

**The Myriad Global Crises  
of the 1980s and  
the Nuclear World  
since World War II**

*Introduction/Overview — Marxist Humanism  
A Half-Century of World Development  
Retrospective/Perspectives Thirty Years of  
Voices & Letters*

**by Raya Dunayevskaya**

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*Note from the author: The changed world of today is expressed on the one hand in the great new uprisings in South Africa, South Korea, Haiti and the Philippines, and, on the other, in its exact opposite—counter-revolution spearheaded by Ronald Reagan, including the most ominous U.S. imperialist adventures in Libya. It is this which makes it urgent not alone to fight Reaganism, but to create new visions of the future in the present. Reagan's turning back of the clock has been carried out in the 1980s on all fronts—against civil rights, labor, and Women's Liberation at home, as well as bolstering (and gathering intelligence for) the Botha regime in South Africa, which is now engaged in a civil war against the unarmed Black masses. It is imperative that while we conduct the fight against Reaganism on the ground of the immediate situation, we at the same time relate how precisely this objective situation demanded a retrospective-perspective of the history of News & Letters and a 1980s view of the Marxist-Humanist Archives. Both are seen here in the context of objective events as far back as the 1930s. The myriad global crises right now have been the spur to a re-examination of the whole nuclear world since World War II. That is the reason for the title of this pamphlet.*

— Raya Dunayevskaya

# The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection (1924-1986)



Raya Dunayevskaya speaking to Wayne State University audience, March 21, 1985 on the Marxist-Humanist Archives

**T**HE MARCH 21, 1985 lecture, "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts," that the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs sponsored, was the occasion at which I handed in new material for the years 1981-85, and promised to bring the Collection up through the end of 1985. In the process of my working on Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 1985-86, the

Marxist-Humanist archivist, Michael Connolly, informed me of newly discovered materials dating back to the mid-1920s. When I looked at the U.S. Congressional "Red Files" on the founding convention of the American Negro Labor Congress, the vivid memory of my arrival in the U.S. during the Palmer Raids against "Reds" and Negroes in the post-World War I period came back to me. That was not because my memory instantly recalled what happened over a half century ago.

No, the spur to the remembrance of things past was the present, Reagan's ongoing retrogressionism and his super-patriotic fanaticism of calling each revolutionary national independence movement "Communist," as he does all dissidents at home. Counter-revolutions have a way of repeating themselves during world crises, whether in the Palmer Raids in the 1920s, or in the rise of McCarthyism in the post-World War II period following the 1949 revolution in China and the creation of apartheid South Africa. The struggle now makes it imperative to trace the absolute opposite of the counter-revolution—the revolutions in thought as well as in fact. Our epoch is crucial, not alone because that challenge is the task of this generation, but because in those three decades of the post-World War II world there arose a movement from practice that was itself a form of theory.

That movement challenged the theoreticians to work out so new a relationship of practice to theory as to have that unity achieve a totally new stage. To get a feeling for the revolutionary opposition in the 1920s, see Section I, Part A, especially the documents on the Negro Champion, the organ of the American Negro Labor Congress, on which I worked. Thus, America's Black Dimension, far from being broken by the post-World War I riots against them, gave rise, at one and the same time, to both the largest mass movement of Blacks ever in the U.S., Garveyism, and to the American Negro Labor Congress, which expressed the Russian Revolution in its internationalism.

"Black/Red" was also pivotal in the labor struggles of the 1930s, which transformed the industrial face of the nation with the creation of the CIO. Before the CIO, however, the labor struggles reached their highest point in the San Francisco general strike of 1934. While San Francisco had always been a union town, the strike posed not just a union question or a strike in a single industry—the longshoremen—but a political, revolution-

ary, general strike in which I was very active. I was then the organizer of the Spartacus Youth Club in Los Angeles. In order to show that these types of revolutionary strikes, far from being "foreign," as the Hearst papers were screaming, were very American, I wrote an article for the *Young Spartacus* (June, 1934) which went back to the railroad strikes of the 1870s, concentrating on the very first general strike in St. Louis—1877—when "the strikers took possession of the city and ruled for an entire week."

The Depression certainly shook up America, and the strike struggles of the 1930s created both industrial unionism and introduced new paths in cognition itself. Far from pragmatism and American thought being one and the same, Marxian dialectics was very much on the American scene and was reflected in the multifaceted discussions engaged in by workers as well as intellectuals. I experienced this when I was conducting classes in Los Angeles on Marxism for youth. I then returned to the Midwest, East and finally to Washington, D.C. (Hitchhiking was the main mode of transportation in those years).

**B**Y 1936, WHEN I was living in Washington, D.C., I became active in support of sharecroppers' struggles in the South. Interracial relationships became a key question during the Depression. In Washington, D.C., for example, which was still a "Jim Crow" town except for streetcars, Ralph Bunche—then chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at Howard University—was instrumental in establishing, with the Communists, a new National Negro Congress, and helped the socialists, who had organized the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, to establish the Washington Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers as a support group for the 1936 Arkansas sharecroppers' strike. (See my "Two forgotten pages of Ralph Bunche's life story," *News & Letters*, March, 1972.) I was a member of this committee, which included Carter G. Woodson, founder of the *Journal of Negro History*, and Prof. Dorsey, a political economist at Howard, who was to become the Washington chairman of the International Defense Committee for Leon Trotsky in 1937. The Black Dimension here opened the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa for me, especially since Nnamdi Azikwe was then in the U.S. writing his *Renascent Africa*.

Along with these new findings from the 1920s and 1930s first being introduced into the *Raya Dunayevska-*

ya Collection, I want to add also to the section on my work as Russian secretary to Leon Trotsky in 1937-38. The three pieces I translated on the Spanish Revolution, and Leon Trotsky's letter of Jan. 5, 1938, to Shachtman, which informed Shachtman that I was translating part of Trotsky's work, *How the Revolution Armed Itself*, were all part of making the 1917 Russian Revolution so relevant to the 1937 Spanish Revolution that Trotskyists should become both active participants and theoreticians. In a word, what the Trotsky letter doesn't say is that it was done for the Spanish revolutionaries so that they could have the 1917 ground for the 1937 Revolution.

The same type of ground for current (1937) activity in South Africa was attempted by Trotsky in his introduction to the South African publication of Marx's *Communist Manifesto* on the 90th anniversary of its writing.

On the other hand, the shock of the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939, followed by the outbreak of World War II and Trotsky's call for the defense of Russia, signalled the beginning of the end of world Trotskyism. The many tendencies that sprang up within Trotskyism questioned the very nature of the Russian state and the Russian economy, rather than just the political bureaucratization that Stalin introduced and that Trotsky had fought.

I plunged into the study of all the Russian Five-Year Plans. (The most valuable research work was done in the Slavic Division of the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and Hoover Institute in California.) What the new additions to documents on the theory of state-capitalism reveal is that, at the same time I was engaged in research on the Russian economy of 1928-39, I was translating for myself philosophic works of Marx, those that were listed by Ryazanov as "Preparatory Works for The Holy Family" and which we now know as the famous *Humanist Essays*, as well as Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's "Science of Logic." My translations have now been found in their very first form. (See #8345.) In a word, the relationship between philosophy and economics was intensified. Indeed, by the 1940s I saw philosophy as inherent in new revolutionary forces—labor, Black, women, youth.

Thus the studies in state-capitalism were integral to the intensified activities in the 1940s with, once again, the Black Dimension being pivotal. See especially the

documents on my debate with Coolidge (Ernest Rice McKinney), # 9008. The Schomburg Collection was the place where I did much of my research on Black America, which was reflected in my 1948 article, "Maintain the Schomburg Collection!"

**I**N 1947 THE Fourth International allowed me to present the theory of state-capitalism at their world conference in France. I debated Ernest Mandel (German) there. What is most memorable from the trip was, however, not the Trotskyists but the meeting with a Camerounian who told me of the revolution they had when the Germans left and the "Free French" were going to return. (See my 1947 letters, # 661.)

When I completed the translation of Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's "Science of Logic" in 1949, I looked for a publisher for it, knocking on many doors and meeting with the Columbia University Russian Department, but publication had to wait until 1957 with my *Marxism and Freedom*. The many letters in this period disclose the relationship of philosophy and economics—specifically of Hegel's *Science of Logic* to Marx's *Capital*—and connect those studies to the letters I wrote to miners on the general strike in 1950. These reveal that I was changing the form of my work on state-capitalism and Marxism to what became *Marxism and Freedom*. (See Section III for the letters of this period.)

It all resulted in the break-up of the state-capitalist tendency known as "Johnson-Forest," and the critique of all post-Marx Marxists. I called for a re-organization of Marxist groupings, and the theoretical work that resulted in 1957-58, *Marxism and Freedom*, spelled its aim out as re-establishing Marxism in its original form, which Marx called a "thorough-going Naturalism or Humanism." That period saw my first attempt to make an outline of what would become the Marxist-Humanist Archives. (See # 9357.)

The whole question of the relationship of any ongoing event with the past; with the very concept of Archives, depends on the two opposite words—continuity and discontinuity. Whereas only great divides in epochs, in cognition, in personality, are crucial, and may relate to turning points in history, no discontinuity can really achieve that type of new epochal "moment" unless it has established continuity with the historic course of human development.

Naturally, the significance of Archives for any Marxist-Humanist has, as ground, what we learned from

Marx's Archives, especially from the writings in his last decade, and especially the *Ethnological Notebooks* which were first transcribed in 1972. That work cast a totally new illumination both on Marx's multi-linearism as it relates to his studies of pre-capitalism and indeed on the whole course of human development. These Notebooks so integrally related the "new moments" of Marx's last decade that it made it possible to grasp Marx's Marxism as a totality. In a word, the new moments of his last decade, and the very first writings of his break from capitalism and his founding of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution in 1843-44, were one continuous development of what Marx called a "New Humanism." This is the reason why we considered the 1880s a "trail to the 1980s." Put differently, neither the first nor the last of Marx's new moments were a question of something that happened in the 19th century, but became an imperative for our age.

**T**HE RETURN TO 1958, that was the year DeGaulle came to power in France and I saw, at one and the same time, a new form of fascism and the imperative need for new international relations of those who opposed both poles of capitalism—U.S. and Russia—whether they held fully to the theory of state-capitalism or not. A correspondence developed with Battaglia Comunista in Italy (Onorato Damen); Munis, a Spanish exile; Chaulieu and Vega, as well as Jean Malaquais in France; and Harry McShane in Britain. An International Conference was held in Milan, Italy, in November 1959, and I made a trip to Europe to attend and hold other discussions. I had in my hand for the trip *Marxism and Freedom* as well as our new pamphlet, *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, and I insisted that all those who attended had to focus on the new revolutions in the Third World. I asked that the African comrades be invited. (I continued corresponding with Africans until I went to Africa in 1962, and they helped map my trip to Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, and the Gambia.)

The European International Conference itself, while not grounded in philosophy, Marxist-Humanist or otherwise, and not agreeing with my analysis of the very new African Revolutions, did approve my motion to continue discussion on a regular basis in the Italian journal, *Prometeo*. Out of this trip, a Marxist-Humanist group was established in Britain, headed by Harry McShane.

