as "socialism," where the law of value is supposed to be inoperative. Furthermore, the life in forced labor camps, far from being what you

call my cliches, is told in the words of the actual inmates during the uprising in Vorkuta in July 1953. And, may I call to your attention that the title of that analysis is not "putrescent smog," but, "Russia is More Than Ever Full of Revolutionaries" (p. 273).

CHAPTER 13, WHICH sets out the actuality and not just the theory of Russian state-capitalism, does end with an expose also of Russia's (not my) revision of Marx's theory of value. This revision too I had been the first to translate into English as soon as it appeared in Russia in the journal *Pod Znamenem Marxizma* (*Under the Banner of Marxism*), which had not arrived in U.S. libraries. The debate over this startling revision, which in the United States lasted for a whole year (1944 to 1945), reverberated on the Continent directly after World War II. (One of my articles, "Nouvelle revision de la theorie economique marxiste," appeared in *La Revue Internationale*, 9 octobre 1946. Another and later summation of my position that appeared in French is "Bureaucratization et capitalisme d'Etat," in *Arguments*, no 12-13, janvier-fevrier mars 1959.)

Because the practice of state-capitalism is a great deal more painful than the theory, I stressed in the Preface: "Russian Communism rests on the mainspring of capitalism—paying the worker the minimum, and extracting from him the maximum," (p. 32). Because this is central to my whole work, I proceeded to prove this contention in the context of the book (Part Five). Because theory is not at all the abstraction it appears to be to many, and Marx himself did anticipate such a development if "the law of motion of capitalism" went "the whole way," and because this affected even great revolutionaries who slipped off the fundamental ground of Marx's "abstract" analysis, I also dealt with the question in my analysis of crises developed by Marx in Vol. III of *Capital*. May I call your attention to the end of Chapter 8, which takes up Rosa Luxemburg's theory of accumulation of capital, and contrasts it to Marx's ("Appearance and Reality," p. 151-159)?

SECONDLY, I AM most sorry to see that you believe the 1844 Manuscripts to be "un mythe." This is your
(Continued on Page 7)

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

privilege, of course. However, I did not leave the question of the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts (Chapter 3 of *Marxism et Liberte*) to its formulation by Marx in 1844, or to the Russian attacks on it in 1955, but carried through the Humanism of Marxism throughout the four volumes of Marx's *Capital*, to which I devote no less than four chapters. Thus, Part Three, "Marxism: Unity of Theory and Practice," lays heavy stress, not on the Humanism of 1844, but on "The Humanism and the Dialectic of *Capital*, Vol. I (1867-1883)." Again, it is impossible to divide theory from practice, and not just in Marx's day but in our own, when we deal with Marxism.

Therefore, what I emphasize is the actual appearance on the historic stage of Marx's Humanism in the Hungarian Revolution, 1956. It has remained front center on that historic stage ever since. I was most pleased to have been one of only three Americans asked to participate in the international symposium, *Socialist Humanism*, edited by Eric Fromm. I regret that you see no relationship between the Russian counter-revolutionary interventions in East Europe, either in Hungary in 1956 or in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and the barbaric American imperialist actions in Vietnam. I doubt that those who have to live under Russian totalitarianism in East Europe see no parallel in these two imperialisms. And it is a fact that the American masses—Blacks and youth mainly, but not so distant from the rank and file labor as is made to appear—who are fighting their government's savage imperialism against the Vietnamese people, do see a parallel.

NOR IS THIS parallel seen merely for "propaganda purposes," as in the moving letter from a Birmingham jail in 1963 by Martin Luther King, Jr., who drew a sharp parallel between U.S. racism and Nazism, on the one hand, and on the other hand, between the Hungarian revolutionaries and the Black revolutionaries. Last year, for example, when the Polish workers rose up in strikes and demonstrations against their conditions of labor, we witnessed demonstrations in sympathy here.

In any case, insofar as I am concerned, I do not believe in the theory of the lesser evil. The one time that I participate in any actions with Communists is when the reactionary American government strikes out against revolutionaries here, especially Blacks. Thus, in the question that you raised about Angela Davis, I am of course part of the Free Angela Davis movement. This needs further explanation because I do think there is a misunderstanding in your conception of what my anti-Communism supposedly leads to. I fight the Communists, whom I consider state-capitalists, globally. Being an American revolutionary, this in no way stops me from fighting American capitalism.