The pivotal points of my address to the International

Conference were further developed in the 1960 Thesis, "The World Crisis and the Theoretic Void," which was published in Italian and French in *Prometeo*, the publication of the International Center of Correspondence. (Onorato Damen had introduced me to the publisher La Nuovo Italia, which published the Italian edition of *Marxism and Freedom*.) That special section of *Prometeo* continued to publish my articles, which included my critique of Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*, as well as one on the Cuban Missile Crisis.

**T**HE 1960S WERE as turbulent in the U.S. as anywhere else in the world and the new voices from below are well enough recorded in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection from the *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves to the Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution*. (I co-authored the latter with Free Speech Movement leader Mario Savio and Eugene Walker from the Mississippi freedom schools.) The Black Dimension was by no means just an American question; the African Revolutions initiated a new world epoch, indeed a new world, the Third World. Whereas the European International Conference hadn't followed my suggestion to invite some African revolutionaries, I followed through with the Africans I met in England, especially Dixon Colley of the Gambia who had chaired my meeting in London.

The new correspondence that is now being added includes communication with Leopold Senghor, Sekou Toure, and Nnamdi Azikwe, as well as the letter to Thomas Kanza, UN Ambassador from the Congo, on the death of Patrice Lumumba. The trip to West Africa in 1962 is thus now more fully documented and shows more than just the fact that *Presence Africaine* published my article "Marxist-Humanism," which I had originally titled "African Socialism: Why not a New International?" That didn't impede my activities and writings on the American scene, as witness the new contributions we now make of my articles for *The Activist*, the student journal at Oberlin College for which I was both sponsor and writer, as well as a critic of some of their writings, like that of Tracey Strong on China.

The Third World was naturally not only Africa, but also Latin America, Asia and the Middle East. Most relevant and important here is my correspondence with Silvio Frondizi, the great Argentinian independent Marxist who was murdered by the fascist regime. He had in fact translated *Marxism and Freedom*, but was

unable to publish it. Nearly all of my major works have now been translated and published in Spanish. Erich Fromm was instrumental in introducing my work to the publishing house, Siglo XXI.

The section on the battle of ideas speaks well enough for itself, whether it is correspondence with Silvio Frondizi or Alisdair MacIntyre, with Erich Fromm or Peter Bergmann, Jean Malaquais or Paul Piccone, Dixon Colley or John O'Neill, or even C.L.R. James and Grace Chin Lee, or whether it was with Leon Trotsky or Yoshimasa Yukiama. Indeed, the correspondence and some of the interviews would result in a chapter within a book itself. I am referring to a 1965 Hong Kong interview which became a part of a chapter of *Philosophy and Revolution*. The Chinese refugee I interviewed, "Jade," was so taken with my chapter "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" in *Marxism and Freedom* that she translated it into Chinese and sent it to the underground at Peking University, where she had been a student. That was in 1966, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

The trip I made to Japan has been reported in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection before, but the new that is added now is especially important for two reasons. It wasn't only my *Marxism and Freedom* that was translated and published in Japan, but also *News & Letters* pamphlets like Charles Denby's *Workers Battle Automation* and other new voices from the Black Revolution. The Zenshin (the Japan Revolutionary Communist League) sponsored my many lectures throughout the Islands. Also new is the typescript of my talk in Japan on Hegel.

**WHAT IS OF THE** essence in the 1970s were the new open doors in academia in the U.S. In 1970, the year of the 200th anniversary of Hegel's birth and 100th of Lenin's, the battle of ideas kept crisscrossing between the Left and academia. The specific essay which was to attract special attention was "The Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin," which became the basis for my talk to a conference of the then young New Left philosophic journal, *Telos*. The Yugoslav journal *Praxis* then reprinted it, and so did the Italian journal *Aut Aut*. That work was not just on Lenin, but on Hegel, and it became a part of the section in *Philosophy and Revolution* on "Why Hegel? Why Now?" This allowed me to present a paper at the 1974 conference of the Hegel Society of America. What is new in Volume XII is

the documentation of the critiques of my views on Hegel that came from old radicals like Peter Bergmann (1974) as well as a critique of my interpretation of Hegel's Absolute Method by George Armstrong Kelly in his *Retreat from Eleusis* (1978). I answered Kelly in the introduction to my 1982 edition of *Philosophy and Revolution*. Also new is my letter to Bertell Ollman in critique of the academic classes in socialism, especially *Marx's Capital*.

The 1970s were in general characterized by a new passion for a philosophy of revolution. On the one hand, it was spurred by the fact that the 1960s revolutions had been aborted at their highest point, 1968. On the other hand, it was the very counter-revolution of the early 1970s against Vietnam, when both Russia and China were rolling out the red carpet for Nixon, that made the youth, the Black Dimension, and even some old radicals begin to ask questions serious enough to have them attempt to work out a new philosophy of revolution for their age. At any rate, they were ready to listen and not to dismiss theoreticians on any superficial basis of age. Rather, they themselves wanted to see a continuity as well as a discontinuity in Marxism.

This became the more intense when finally Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* were transcribed in the 1970s and the whole question of the relation of technologically advanced countries to underdeveloped countries was seen in a new light—the multi-linearism of Marx—as he turned anew to the idea of pre-capitalist societies and the then new science of anthropology. Just as this new objective/subjective situation led us to create the category of "post-Marx Marxism" as a pejorative in the 1982 publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, so the 1983 Marx Centenary Tour, with this work in hand, opened new doors, especially in the Black Dimension and Women's Liberation.

**A** LREADY HANDED IN at the March 21, 1985 lecture—though we then only had page proofs—was my latest book, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*. Where it covered 35 years on the single subject of women's liberation, I have now completed my "30-Year Retrospective/Perspective of News & Letters" which is the history of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.—the paper, the organization, and the philosophic works, as well as the pamphlets. At the present moment I am in the process of working on my next

book, *Dialectics of Organization: Philosophy, the "Party," and Opposite Forms of Organization Born Out of Spontaneity*.

The Black Dimension, which was central in *News & Letters* from its birth with a Black production worker, Charles Denby, as its editor, remains intrinsic to our body of ideas and has just been spelled out again in our latest publication, a new expanded edition of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*. This booklet includes appendices on Negritude and Language by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o as well as my Political-Philosophic Letter, "Grenada: Counter-Revolution and Revolution." It as well includes this recent communication we received directly from a group of South African revolutionaries:

"We can understand why the Marxist-Humanists felt a need to call themselves not just Marxists but Marxist-Humanist, because the humanism has been removed from Marx to such an extent that people thought they could come with certain theories and ideas just from the top—the intellectuals theorizing and telling the people how to liberate themselves."

February 28, 1986

*Postscript, April 10, 1986 —*

Between the time (February) when Volume XII was handed in for microfilming, and its release for public view by Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs (April), *News & Letters* has created a new cover for the Guide to the entire twelve-volume collection. This new title for the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—"Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development"—reflects the range of the new discoveries of old manuscripts predating 1941, as well as extending the collection to 1985/86. Put differently, the 1930s are the focal point now. The Depression signaled the end of private capitalism, while out of the Spanish Civil War there emerged a new kind of revolutionary who posed questions not only against Stalinism but against Trotskyism, indeed against all established Marxists. The 1981 Introductory Note to the Archives repeats what we said when we first handed in the Collection in 1969: "The entire collection is divided into two parts. Part One covers Marxist-Humanism in its origin as State-Capitalist theory...Part Two...covers the

period 1955 to 1981, and details the development of Marxist-Humanism" as organization and as philosophy. With the addition of Volume XII, the new cover more fully reflects the whole range, "Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development."

The image shows the cover of a book titled "Guide To The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development". The cover is white with black text and a decorative border. The title is prominently displayed at the top. Below the title, it lists the publisher: "Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan 48202". A section titled "NEWLY ADDED:" lists three volumes: "Volume XI, 1981-1985 - Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Connections", "Volume XII, Retrospective and Perspective: The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, 1924-1986", and "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, 1924-1986". The price "\$2.00" is listed below the volume list. At the bottom, the publisher's name "Black Panther Press" and address "New & Letters, 19 E. Van Buren St., Chicago, IL 60607" are printed.

See announcement page 61.

# Thirty Years of News & Letters



**Charles Denby, Editor**

***News & Letters 1955 - 1983***

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## **I. The 1950s and 1960s**

***From the Birth of News &  
Letters, 1955, to Marxism and  
Freedom, 1957***

*With the eyes of 1985, the idea of a Marxist-Humanist paper, beginning publication June, 1955, when McCarthyism was still raging, seems, strangely enough,*

very todayish. The idea of a struggle for freedom that would make inseparable theory and practice, and have that relation as the determinant, does indeed remain an imperative in Reagan's retrogressive USA.

The three post-World War II decades, 1955-1985, not only tested Marx's philosophy of liberation when one must fight under the whip of counter-revolution, but also saw the emergence of new passions and forces opposing capitalist-imperialism. Thus was signified the dawning of a new epoch.

To examine the first year of our existence, especially the first issue of *News & Letters* (N&L), will reveal, first, what we heard, and second, the meaning we gave to what we heard by declaring it to be "a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory." It is this we held to be the challenge which theoreticians must face in working out the dialectic philosophy of the age.

The uniqueness of the simultaneity of act and of thought in the 1950s—in such events as the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike and the 1953 East German Revolt—was a spur to the publication of *News & Letters*. Thus we set aside a specific section entitled "Coal and Its People," which we explained in an article in the first issue, "A Coal Section because..." That section had been born from the kind of questions posed by that 1949-50 Miners' General Strike against Automation, which was then merely known as the struggle against the introduction of a new kind of machine, "the continuous miner," into the coalfields. In battling what the miners called a "man-killer," the miners insisted they were not interested mainly in the question of wages. Rather, they asked what kind of labor man should do. Why was there such a big division between thinking and doing?

In 1953, in a very different country, East Germany, there was a rebellion against "work norms" (speed-up). Here the workers coupled their economic demands at the point of production with the political demand for freedom. It was the first-ever general strike from under Communist totalitarianism. Their slogan was "Bread and Freedom." This new battle spread through East Europe. It came to a climax in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, which brought onto the present historic stage philosophic questions that had been raised in Marx's *Humanist Essays* of 1844.

Issue number one of *News & Letters* demonstrated our international dimension in its very appearance in June, 1955, to commemorate the second anniversary of

the June 17th East German Revolt. This was discussed in our "World Comment" section of this first issue. Our editorial, "Why We Appear," expressed our relation to our readers as writers here in America. The uniqueness of our paper was manifested in the following:

1. The editors were two workers, Johnny Zupan and Charles Denby. Charles Denby, a Black production worker, was soon to become the sole editor. This was the first time ever that a U.S. Black production worker became the editor of a Marxist paper.

2. Nor was the Black Dimension limited to editorship. The very first issue of N&L reproduced a picture of Njeri, a Kenyan woman who was a central figure in the Mau Mau struggle for freedom from British imperialism. It was to her that the booklet, *People of Kenya Speak for Themselves*, was dedicated.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1955 was filled not only with McCarthyism, but with racism of the most barbaric kind—as witness the murder of Emmett Till. Always seeing the new opposition, the absolute opposite of the barbarism, is the only way to know how to fight in a positive way. Thus, our front page article, Oct. 5, 1955, was not just a report of the horrors of Till's murder, but of the Black mass reaction to it. When the Montgomery Bus Boycott broke out later that same year, our editor, Charles Denby, went to Alabama to meet with the participants in that bus boycott. What we presented in the pages of N&L was a report of the beginnings of the Black Revolution. It became crystal clear that this movement wasn't the act of any single individual but was masses in motion—what we would later call Black masses as vanguard.

3. The category of Women's Liberation as Reason as well as revolutionary force was seen in N&L from the start. It was not alone that a Black woman, Ethel Dunbar, authored a column she called "We Are Somebody"<sup>2</sup>, but that N&L had no less than two other women columnists—Jerry Kegg on the Labor page and

1. I have read innumerable "erudite," "scholarly" studies that speak of Koinange's book as if the date it was finally published commercially was the time when the story of the Mau Mau struggle was revealed. The truth is that we had tried very hard to get an established publisher before we undertook our own publication. Koinange thought he had Nehru's promise to do so. But indeed, other than ourselves, none were willing to undertake publication.

2. How long was it before Jesse Jackson made a category out of "We Are Somebody"? By then Dunbar had changed the title of her column to emphasize its international dimension, calling it "Way of the World."

Angela Terrano, who was also a worker, writing a column called "Working for Independence," first on the Youth page and later on the Labor page.

4. The Youth column was then written by Robert Ellery, who edited the page and called his column "Thinking It Out." He later wrote the front page article which clearly showed that, far from the youth being a "Beat Generation," they were in fact a new force of revolution—"Rebels With A Cause." (N&L, Feb. 5, 1957)

5. To be noted as pivotal as well was the section devoted to "Readers' Views" which was created to give priority not merely to letters to the editor, but also to unwritten letters, i.e., to views of non-members, often only spoken. The purpose of this section was to reveal what people thought and said of the world, and of their own lives, which would not depend on whether or not they were writers. Rather, it was a question of our members needing to be alert to what the masses said to each other, what they thought, how they felt, whether at work or just on public transportation. Involved here is the whole concept of oral history. This will be fully developed for the coming Plenum by our National Co-Organizer, Michael Connolly, who is the editor of the Readers' Views pages.

6. An "MD" column was written by a doctor. It did not limit itself to medical problems, though central to the column would be specific questions about industrial illnesses and about the social nature of illness. Thus, the MD column dealt with such other topics as a review of Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization* (N&L, Feb. 5, 1957); and a series of four articles developed a view of "The Biological Basis of Marxist-Humanism." (N&L, April-October, 1960)

7. Finally, there was my column, "Two Worlds," which had an overline, "Notes from a Diary," and was, at first, unsigned. My first column dealt with "Letter Writing and the New Passions" that signalled the birth of a new epoch.

In 1955 our very first conference, which had decided to publish this paper, *News & Letters*, edited by workers, had at the same time assigned me to complete the study of Marxism that I had been working on for a decade. It would be called *Marxism and Freedom* and would articulate both the American roots of Marxism and Marx's world Humanist concepts. It would not be completed until 1957. Before its appearance, however, we did issue our very first pamphlet, which reproduced

in mimeographed form my translation of Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, which had never been available in English before. That same pamphlet contained, as well, my May, 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea. It is in these letters that I held that inherent in Hegel's Absolute Idea as a unity of theory and practice was the presence of a movement from practice.

I felt that in our age, when the workers' movement from practice had manifested itself as a form of theory, it was the task of Marxists to face this new reality in such a way that all relations between workers and intellectuals change. One manifestation of that was that workers became editors. But that did not mean that there would be no work for the intellectuals who were revolutionary and who participated with the workers in all their actions. Here is what I wrote in my "Two Worlds" column of Aug. 5, 1955, about the unique combination of worker and intellectual that N&L was establishing. We insisted that this was "the practice of the breakdown of the most monstrous division of all—the division between mental and manual labor...The intellectual must be attuned to hear that movement from practice to theory. This is the nub...Theoreticians cannot be bystanders to a paper that mirrors the workers' thoughts and activities as they happen."

This conception became historically as well as currently alive as the East European revolts reached their first climax in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Along with establishing Workers' Councils at the point of production, instead of the state-controlled unions, that revolution, as well, saw the appearance of innumerable newspapers and, as I mentioned above, the 1844 Humanist Essays of Marx were brought onto the historic stage as a cogent point of discussion. It was precisely those Essays which we had translated in the 1940s, had been unable to find a publisher for, and which we had decided to include as an appendix to *Marxism and Freedom*, which was just then being completed.

Just as my breakthrough on the Absolute Idea, where I had singled out the movement from practice, set the structure for *Marxism and Freedom*, from 1776 Until Today, so the Hungarian Revolution gave a today-ness to Marx's Humanist Essays, while the Montgomery Bus Boycott made inseparable the Black Revolution and its international dimension. In the Introduction to this work I made clear the indispensability of a new type of relationship of practice to theory, a new unity of

theory and practice: "No theoretician, today more than ever before, can write out of his own head. Theory requires a constant shaping and reshaping of ideas on the basis of what the workers themselves are doing and thinking." It was this which led me, in dedicating the work to "the auto workers, miners, steelworkers and student youth who have participated so fully in the writing of this book," to declare them to be "its co-authors." *News & Letters* further deepened this new relationship between workers and intellectuals on the basis of what *Marxism and Freedom* had established.

Before the 1950s would end, all of us would be put to a new test, which, on the one hand, showed the emergence of a Third World in its colonial revolutions and, on the other hand, a new counter-revolution in the coming to power of DeGaulle.

### *1958-1959: The Need to Unfurl a New Banner of Revolution*

DeGaulle's return to power in 1958, as the colonial revolts were developing into outright revolutions, was a threat not just to the Algerian Revolution but to the Parisian workers—a threat which the workers realized, as shown by the 250,000 who marched against his return. The July, 1958 issue of *N&L* had as its front page article "France at the Cross Roads" and referred readers to my "Two Worlds" column (now signed by me as author of *Marxism and Freedom*) entitled "Whither Paris?"

I had preceded this article, and continued afterwards, with letters to revolutionary tendencies, mainly state-capitalist, which had opposed both poles of world capital, Russia and the U.S. In these letters I called for an international conference. What 1958 had made clear to me was that the disregard of *Marxism and Freedom* by these tendencies was not a mere factional attitude, but an actual failure on their part to face the new objective reality.

Thus, the same issue of *N&L* which spoke of France at the cross roads carried three articles opposing my analysis of the maturity of the proletariat as well as the concept of a unique combination of worker and intellectual in which *N&L* was rooted: Jean Malaquais, in a letter to me dated June 1, 1958, criticized "the tone" of my letter and clearly disagreed with my concept of the maturity of the proletariat. Along with his letter, we

also published a letter from France, from Tribune Ouvriere, that insisted that a workers' paper should have only workers; and a letter from Onorato Damen in Italy (Battaglia Comunista) which was quite critical, but agreed to call an international conference the following year.

My articles in the August and September, 1958 issues of N&L continued the dialogue both on the question of colonial revolts and general Humanist concepts and on the responsibility of intellectuals, concluding that what will lead to a new human order is "not Mao, but the creative untapped energy of millions."

In this period Latin America was more than just stirring. By 1959 we had the eruption in Cuba. Later we will deal with how N&L would report and comment upon that revolution, which in the beginning we not only hailed as the great event it was, but as well pointed to the many contradictions which led it to align uncritically with Russia. For the moment, however, we are focusing only on those revolts which would disclose the great schism between the European state-capitalist tendencies and myself.

Before the international conference was to convene in the fall of 1959, I had continued with writings on the African and Asian revolutions. In the June-July issue of N&L we published a special supplement entitled "Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions," which would then become a printed pamphlet.

By this period it was clear that it wasn't only the African Revolutions that many of these Marxists refused to accept as "real" revolutions. They refused, as well, to accept the task that I considered crucial for all Marxists. Here is the way I expressed this in my "Two Worlds" column on the "Responsibility of Intellectuals" (N&L, August, 1958): "I am not concerned with the Communist who will sing any tune Moscow blares out. I am concerned with the anti-Communist Marxist beating his chest. For, in the concrete, the new form of fascism could have not been foreseen and was not foretold, much less prepared for, except by unfurling a new banner of Marxist Humanism."

The whole point is that when a new revolution erupts, the tendency is to immediately try to box it in as if it were a question of France/Algeria; or of the West in general/the African revolutions; or in the Middle East, of Arab/Israel. This confining of the new

within old categories arose again in terms of the Iraq Revolution of July, 1958. Here was a new form of revolution that wished to be truly independent, rather than confined into East/West, or Arab/Israel, or even Nasser/Saudi Arabia, as if these were absolute opposites. This revolution started out on a tone independent of any of these, extending even to the distinction between Sunni and Shi'ite in its own country. Why did no Marxist try to work out what that signified? Post-Marx Marxists have disregarded too many revolutions, successful or aborted; disregarded too many philosophies underlying those revolutions. They just allow intellectual sloth to accumulate and accumulate.

It was at this conference held in Europe in the fall of 1959 that, for the first time before an international audience of those holding a state-capitalist position, I articulated my total philosophic conception of Marxist-Humanism, which I had expounded fully in *Marxism and Freedom*, both philosophically and concretely. And I felt that now (1959) such a concept was being disclosed in the African Revolutions. Unfortunately, what was revealed at the 1959 conference of those who had rejected both poles of world capital since World War II was that without dialectical philosophy, the state-capitalist theory was inadequate, and this inadequacy was not limited to the state-capitalist tendency in the U.S.

What the Europeans at the conference did agree to, however, was to continue the dialogue with Marxist-Humanism by establishing a special section of *Prometeo* (included within the journal but printed on a different color paper) for discussion in English and Italian.

### *The Turbulent 1960s, a Critique*

As we saw, the turbulent 1960s, in Marxist-Humanism's view, had actually begun toward the end of the 1950s. We had been focusing on the new movements in the post-World War II world that we had judged to be a movement from practice and the birth of a whole new Third World, especially the African Revolutions. We became full participants in all the activities during the turbulent '60s, while the dialectic methodology we had been developing—which had finally been worked out for our age in book form in *Marxism and Freedom*—deepened the principles and manifestations of

Marxist-Humanism in News & Letters itself. Whether it was the Black Revolution, not just in Africa but also in America, or the youth movements on the campus, or the colonial revolutions, the reporting was made inseparable from the theoretical analysis which we saw as integral to the report.

Take the very first issue of 1960. The front page article that January was entitled "Cuba Jolts State Department Domination in Latin America." Whether we consider just that issue or compare it to the December issue, where the "Two Worlds" column on Cuban developments was called "The Year After," each made it clear that the hailing of the revolution was never uncritical. For that matter, the manner in which shop reports were given in N&L by participants themselves had a new theoretical vantage point rooted in the manner in which interviews I had conducted with miners had appeared in *Marxism and Freedom*. In the original edition, the last chapter, "Automation and the New Humanism," expressed this philosophic principle with the opening section, "Different Attitudes to Automation."