As you no doubt noticed, Herbert Marcuse, who introduced my work, disagrees with me sharply, particularly on the role of labor, and I disagree even more sharply with him. Yet he felt that my analysis of "the Marxism oeuvre" was such an original contribution that someone in academia must introduce it. At the present moment, the C. P. is carrying on the most vicious

campaign against him, but this has not stopped him from working for the freedom of his most important protegee, Angela Davis. In a word, neither of us consider either that we should hide our differences, or that our differences should keep us from working together against capitalism.

YOU WILL PARDON me if I do not go into still another discussion of Burnham. I would like to believe you when you say, "I do not dream of associating you with the present day Burnham." Why then have you dragged this neo-fascist into our discussion, when he nowhere appears in my book, and I am damn sure I nowhere appear in his? My theory of state-capitalism, which was never separated from its opposite, workers' revolutions, was never his, and his theory of managerial society, which he had considered "the new society," was never mine. Wasn't it bad enough that I had to explain my "past" (which has always been a revolutionary past) for *Le Monde*? Why should I again have to sink down to Burnham's ground of argumentation? Can't you see that *Le Monde* does publish my public answer?

Yes, I would like some day to meet and discuss more with you in person, but you must realize that I have suffered through many slanders and relegation to the status of un-person, both in Russia and the United States, ever since I became Leon Trotsky's secretary at the height of the most infamous Moscow Frame-Up Trials in 1937. I trust, therefore, that our dialogue can continue on the ground of my own work rather than on the ground of Other.

Yours sincerely,
Raya Dunayevskaya

unomásuno

martes 30 de enero de 1979

LIBROS

Marxismo y libertad

Margarita Sordo

R. Dunayévskaia. — Marxismo y libertad. — Ed. Juan Pablos. México 1976. 400 pp.

Raya Dunayévskaia estuvo en México entre 1937 y 38 como secretaria de Trotsky. De ese entonces data su tesis sobre la estructura capitalista de Estado, aplicada a la Unión Soviética, que sostiene contra la opinión del propio Trotsky, lo cual la llevó a distanciarse de las posiciones trotskistas y a emprender un camino propio. Ahora, a partir del día 5 de febrero, estará de nuevo con nosotros.

En fecha reciente la Editorial Juan Pablos puso a nuestro alcance uno de los libros fundamentales de la señora Dunayévskaia: *Marxismo y libertad*, donde la autora hace un profundo análisis de las causas que llevaron a la Unión Soviética a convertirse en algo cualitativamente diferente de un Estado proletario.

Asimismo, en el texto podemos encontrar una descripción muy aguda de los males actuales que padece la sociedad capitalista en el país más representativo de ella: Estados Unidos.

En vista de las conclusiones a que llega, la Dunayévskaia hace una recomendación dirigida especialmente a los países que luchan contra el colonialismo y las tiranías, y es que los revolucionarios auténticos no deben guiarse por fórmulas gastadas ni por dictados ajenos a sus propias circunstancias históricas, antes deben reflexionar sobre el problema fundamental de la sociedad, que es la libertad del hombre dentro de un sistema que la garantice para todos sus componentes.

Como señala la autora: "El marxismo o es una teoría de la liberación o no es nada".

10127

Uno Mas Uno, Mexico City. Jan. 30, 1979

Review of Marxism and Freedom

Raya Dunayevskaya was in Mexico 1937-38 as Trotsky's secretary. From that time on, she worked out her thesis of the capitalist structure of the State, applied it to the Soviet Union, a view she held against the opinion of Trotsky himself and which impelled her to distance herself from Trotskyist positions and to begin on her own road. Now, beginning Feb. 5, she will be here with us once more.

Recently Juan Pablos Publishers made available to us one of the fundamental book of Raya Dunayevskaya: Marxism and Freedom, where the author makes a profound analysis of the causes which transformed the Soviet Union into something qualitatively different than a proletarian State.

At the same time, in the text we can find a very sharp description of today's ills which afflict capitalist society in its most representative country: the United States.

In view of the conclusions she arrives at, Dunayevskaya makes a recommendation directed especially to the countries fighting colonialism and tyranny, which is that genuine revolutionaries ought not to be guided by worn-out formulas nor dictums alien to their own historic circumstances, before reflecting on the fundamental problem of society which is the freedom of man within a system which guarantees liberty in all aspects.

As the author says: "Marxism is a theory of liberation or it is nothing."