Or look at the April, 1960 N&L: the lead is on "South Africa—South USA." It carries a picture of a demonstration by 30,000 South African freedom fighters. There is a reference to the "Two Worlds" of that issue on "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in South Africa." At the same time the front page has an in-person report by an activist in Montgomery, Alabama, entitled "No One Moved," which describes a demonstration at State Teacher's College. This article, in turn, directs the reader to other reports on student demonstrations on pages six and eight.

The August-September issue that year is totally new in the sense that the whole issue is fully devoted to *Workers Battle Automation* by our editor, Charles Denby. This was to become a special pamphlet and would make clear not only that workers do speak for themselves, but that these pages were not limited to the auto industry. Denby included the miners, steel and rubber workers, as well as white collar workers. Furthermore, instead of coming to a conclusion as if that were the only "line," there are two different views on the question of Automation—that of the editor, and the "dissident" view of Angela Terrano. In fact, as the next issue shows, it is she who becomes Associate Editor.

Our pamphlets become the place where not only do

workers and Blacks speak for themselves, but where all the revolutionary forces are heard speaking not only about their specific experiences but about the objective events of the world. Indeed, several of the pamphlets were reproduced in other countries, from England to Japan, some with their own prefaces and with new additions. Thus the 1959 pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions was brought out in a 1961 edition in England by the New Left group at Cambridge University, including both Peter Cadogan's new foreword and an appendix that reproduced his review of *Marxism and Freedom*.

The significance of this new edition was that it was a result of my anti-nuclear participation in Great Britain during the height of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, even as the Japanese New Left six years later not only translated many of our pamphlets, but invited me to give an anti-war speech at Hiroshima. The anti-war activities that were very sharply reported in *N&L* always created new solidarity between movements. This specific pamphlet by Cadogan was advertised by our Marxist-Humanist comrades in Glasgow, Scotland in the very issue in which Harry McShane described the mass demonstration there against the use of Holy Loch as a Polaris submarine base.

What remains with us to this day as central to all our principles is the 1963 publication of *American Civilization on Trial*, which appeared first as two special issues—January and February, 1963. This is so not only because it was issued on the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, but because it is the only pamphlet that is signed by the entire National Editorial Board of *News & Letters*. The June-July, 1963 issue continued the theme of *American Civilization on Trial*, carrying on the front page a superb photo of a quarter of a million marching in Detroit—where Rev. King first gave his "I Have A Dream" speech.

The year 1963, in general, focused on the Black Dimension, not only in America but internationally. I was especially anxious that the internationalism of Marxist-Humanism not be limited to my presentation at the 1959 conference of those who opposed both poles of world capital. Thus, in April, 1963 we reproduced, "Why Not a New International of Marxist-Humanism?" which had been presented and published in France by *Présence Africaine*.

Finally, the reason for singling out *American Civil-*

zation on Trial from all our pamphlets is that it did not relate to a single event. Rather, it covered the entire history of the U.S. and showed the revolutionary nature of the Black masses in motion as vanguard.

Between 1960 and 1968 we published the following, first in N&L and then as printed pamphlets: *Workers Battle Automation* (1960); *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves* (1961); *American Civilization on Trial* (1963); *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution* (1965); *State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism, or Philosophy and Revolution* (1967); and *Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (1968).

In January, 1952 N&L had a special supplement on "Mao Tse-Tung, from the Beginning of Power to the Sino-Soviet Dispute," which became a new Chapter XVII, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung," in the second edition of *Marxism and Freedom* (1964). Besides individual articles in N&L, my analyses of Mao Tse-tung are nearly innumerable. The one on the "Cultural Revolution" was published in the journal, *New Politics*, and then became a new Chapter XVIII, entitled, "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction?" in the third (British) edition of *Marxism and Freedom* (1971).

Since all the voices from below speak eloquently enough for themselves and can be heard in these pamphlets, there is no reason to do a more detailed report here. However, there is no way of not singling out how the world held its breath in 1962, when, first (March, 1962), Kennedy was going in for nuclear spectaculars and I described it in my "Two Worlds" column as "Testing, Blackmailing, Brainwashing"; and then (October, 1962), we faced the confrontation between the U.S. and Russia over the placement of missiles in Cuba, which our editorial (November, 1962) called "Kennedy and Khrushchev Bring the World Close to the Point of No Return."

Finally, one more event that manifested the seriousness of *News & Letters'* relation to objective events in the world was the creation of *Weekly Political Letters* beginning in 1961. The first one is our reaction against the barbarous U.S. imperialist Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. The very moment the radio announced it,

3. In N&L, December, 1966 we had printed this as one of "Two Views of State-Capitalism," publishing, as the other view, the Japanese Marxist Tsdayuki Teushima's "State-Capitalism and Socialist Revolution."

we felt the inadequacy of having only a monthly journal to articulate our views, to meet the challenge of objective events. The letter written that very day was made as public as the paper itself. It was the first of what became a series of Weekly Political Letters which would continue through some 40 letters, whether I was in the country or abroad.

The 1962 trip to Africa was recorded both in N&L and also analyzed in these Letters.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, even after we could not continue them weekly, we continued to publish Political-Philosophic Letters on various turning points in history, in addition to our coverage in N&L. That was true whether these letters concerned my trips to Hong Kong and Japan; or whether they concerned political revolutions like those in the Middle East, in Portugal and in Iran.

A new relationship, both to practice and to theory, both to philosophy and to revolution, as well as between technologically advanced and technologically underdeveloped countries, came to a climax in May, 1968 when, at the highest point of the 1960s revolutions, the revolution "perished." Too many of these revolutions had remained unfinished. What needed to be answered was: Had the failure to relate a philosophy of revolution to the actual revolution been a fundamental factor in the demise of the revolutions themselves? Let's dive, dive very deeply into the last two crucial years of the 1960s, and see.

*1968-69: The Divide Between  
the Philosophy of Marxist-  
Humanism and the Thinking That  
Theory Can Be Caught "En Route"*

The fact that the turbulent 1960s could end in an unfinished revolution, that they could have "perished"

4. Whether it was as pivotal as the actual African Revolutions or whether it was "only" cultural, the point of the Black Dimension is that N&L always seriously analyzed it and took up aspects of it at their very birth. It is in that respect that it is important to point out the poet, Morgan Gibson's, review of the very first anthology of African poetry published in America (N&L, January, 1961), which was followed by his review of *An African Treasury* edited by Langston Hughes. (N&L, October, 1961) This book was by no means limited to poetry, but included political essays and analytical descriptions of activities, including those of African women such as Phyllis Ntantala. In the same issue was a poem by Patrice Lumumba "A Morning in the Heart of Africa."

just when they reached their highest point in Paris, May, 1968, demands a no-holds-barred confrontation, including a self-critique of 1968. To be prepared for such a deep dive into the dialectics of revolution—and counter-revolution—objectively is of the essence. This second look, a deep dive, at what was present in embryo in the turbulence of the early 1960s, will prepare us for looking at today's ongoing youth demonstrations demanding divestment in South Africa, which the media keeps playing down on the ground that they in no way compare to the serious '60 revolts.

It is true that not only were those '60s demonstrations more massive; not only were more voices of more political tendencies heard at the universities—especially as the movement developed into one against U.S. imperialism's Vietnam war—but, as well, they were willing to listen to a critique from within the Left. Thus, I spoke to activists within the Free Speech Movement (FSM) on "Marx's Debt to Hegel: The Theory of Alienation." But, in practice, they gave the theory of alienation so existentialist a twist and so near-Communist a bent that they ended up as hardly more than hangers-on to the elitist-party wing of the FSM. Where we insisted that there must be no division between thought-activity and demonstration-activity, they insisted that activity as just activity was all that was required, and that philosophy was no Great Divide. Indeed to them, theory could be caught "en route."

Now contrast this attitude to how News & Letters reflected the year 1968, indeed, how in the very title of our 1965 pamphlet—The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution—we showed that we were not going to introduce divisions between the various opposition movements. Thus this pamphlet had both an in-person report on Mississippi Freedom Summer by Eugene Walker and an article by Mario Savio writing on his experience in the Free Speech Movement. We also had a report by Joel L. Pimsleur from "Inside Sproul Hall" as the police moved in for arrests. And we not only reproduced my talk on Marx's theory of alienation, but my analysis of the ongoing movement on the campus and in the Black Dimension. It was that Black Dimension which remained central, which so many in the movement very nearly forgot when the plunge was made into an anti-Vietnam War movement.

The first 1968 issue of N&L encompassed the movement in East Europe, as well, by advertising the "Open

Letter to the Party" that Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski had written while they sat in a Polish jail.

Central to 1968 was, naturally, May, 1968, Paris. Again we have an in-person report, and a pamphlet was made of Eugene Walker's report to our national convention. The Perspectives that year focused on "The Missing Link—Philosophy vs. Party—Three Decades of Intellectual Sloth."

Simultaneously with those great student demonstrations in 1968, whether at Columbia University or in Paris (about which we have full in-person reports), as well as with all the reports on the Black Revolution, whether in America or Africa, N&L received directly from Prague a report entitled "Czechoslovakia invaded!" This August-September special supplement of N&L also had exclusive pictures taken right in the midst of the invasion and sent to us directly from Czechoslovakia. All of this material would be issued as a full pamphlet with a special Introduction solidarizing with the revolution, written by Harry McShane, Chairman of the Marxist-Humanist Group in Glasgow, and myself for News & Letters Committees in the U.S. Our editorial statement was entitled, "All Eyes on Czechoslovakia, All Hands Off!"

Through 1968-69, N&L was filled with reports of anti-Vietnam War activities nationally and internationally. Thus, the November, 1969 issue had a front page article, "Stop the War Now," written by Peter Mallory, describing the anti-war rally of 25,000 at Kennedy Square in Detroit. That this focus on anti-war did not mean that we didn't reach for totality can be seen in that same issue which features a report: "Women won't wait until after the revolution."

Or return to the April, 1968 issue where, in reporting all these diverse activities, we express the following: "The uniqueness of the sixties means historic responsibility."

Finally, in that year of 1968, which we considered to be a climax, we issued a call for a Black/Red Conference (N&L, December, 1968) of Blacks and radical whites. Present, as well, was Yoshimasa Yukiwama, translator of the Japanese edition of *Marxism and Freedom*. It was the first conference we held in which there were more in attendance who were non-Marxist-Humanists than who were. The welcome was extended by Charles Denby. I gave a talk on what I called "a forthcoming book," *Philosophy and Revolution*, spe-

cifically its third section, "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation." The discussion lasted six hours. It produced a new "Black/Red" column for the paper authored by John Alan.

This conference was followed by a call for a Women's Liberation Conference. Not altogether by accident it was the youth page of N&L which had a report of the United Front Against Fascism Conference under the headline, "Women Face United Front." The male chauvinism of that conference was also scored by our front page cartoon, which attacked male chauvinism of the Left as well as of the establishment. In the following issue (October), the in-person report of the women's opposition to the beauty pageant in Atlantic City was also carried on the youth page. That issue advertised, as well, a youth bulletin, "American Youth Revolt: 1960-69" by Eugene Walker.

The Women's Liberation Conference resulted in the following decisions: 1. To have a special Women's Liberation page with a column on "Woman as Reason as well as Force." 2. Women, who wanted to stress their autonomy and to express what Marxist-Humanism means to the women's movement, decided to issue their own statement. It was drafted primarily by Molly Jackson.

Those turbulent 1960s so overwhelmed the youth, including some of the Marxist-Humanist youth, that they refused to face the reality of the greatness of the defeat of 1968—the tragic reality that 1969 was not a continuation of the 1968 revolutions. It is this which made it necessary to embark upon presenting the totality of Marxist-Humanist philosophy which is inseparable from a self-critique, all of which becomes integral to "The Dialectics of Revolution."

The October, 1969 N&L advertised my pamphlet, "The Newness of Our Historic-Philosophic Contribution." It was a critique directed against those who thought 1969 was a continuation of the 1968 revolution and had taken as their ground Herbert Marcuse's "Note on the Dialectic," which appeared in the 1960 edition of his 1941 work, *Reason and Revolution*. The "Note" had a viewpoint totally opposite to his original view of the dialectic. I had connected this change in Marcuse to my analysis of "Intellectuals in the Age of State-Capitalism." (N&L, June-July and Aug.-Sept., 1961)

Put another way, the Dialectics of Revolution created

not only the ground, but the indispensability, for moving on from the projected work, **Philosophy and Revolution**, to its actual completion as **Philosophy and Revolution**, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao (1973).

## II. The 1970s

Because the visage of Hitler is by no means limited in our nuclear age of absolutes to savage apartheid South Africa's undeclared civil war against the Black majority population, but as well stamps our world including the rulers of the USA headed by Reagan, it is important to see that a 30-year Retrospective is made inseparable from Perspectives. It is in this context that we turn to Part II.

To a certain extent, we are critical of Part I of this Retrospective (July, 1985 N&L), because it was very nearly limited only to what appeared in N&L. News & Letters did not have space to disclose the process of development of the philosophic dimension which Dunayevskaya had developed, especially in letters to members and non-members.<sup>1</sup> Our paper reached thousands, while these letters, whether mimeographed or not, could not.

As I wrote in my Letters on the Absolute Idea, May 12 and 20, 1953, the relationship of theory to practice was not just a mystical expression. It reflected the fact that both the development of theory and the movement from practice demanded an altogether new relationship of theory to practice. Their unity was called the Absolute Idea. This, I held, needed to be worked out for our post-World War II age, to which it was most relevant.

**THIS NEW ILLUMINATION** of the dialectic, which included both the historic actions and the new questions they posed, as well as the philosophic breakthrough we made, found its response in the creation of a new type of workers' paper, which listed the four revolutionary forces—labor, Black, women, youth—as Reason. In our Marxist-Humanist paper, News & Letters, this was practiced in a unique combination of worker and intellectual, with a Black production worker, Charles Denby, as editor, and with Raya Dunayevskaya, as Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board, assigned to complete the study she had been working on once she had designated the new stage of capitalism as

1. See The Marxist-Humanist Archives, pp. 1797-1812. Marxist-Humanist Archives, pp. 4289-4337 contains the letters on the process of philosophic development, 1967-73. Indeed the philosophic breakthrough in Dunayevskaya's Letters on the Absolute Idea came six weeks before the East German uprising of June 17, 1953.

state-capitalism. The projection of its absolute opposite, completed in 1957-58 in book form, was called *Marxism and Freedom*.<sup>2</sup>

### THE CHALLENGE OF MAO

In the second edition of *Marxism and Freedom* (1964), a special chapter, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung," was added, the last section of which was called "In Place of a Conclusion." This chapter appeared first as a special supplement in *News & Letters*, January 1962.

"The odd mixture of Mao's opportunism and adventurism, the ordinary imperialist power struggle (both within the Communist world and outside, as in the conquest of Tibet, intrusions into Indian territory, and covetous glances cast from Burma to Vietnam, and from Nepal to Laos) cannot be separated from the struggle for the minds of men. It is here that the irresponsible abuse of Marxist language—on the question of 'revolutions without pause' proceeding in a straight line from State Plans to 'Communism'—makes it imperative to show the blind alley into which the dialectic of Mao's thought has led and from which it may catapult the world into a nuclear holocaust." (from *Marxism and Freedom*, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung.")

The 1960s, which are rightly known as the turbulent 1960s because of all the near-revolts and emergence of new revolutionary forces, also recorded dialogues, publications, conferences, that were inspired by the East European Revolts of the 1950s, on "socialism with a human face." Thus Dr. Erich Fromm edited an international symposium *Socialist Humanism* in which my essay "Marx's Humanism Today" made it clear that Marx's "new Humanism" characterized not only the early Marx but the whole of his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, and that it was most relevant for our age with its myriad crises.

As we saw in Part I, we recorded all the 1960s voices as they articulated their own experiences and thought. Many of the pamphlets thus produced were first printed

2. It no sooner was off the press (1958) than Dunayevskaya began talking about what she then called a "corollary" to dig deeper and to further explain the breakthrough on the Absolute Idea and disclose its ramifications in actual events of the day, specifically its relationship to the unfolding colonial revolution. (See December 1960, January 1961 letters to Herbert Marcuse. *Marxist-Humanist Archives* pp. 4316.)

# NEWS &

Published Every

VOL. I, No. 1

FRIDAY, JUNE 24, 1955

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By CHARLES DENBY

Many workers in the plant where I work  
that taking strike action against  
somewhat useless because  
several years ago

### CONTENTS

Coal and the People

Labour

### Notes from a Diary TWO WORLDS

LETTER WRITING AND NEW PASSIONS  
As we were preparing to go to press with this, our  
first issue, I was asked why I had placed so much emphasis  
on letters to and from news committees as well as to and  
from workers outside these news committees. The daily  
well-known for its voice, not of the  
business all but forgotten  
nation.

THE  
WORK

## Readers Views

### WORKERS & LAW

The company is already  
beginning to break down  
classifications and putting  
the women in  
want to. They  
are preparing to  
will give up  
page. I can  
guarantee

### A DOCTOR SPEAKS BY M.D.

#### MENOPAUSE

Menopause is the period in a woman's life, marked  
the natural cessation of menstruation, and indicates the  
an end to child-bearing. Menstruation is the monthly  
shedding off of the inner lining of the uterus or womb—  
which has been swelling in preparation for a possible  
pregnancy.

### EDITORIALS

#### WHY WE APPEAR

This is the first issue of NEWS &  
exist primarily to provide the means  
Negroes, women, and can express  
themselves.

### YOUTH

### Working For BY ANGELA

"I finally went to see 'The  
Wild One.' I was holding off  
seeing it but I am glad I  
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into one you  
he will

News & Letters, Vol. I No. 1

11482

# LETTERS

Two Weeks

ROIT, MICHIGAN

15

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## Strikes Against Auto Contracts

...ction auto worker told NEWS &...  
... new contract is the...  
... the great

## COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

... side, bu...  
... are wildcats in au...  
... th their own un...  
... STRIKES

## NJERI - LEADER OF AFRICAN WOMEN

Njeri is an African woman. Her home is in Kenya, a country in East Africa which has been in the grip of civil war for almost three years. The war was started by authorities when emergency the



## We Are Somebody

by Ethel Dunbar  
The struggles of the Negro people are still making a little gain toward civil rights the old days. They have so to school...  
age degree

## WORLD COMMENT

### A DAY TO REMEMBER

Today is June 17th. It is the second anniversary of the revolt of the East German workers against their government. The day is also celebrated in many countries. They have...  
y reserve  
declared ma...  
days in  
late

## Independence

THIRANO

June 23, 1955

11483

in whole or in part in *News & Letters*. In the '60s classes were being conducted in the major works of Hegel—*Phenomenology of Mind*, *Science of Logic*, *Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences*—Vol. I, *The Logic* and Vol. III *Philosophy of Mind*—through my *Dialectics of Liberation* which contained summaries of these works as well as "Lecture Notes: Lenin on Hegel's *Science of Logic*."

By 1970, still newer doors opened for Marxist-Humanism. It was the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth and the 200th of Hegel's. In spring of that year *Telos* published Dunayevskaya's essay on "Lenin's Philosophic Ambivalence." The Yugoslav journal *Praxis* published the chapter as did the Italian journal *Aut Aut*.

1974 saw the august body of the Hegel Society of America inviting Raya Dunayevskaya to read a paper on Hegel's *Absolute Idea as New Beginning* at its biennial conference.<sup>3</sup>

Our participation in mass activities—anti-Vietnam War, Black Revolution, Youth—was most prominent. *News & Letters* recorded all these activities in the 1970s.

As well, we kept up an unabated attack on Nixon's counter-revolution. The June-July, 1970 issue reported on "Nixon's Wars at Home and Abroad," stressing the intensification of the attacks against the youth and the massacre of the students at Kent State. We were the only ones to draw a parallel between that conflict and the assault on the Black women's dormitory at Jackson State ten days later.

IN THE DECEMBER ISSUE in 1970, John Alan in his Black/Red column had reproduced Langston Hughes' poem "The Negro speaks of rivers..." accompanied by a picture and a column on Black culture which stressed that it was with labor in the 1930s, and not with the intellectual elite of the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s, that culture began to speak of the masses.

Just as the Black/Red Conference had resulted in a column of the same name in *News & Letters*, so women's liberationists in *News and Letters Committees* began editing a special page of N&L and a column called first "Force and Reason" and later "Woman as Reason."<sup>4</sup>

3. See *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy*, Humanities Press: New Jersey, 1980.

4. See April 1971 N&L for excerpts from their "Who We Are" statement.

The center of all world events in 1971 had become a totally new stage for the ruling classes with Nixon's trip to Peking.<sup>5</sup>

The whole question of whether a new world axis among rulers was being attempted, was discussed, just as at the other end of the world, specifically Poland, we discussed the possibility of a new stage being represented by the uprising which had been reported in great detail in the February 1971 N&L. Put differently, even before the new revolutions in the late 1970s, the early '70s were full of rebellions, whether we speak of Poland or Ireland.<sup>6</sup>

In early 1972 we saw the birth of the new state of Bangladesh. Our January 1972 issue carried a picture of Mukti Bahini, freedom fighters of Bangladesh, fighting with ancient and modern weapons. The ad we ran for the *Activist* at that time—the student publication at Oberlin College, for which Raya Dunayevskaya became an adviser—reflected our continued activity in the youth movement at home.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHIC DIMENSION

Clearly, far from being an academic question, Marx's philosophy of revolution became the burning question of the revolutions of the 1970s. We were laboring under the whip of Nixon's counter-revolution—from his war on Vietnam to his attacks on the anti-Vietnam War youth at home—and at the same time we were witnessing new types of revolutions—from Mozambique and Angola to Portugal and from Iran to Nicaragua. In 1972, the *Draft Perspectives*, excerpts of which were published in the Aug.-Sept. issue of *News & Letters*, was called "Ways to Combat 'Pax Americana'" and summed up the anti-Vietnam and anti-racism articles and activities.

At the same time we saw an old force become a new force, as the Native Americans occupied Wounded Knee and Shainape Shcapwe became our Native American

5. See the front page article "Nixon to Peking," by Raya Dunayevskaya in the N&L of Aug.-Sept. 1971. The analyses of this event continued in 1972, (see "And China Makes Three" in January, 1972 N&L) and became crucial within the Mao chapter in *Philosophy and Revolution*.

6. See page 1, Aug.-Sept. 1971 N&L on "The Civil War in Northern Ireland," described from Northern Ireland by Harry McShane.

columnist.

The world counter-revolution's triumph at that moment was the overthrow of the Allende government by Pinochet in Chile, which the U.S. helped to assure. Our editorial in the October issue—"Counter-Revolution in Chile: the End of Illusion"—called for a defense of the Chilean masses by showing our opposition to American imperialism. At the same time, with the publication of *Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), the unity of philosophy and revolution was further developed in the journalism of the paper as well as in pamphlets. In creating in *Philosophy and Revolution* the category of "Absolute Idea as New Beginning," we saw all the new worldwide forces of revolution as Reason, from East Europe to Africa.

To have dared to venture onto the untrodden paths of "Absolute Idea as New Beginning" had taken a whole decade of digging into the Hegelian dialectic and of listening to the new voices of the turbulent 1960s and early 1970s. That record can also be traced in the battle of ideas with great Marxists, dead and alive, from Lukacs to Marcuse, from Adorno to Rosdolsky.<sup>7</sup> The philosophic dimension became increasingly inseparable from analysis of current events. The lead on "Endless Crises Throughout the World Show Need for New Human Relations," by Eugene Walker, had as its overline "Philosophy and Revolution." (News & Letters, October 1973). This philosophic dimension was reflected also in the Readers' Views—both for and against the contemporaneity with which we treated "Why Hegel? Why Now?"

The relationship of philosophy, whether to labor or to civil rights, was dealt with by our editor, Charles Denby, in his "Worker's Journal" column in Aug.-Sept. 1973, which was titled, "Civil Rights impasse is in philosophy." Denby wrote: "Rev. King did try to bring in a humanist philosophy. It was not Marx's Humanism, but it was total. He used the saying of the great Jewish philosopher, Martin Buber, in answering those clergymen who were critical of him in Birmingham, Alabama, when he said that everything depended on knowing that

7. See the following issues of News & Letters: "Lukacs' Philosophic Dimension," February 1973 and March 1973; on Marcuse, "Intellectuals in the Age of State-Capitalism," June-July, 1961 and Aug.-Sept. 1961; "Dialectics of Liberation: Hegel and Adorno," December 1974; "Rosdolsky's Methodology and Lange's Revisionism" Jan.-Feb. 1978. See also "Herbert Marcuse, In Memoriam," Aug.-Sept. 1979.

human relations are I-thou, not I-it."

IN DECEMBER, 1973 we carried a full-page report of the special Convention of News and Letters Committees that had been called to amend the constitution to include Philosophy and Revolution along with Marxism and Freedom as our theoretical foundations. With these philosophic/objective developments, the Black Dimension, as it was expressed in Negritude in the 1940s and '50s and as it was critiqued by Black revolutionaries in the 1970s after a few African administrative intellectuals gained power, was stressed by us in News & Letters in June, 1974 when we reprinted the great Haitian poet Rene Depestre's sharp critique of Negritude at the Tri-Continental Congress. Our headline read, "Negritude as Revolution and Counter-Revolution."

### STRUCTURAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

The deepest ever structural economic crisis, 1974-75, that developed on a global scale, naturally took center stage everywhere. That 1974-75 crisis, among other ramifications, made it clear that the energy crisis of the previous year was by no means due only to the Arab-Israeli War. It came out of the innards of so-called private capitalism in the United States. The January issue of N&L in 1975 was a special 12-page paper with a lead on the world recession by Raya Dunayevskaya.<sup>8</sup>

News & Letters analyzed crises as they were developing, and related them not only to their deepest source—capitalism—but to the manner in which so-called Marxists analyzed it in purely economist terms. In 1976 Dunayevskaya wrote a Political-Philosophic Letter, "Today's Global Crisis, Marx's Capital and the Marxist Epigones Who Try to Truncate it and the Understanding of Today's Crises". The Letter's analysis of the '74-'75 crisis included a critique of Ernest Mandel's ambivalent analysis of that crisis, with an attack on his perverse distortion of Marx's phrase "freely associated labor" as if Russia were that. This was the basis for the Introduction for a booklet, Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis which had as its centerpiece the four chapters on Marx's Capital from Marxism and Freedom, a preface

8. See also "The Worldwide Energy Crisis and the Merchants of Death," by Peter Mallory, March 1975 N&L, as well as the April 1977 N&L lead by Andy Phillipa entitled, "U.S. Economic Crisis Deepens as Unemployment Swells."

by Harry McShane of Great Britain and an appendix titled, "Tony Cliff Reduces Lenin's Theory to 'Uncanny Intuition.'"<sup>9</sup>

**AS AGAINST THOSE** who thought themselves an **outrage** by "amending" Marx's **Capital** through talk of monopoly, oligopoly and anything else they could devise to avoid the truly new but capitalistic statification of production, state-capitalism, our original analysis of **Capital** had shown it to be no mere "economic" work.

By the mid-1970s, fundamental relationships to dialectics as well as to new living revolutionary forces — women's liberation, Black, youth — demanded reexamination and actual confrontation. At one and the same time we were, as we saw, witness to 1) the 1974-75 economic crisis which showed that even independent Marxists, i.e. those accepting or leaning towards the theory of state-capitalism were using Marx's **Capital** as "mere economics" and 2) critiques of the publication of **Philosophy and Revolution** by all these "independent Marxists" revealing the persistence of a return to the "orthodoxy" of the Second International and its anti-Hegelianism. (See "Why Hegel? Why Now? — a critique" by P.B. in Aug.-Sept. 1975 N&L and Raya Dunayevskaya's answer in November, 1975 N&L.)

This convinced Marxist-Humanists of the need for full articulation of our politics and activities not only in books, in pamphlets, in our Perspectives Thesis, but right within the pages of **News & Letters**. Thus, for the first time the full Draft Perspectives, entitled "Where Do We Go From Here?", was published in the Aug.-Sept. 1975 N&L. The third section of that Perspectives was entitled "What Form of Movement, Organization and Philosophy: The Party? The Dialectic? Committees?" The publication of Draft Perspectives within our newspaper each year has remained a principle with us ever since.

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9. See especially page 17 ff.

osophy and Revolution by all these "independent Marxists" revealing the persistence of a return to the "orthodoxy" of the Second International and its anti-Hegelianism.<sup>10</sup>

All of these events made it imperative to reexamine Marxism, or rather the narrow economic viewpoint of post-Marx Marxism. The reference here is not to the outright betrayal of the Second International. Rather, the point at issue is the failure of post-Marx Marxism to measure up to Marx's philosophy of revolution. The transcription and publication of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks made this crystal clear.

These Ethnological Notebooks clarified what Marx had projected as far back as his 1857-58 *Grundrisse*,<sup>11</sup> where he amplified the Hegelian principle of "absolute movement of becoming." Marx had recreated this as a totally new view of human development throughout history, a view that included his age and foreshadows ours. The new field of anthropology in the 1870s helped him to concretize the "absolute movement of becoming" as his own multilinear view of human development. Not only did that distinguish Marx's multilinearism from Engels' unilinearism, but it cast a new light on his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*<sup>12</sup>, making points that may have appeared only implicit, explicit.

As we wrote in Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*: "So deep were his concepts of a philosophy of revolution and its live forces that he even disagreed with those who interpreted his 'Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation' as if it were a universal. In his critique of Mihailovsky, Marx insisted that his analysis was a generalization only of the development of capitalism in Western Europe, and that Russia had 'the best chance history has ever offered to a people' to avoid that same disastrous consequence." (p. 192)

**TO MAKE CLEAR** that there absolutely could be no misinterpretation, he repeated this projection of the possibility of "backward" Eastern countries having a

<sup>10</sup>See "Why Hegel? Why Now?—a critique" by P.B. in Aug.-Sept. 1975 N&L and Raya Dunayevskaya's answer in November, 1975 N&L.

<sup>11</sup> See especially the "Two Worlds" column, "New Introduction distorts Marx's *Grundrisse*," November, 1973.

<sup>12</sup> *News & Letters* has had many commentaries on *Capital*. See especially Kevin A. Barry's essay article, "The French edition of *Capital*, 100 years after," October, 1981 N&L.

revolution first (which turned into fact in 1917) in the special introduction of the Russian translation of the *Communist Manifesto*. That was 1832!

In 1976 Steve Biko had declared the affinity of his Black Consciousness Movement to Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, as well as to American Black thought. The next year he was savagely murdered in a South African jail. In the November 1977 *N&L* we carried his words as our lead, "Steve Biko Speaks for Himself."

#### DENBY'S 'INDIGNANT HEART'

The highpoint of all the new stress on the pivotal question of philosophy and revolution was reached in 1978 by Charles Denby, both in his introduction to *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and America Black Thought* and the concrete summation of his own 25 years development since becoming editor of *News & Letters*, in part II of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*. It was published that year by South End Press, Boston, and in 1979 in Great Britain by Pluto Press. A German edition entitled *Im Reichsten Land der Welt*, (In the Richest Country in the World) was published by Rotbuch Verlag in 1981.

At the same time that the world was living through the global, structural, economic crisis, and we were making new discoveries about Marx's final decade, there were new kinds of revolutions being sparked by the African Revolutions in Mozambique and Angola—the most important of which was the one in Portugal in 1974. Some Marxists had raised a totally new question—*apartidarismo* (non-partyism) which Raya Dunayevskaya wrote on both in a lead article and a *Political-Philosophic-Letter*. It became a subject for the book that was then in progress, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

**THE FULL DEVELOPMENT** of Marx's "new moments" began with the emphasis on the *Ethnological Notebooks* where Marx had commented on the revolutionary stature of women among the Iroquois, and the Irish before British imperialism. This clarified the fact that from the very beginning of Marx's discovery of a new continent of thought, in those now famous *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* of 1844, when he was singling out the proletariat as the revolutionary force

that would overthrow capitalism, he had as well developed the Man/Woman relationship.

#### **MARX'S NEW MOMENTS**

At the same time, Marx's new moments from his last decade demonstrated the distance between those Notebooks and the very first work Engels published after Marx's death, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Far from this work being a "bequest" from Marx as Engels claimed, it instead expressed a unilinear concept of human development as against Marx's multilinear concept.

Because, in our age, Women's Liberation has moved from an idea whose time has come to a movement, the different view of Marx and Engels has become a burning question. Indeed, Dunayevskaya originally considered her analysis of the difference to be chapter one of what was to become Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. News & Letters, January 1979, in a bold blue overline called attention to the draft chapter published within, "Relation of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted."

Two other draft chapters of the new book were also published in the pages of N&L. At the same time that those separate chapters were being developed into book form, News & Letters began publishing a brief history of Marxist-Humanism entitled, *25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.—A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments*, which was then issued as a pamphlet. The pamphlet presents a listing of the original eight chapters envisioned for Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and can be contrasted with the twelve-chapter work published.

**DURING THE PERIOD** of writing this book the Iranian Revolution was unfolding. In the December 1978 issue of N&L, Olga Domanski wrote the front page article on "Iranian Masses Fight Military Rule, Demand Removal of Shah, U.S. Imperialism," with an overline designating those masses as workers, peasants, women and youth. In the following issue, (the one which printed the Draft Chapter on Marx and Engels Contrasted), Charles Denby decided to publish a letter Raya Dunayevskaya had written him on Nov. 13, 1978 on the rela-

tionship of the 1906-11 Revolution in Iran to the present moment. The headline read, "Iran's revolutionary past—and present."

New relations not only on theoretical questions but on practical and organizational ones were worked out as part of our Marxist-Humanist analysis as the Iranian revolution was developing. In December, 1979 the front page featured a Two Worlds column on "Grave Contradictions in the Iranian Revolution." Iranian revolutionary exiles began translating our writings into Farsi.<sup>13</sup>

For our age, the Ethnological Notebooks, not only as the great innovative document it was, but also as it illuminated the whole last decade of Marx's life, created a new vantage point to comprehend the whole of Marx's Marxism. For Marxist-Humanism it compelled the creation of the category of "post-Marx Marxism", as a pejorative, beginning with Engels. It is why we felt that the 1880s had created a trail to the 1980s—and then developed that in Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

Marx's philosophy of revolution, Marx's Marxism as a totality, was presented in the third part of the book: "Karl Marx—From Critic of Hegel to Author of *Capital* and Theorist of 'Revolution in Permanence'." This unique feature was related not only to the newness of the Women's Liberation Movement, but permeated all four forces of revolution—Labor, Black, Youth as well as Women. All were singled out as Reason of revolution. It is this which will be fully developed when we come to the 1980s.

13. Before Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was off the press, Iranian exiles were introducing translations into Farsi with direct references to the Iranian Revolution. See also "Eyewitness Report: Revolution and counter-revolution in Iran" by Azadkar, June 1979 N&L, and "Middle East women: liberation, and social revolution" by Neda Azad, June 1981 N&L.

### III. The 1980s



Dunayevskaya introducing her latest work *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* at a book party in Chicago

Nineteen-eighty, the opening year of a new decade, signaled a new development of Marxist-Humanism, not merely chronologically, but because we were throwing the gauntlet down to all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Marx's closest collaborator, Frederick Engels. The conclusion of the Retrospective article on the 1970s, in pointing to 1980 as "the year of the book," did not mean it only as a reference to the book in process, Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. Rather, it referred to the actuality of the 1980s-to-be as the decade of two absolute opposites—on the one hand new types of revolts the world over, and on the other, the threshold of the Reagan retrogression at home and outright counter-revolutionary actions abroad, from El Salvador and Nicaragua to propping up apartheid South Africa. New revolutionary oppositions continued both against U.S. imperialist tentacles and Russian state-capitalist counter-revolution from Poland to Afghanistan.

The new revolutionary struggles of the 1970s that included women's liberation that had become a Movement, and not just an idea whose time had come, happened in the period when Marx's Ethnological Notebooks had finally been transcribed. Marx's last Notebooks revealed his "new moments" and cast a new illumination on Marx's Marxism as a totality, and thus disclosed sharp differences between Marx and Engels.

The manner in which *News & Letters* as paper and as organization—News and Letters Committees—grappled with this fact, while being active in all the new revolutionary struggles, will reveal the ways in which the relationship between revolutionary journalism and the dialectic philosophy are projected by Marxist-Humanists.

It would take the better part of a decade before we completed the new study, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. We thought we could do so by 1982, in celebration of the Marx centenary the following year. But we did not separate from the public the process of writing and rewriting till that day. As we saw, the January-February, 1979 issue published our first analysis of the difference between Marx and Engels. This first draft chapter was called "The Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted." It was to become the ground of what would be chapter 12 of the new book.

Ever since the mid-1970s, when the serious structural world economic crisis erupted, *News & Letters* was printing my analyses. By 1978 this resulted in a new pamphlet, *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*, whose Introduction was titled, "Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's Capital."

*News & Letters* does not publish what the old radicals call "Internal Bulletins." Everything we publish, even in mimeograph form, is available to the public. Especially important is what we call Political-Philosophic Letters which we had originally begun as Weekly Political Letters precisely because we felt frustrated in having only a monthly newspaper. The first of these letters was one we had felt compelled to issue in order to attack the U.S. imperialist invasion of Cuba in 1961.

The revolutionary struggles in Iran in 1978 had ex-

cited me both as an ongoing revolution and because it brought so vividly to mind the 1905 Russian Revolution when its international ramifications erupted in Iran in 1906, lasting till 1911. I first detailed this in my Political-Philosophic Letter of Nov. 13, 1978, "Iran's Revolutionary Past—and Present." These letters on Iran developed throughout 1979 and 1980. Whether it was the one of March 25, 1979 on "Iran: Unfoldment of and Contradiction in Revolution," or was a tracing of the dialectics of revolution on the Dec. 17, 1979 Letter, "What is Philosophy? What is Revolution? 1789-1793; 1848-1850; 1914-1919; 1979": or the one of Sept. 25, 1981, "The Struggle Continues: What Kind of Revolution Is Needed in the Battle Against Khomeini-IRP Counter-Revolution?"—the point was that at no time was our activity separated from our philosophy. This led Iranian revolutionary dissidents to invite me to address them.

#### **1980 - A 12-PAGE NEWS & LETTERS**

The challenge from the objective situation in 1980 led us to the decision at our September Convention to transform *News & Letters* into a 12-page paper. We had already begun to have three 12-page issues each year. Thus the front page article in the January-February, 1980 issue was entitled, "Oil, Iran Crisis, and Drive for War" by Peter Mallory, while the "Our Life and Times" column also began on page one and featured an article, "Afghanistan: New Flashpoint for Superpowers."

That issue also continued our study of the dialectics of revolution with a new draft chapter, "Two Turning Points in Rosa Luxemburg's Life—1898-99; 1905-07—Before and After the 1905 Revolution."

In the spring of that year (April) another draft chapter was published, "The Break with Kautsky, 1910-1911," which stressed Luxemburg's flash of genius on the question of imperialism, with her sharp attack on Germany's imperialist outreach to what we now call Namibia. That issue of *News & Letters* also showed our present internationalism in our activities around Iran. An Iranian revolutionary in the U.S. Neda Azad, had translated into Farsi a number of my writings on women. Her introduction to those writings appeared as the "Woman as Reason" column.

On the road to the 12-pager and the necessity to manifest philosophy in revolutionary journalism, we published Eugene Walker's essay "Revolutionary Jour-

nalism: Karl Marx, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and the 1850 Address on Permanent Revolution."...

The new revolts in the United States reached a new stage with the Black uprisings in Miami, in which most prominent were the "little shorties." Charles Denby devoted his June "Worker's Journal" column to "Fires of Miami Expose Truth of Fascism, USA," while John Aian's "Black-Red View" was called "Rage in Miami."

In that same June issue we changed the logo of the paper to "Theory/Practice," which soon afterward also became the new column-head for my "Two Worlds." That issue as well carried an essay article by Olga Domanski, "Women's Liberation in Search of a Theory: the Summary of a Decade."

The crisis internationally persisted, which is why our Draft Perspectives, 1980-81 (July) was called "Tomorrow Is Now: U.S. Imperialism in the Iranian Desert, and at Home, in Deep Recession and Recurgent Racism." In the following issue (August-September) the front page editorial article by Michael Connolly was called "Reagan Convention Reveals Barbarism of 'New Right'—and Mass opposition." This issue also began the serialization of what would become a new pamphlet, 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., and also carried an essay article by Lou Turner, "Black Thought/Black Reality." The issuance of a regular 12-page News & Letters began with the October issue.

The youth had a special section in the November issue called "Peoples' Uprising in Kwangju, Korea." The very fact that the turmoil was not only West but East produced an essay on "China's State-Capitalism vs. Voices of Revolt" by Bob McGuire in that same issue. Finally, the year ended with the front page article (December) by Kevin A. Barry on "Southern Africa's New Stage of Struggle."

#### **1981 - INTERNATIONALISM, MARXIST-HUMANIST SOLIDARITY**

Internationalism, this time from East Europe, characterized also the first issue (January-February) of 1981, this time by an eyewitness report from Poland on Solidarnosc, "Polish Workers' New Form of Organization" by Andy Phillips. The youth page featured participant reports from Washington, D.C., Los Angeles and San Francisco under the headline "No Draft,

No War, U.S. Out of El Salvador," while the youth column by Jim Mills was on "Teens Face Draft, Unemployment, Lower Wage."

Both this January-February issue and the March issue featured parts I and II of a "Theory/Practice" essay column entitled, "China's 'Gang of Four' Trial Charade and the So-Called Cultural Revolution; Media and the Global Crisis."

In April, News & Letters published an important essay by Michael Connolly, "The Peasant Dimension in Latin America: It's Test of the Relation of Theory to Organization."

The world situation had always been crucially integral to every issue of News & Letters. The May issue featured a report from Britain, "Brixton Rebellion Shakes Thatcher's Britain," while the June issue published an essay article by Neda Azad, "Middle East Women: Liberation and Social Revolution."

A central section of the 1981-82 Draft Perspectives related to "Organizational Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism." Far from that being an organizational question only, it marked the period both of Marx's last decade and our age. Put differently, the continuing importance of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks wasn't only in the Notebooks, but in how it illuminated the new moments of that last decade in relation to what he called the "new humanism" from the beginning, and what he re-articulated in his greatest theoretical work, Capital. The October News & Letters carried Kevin A. Barry's essay "the French Edition of Capital, 100 Years After," with many quotations from Marx's own editing which Engels had not included in his post-Marx editing of editions of Capital. A key missing paragraph from the "Accumulation of Capital" section had dealt with the continued mechanization and centralization of capital and the "general crisis." In projecting what we now know as imperialism, Marx related the general crisis to the expansion of foreign trade and "the world market successfully annexed extensive areas of the New World, Asia and Australia..."

Nineteen eighty-one ended with a front page eyewitness report on Nicaragua, Peru and Mexico, "Latin America's Revolutionary Spirit" by Anne Molly Jackson. The "Woman as Reason" column by Suzanne Casey "Rosa Luxemburg—Original Character and Revolutionary" was related to the forthcoming Rosa Lux-

emburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. The "Theory/Practice" column was on the 150th anniversary of Hegel's death, "How Valid for Our Day Are Marx's Hegelian Roots?"

**1982 - THE NEW BOOK, OBJECTIVE, SUBJECTIVE EVENTS**

In 1982, Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was published. Its final chapter (12) did a great deal more than set the record straight that Engels was no Marx. Rather, the todayness of Marx's Marxism concretized the trail from the 1880s to the 1980s for our age. News and Letters Committees made that the focal point as they organized a national tour for me on the occasion of Marx's centenary.

Nineteen-eighty-two in general was a year of new developments in the Black Dimension both in the U.S. and in South Africa. Charles Denby's "Worker's Journal" in the January-February issue was entitled "Haitians Dehumanized at Krome." The Women's Liberation page had an article by Diane Lee on "Winnie Mandela Banned Again." The counter-revolution continued also in Poland. Our front page editorial article was called "Poland: Counter-Revolution Drives the Revolution Underground; the Resistance Continues," while the "Theory/Practice" column was on "Begin's Israel Moves Further Back to His Reactionary, Terrorist Origins," and featured excerpts from my Political-Philosophic Letter.

In the same issue, the "Black-Red View" column focused on "Poland, Haiti: Freedom Indivisible," while the March issue, in celebration of International Women's Day, featured a revolutionary Polish exile, Urszula Wislanka, writing on "The Revolutionary Activity of Polish Women."

Humanities Press was bringing out a new edition of *Philosophy and Revolution* and the May issue printed my new introduction which answered the critique of George Armstrong Kelly in his book, *Retreat from Eleusis*, which had taken issue with my interpretation of Hegel's Absolute Method.

The internationalism was not only a question of what was central to us in recording international struggles and participating wherever we could, but was also reflected in the fact that our main works were reproduced in many different languages.

Thus, above the new introduction to *Philosophy*

and Revolution, the May issue carried a picture of many of the editions of both *Marxism and Freedom*: U.S., 1958; Italy, 1962; Japan, 1964; France, 1971; Britain, 1971; Mexico, 1976; and of *Philosophy and Revolution*: U.S., 1973; Italy, 1977; Mexico, 1977; Germany, 1981. Since then Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation* and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* has appeared in Spanish in an edition of 10,000 in Mexico published by Fondo de Cultura.

The most exciting ramification of the international editions had been the publication of *Marxism and Freedom* in Japan in 1964. Not only because it resulted in an international tour by myself throughout Japan, but because Japanese revolutionaries of Zenshin published many of our pamphlets from Charles Denby's *Workers Battle Automation*, with which Toyota workers identified, to several of my philosophic essays as well as my pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions....

The May 1982 issue also carried a front page article by Michael Connolly called "The European Anti-Nuclear War Movement Crosses the Atlantic," and A. Fortunoff reviewed Joel Kovel's *The Age of Desire*, "A Freud-Marx Synthesis?"

The June issue's "Worker's Journal" featured "Land and Freedom in Lowndes County" with the views of Gardenia White, Ethel Dunbar and Charles Denby, and included a picture of a rural worker in Lowndes County, Alabama. This issue also printed a letter from Irish activist Eibhlin Ni Sheidhir on the women's movement in Ireland. The youth page had a major report of a conference the News and Letters Youth Committee sponsored at Wayne State University on "Women, Military Madness and the Registration Boycott." We printed reports by Laura Strehlow, ex-sailor and military resister; Dan Rutt, draft registration resister; Jim Mills, News & Letters youth columnist and anti-militarist activist. Peter Wermuth's lead article was on "Palestinians Oppose Begin's Reactionary Crackdown on the West Bank and Gaza."

The front page article of August-September on "El Salvador: the Right Wing and the U.S. Seek to Crush the Revolution," was written by Mary Holmes, who was the following year to become a co-columnist with Kevin A. Barry of the "Our Life and Times" column. A new youth columnist, Ida Fuller, wrote on "Today's new campus activism."

Israel's imperialist invasion of Lebanon, like Khomeini's usurpation of the 1979 revolution in Iran, disclosed a new and horrible stage of counter-revolution in the Middle East. On Sept. 19, 1982 I dealt with that genocidal war upon Lebanon which *News & Letters* published in October under the title "Down with the Perpetrators of the Palestinian Slaughter," while in the November issue the "Our Life and Times" column focused on "All Sides Cover Up Shatila Massacre: Lebanese Factions, Palestinian Leaders, Israeli and Arab Rulers."

Our writings on the Middle East were not separated from our continuing philosophic writings both in the Draft Perspectives in the July issue on the need to transform reality and in reproducing the Introduction to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution in the November *News & Letters*.

The year ended with the front page article reproducing the Political-Philosophic Letter on Andropov's ascendancy, while "Worker's Journal" had a guest column by Lou Turner on "Namibia: Crisis and Challenge." Our Latino page featured a special section "Guatemala: the Dimension of Indian Peasants, Indian Women" which included articles by Guatemalan revolutionaries, Domingo Hernandez Iztoy, founder of the Committee of Peasant Unity of Guatemala, and Manueia Saquic, a 17-year old Ixil Indian from El Quiche.

What has always been primary to Marxist-Humanists has been to keep the paper open to revolutionaries internationally as well as to new types of audiences. Our Right to Know Braille Press, under the coordination of Steve Fletcher and Susie Van Gelder, has taped for sight-impaired people each month's issue of *News & Letters*, the major books, *Marxism and Freedom*, *Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, as well as numerous pamphlets from *Workers Battle Automation to the Afro-Asian Revolutions* as well as my essays on Hegelian dialectics.

#### 1983 - THE MARX CENTENARY

By active participation with Latin American revolutionaries, East European dissidents and new revolutionary exiles from Iran, as well as projecting the new works of Marx<sup>1</sup>, we opened new doors, or more precisely

1. The first publication in English of a portion of Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts occurred in 1981. Our commentary on it in 1984 led to a bulletin, *The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts*.

new platforms for the projection of Marxist-Humanism to the Black dimension, to women's liberation and indeed, to academia. Just as the fact that 1970, the 200th anniversary of the birth of Hegel and the 100th of the birth of Lenin, had opened doors into academia as well as platforms and journals for Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., so did the Marx centenary in 1983.<sup>2</sup>

My national lecture tour for that centenary was not only the most extensive<sup>3</sup>, but the most exciting to me because the very first lecture, at the University of West Virginia in Morgantown, was in the city which had been a center for the Miners' general strike of 1949-50 in which I was active. Moreover, I could make a direct connection with Marx, since it was John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry, West Virginia that led Marx to declare a new world epoch had emerged as he foresaw the rising of the slaves in an actual Civil War. It not only happened, but its ramifications in Britain helped lead to the establishment of the First Workingman's International, headed by Marx. The recollection of this strike (some who had participated in the 1949-50 strike were in the audience), and the recognition that West Virginia as a state was born out of that Civil war, not only made for an exciting discussion, but led me to rethink that strike where I had been active at the very time I was digging into the Hegelian dialectic. In 1953, the combination of the activity in the 1950 strike and the continued concentration on the final chapter on Hegel's Science of Logic, "Absolute Idea," led to my breakthrough on Hegel's Absolute Idea.<sup>4</sup>

The fact that a 1983 West Virginia audience did not consider that 1950 general strike something just in the past, but saw it related to the present era's concern with the relationship of practice to theory, and the fact that they were grappling with my view that practice was itself a form of theory, and that it was up to revolutionary philosophers to meet that challenge, made me conclude that that historic strike must be recorded. This was further reenforced when

2. Just as in the 1970s Telos in the United States, Praxis in Yugoslavia and Aut Aut in Italy published my essay on the "Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin", so Praxis International published my "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies" delivered in the Marx centenary year.

3. See listing in News & Letters, March and April 1983.

4. See "Letters on the Absolute Idea," The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Marxist-Humanism, 1941 To Today, Its Origin And Development in the U.S. pp. 1797-1812

my lecture tour reached New York, and I was asked for an interview by the Tamiment Library of New York University, which has some of my works. The Library was busy recording what they called the Oral History of the America Left. The interview they took from me on that Miners' general strike further reinforced that conclusion. The result was my decision to record the strike not only as I saw it, but to have the pamphlet co-authored by a former miner, Andy Philips, who had headed a rank-and-file committee in that strike. The pamphlet we wrote was entitled *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.—A 1980s View*.

All that space permits me to devote here to the rest of that tour is to note that both at UCLA and UC Santa Barbara, Black Studies were among the important sponsors, with Professor Cedric Robinson at UC Santa Barbara creating a half hour video interview of me on the Black movement's relation to Maxism, especially as to the origins of the American Negro Labor Congress and its paper the *Negro Champion* in Chicago.<sup>5</sup>

*News & Letters* in its January-February, 1983 issue published the first English translation of Rosa Luxemburg's "Martinique." the March issue was a Marx centenary special which featured excerpts from untranslated excerpts of the French edition of *Capital*, a summation of Marxist-Humanist Archives by myself, an essay by Michael Connolly on the unknown Ethnological Notebooks and a column by Lou Turner on "Karl Marx and the Black World." The front page article was titled "Unemployed Millions, Anti-War Protests, Reveal a Western Europe in Crisis" by Kevin A. Barry.

The April issue continued with reports on new youth protests. This time Olga Domanski wrote the front page article on "Rising Campus Protests Confront Militarism, Reaganomics, Racism." In the "Woman as Reason" column, Suzanne Casey wrote on a vicious public rape in New Bedford, titling her column, "New Bedford: The

5. The new doors opened in the Black Dimension during the Marx centenary tour had as precedent the turbulent 1960s when our participating in mass Black struggles was most direct and meant new relationships with Black movement organizers. One such was Raymond McKay, active in the Maryland Freedom Union. He later came to Detroit and helped coordinate reports on the Black movement that appeared in our publication *Black Mass Revolt*: as well as chairing the Black/Red Conference which Denby had called in 1969 and to which I gave a talk on Philosophy and Revolution which was in the process of being written at that time.

Infinite Degradation of Man," while Lou Turner reported from Washington, D.C. on "Howard University: Black Writers, Student Protests in Two Worlds." The same issue printed an open letter from a Gdansk woman striker in prison, Ewa Kubasiewicz.

In May we continued our international reports on freedom movements, be they in Poland or South Africa with our lead on "Workers from Poland and South Africa to U.S. Strive for Freedom" by Michael Connolly. The front page had pictures both of South African metal workers on strike and Janusz Onyszkiewicz addressing an unofficial Solidarity rally to commemorate the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Within America we had reports from Native American Shainape Shcapwe on "10 Years After wounded Knee" and an interview with one of the great leaders of the Black movement in the 1960s, Gloria Richardson.

National revolutions dominated the pages of News & Letters that year, with the June issue printing excerpts from a presentation by Dr. Araya Tesgai, Coordinator of the Research and Information center for Eritrea on "Eritrea: Revolution, Refugees and Reconstruction." Two Canadian writers who visited Costa Rica and Nicaragua wrote on "Health and Safety in Ongoing Revolution." The front page article "U.S. and Central America Youth Resist Reagan's New War Plans" was by David Park.

"Soweto Day: Black Consciousness and Marxist-Humanism" by Lou Turner was a report of our participation at a Soweto Day Conference where Turner spoke on how Marxist-Humanism has given a platform to speakers and writers including I.B. Tabata, Phyllis Ntantala and student activists from the Black Consciousness Movement as well as special articles directly from South Africa. It appeared in the July issue.

The internationalist characteristic of News & Letters was manifested also in the Iranian revolutionaries in exile translating Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions. Raha's Preface to the Farsi translation was published in the August-September issue. The October issue had an article on "Chile 1983: Repression and the Struggle for Freedom."

The year 1983 was summed up as well as projected in the Draft Perspectives printed in the July issue, "Mass Unrest at Home and Abroad in the Global Year of the Missile," which featured analyses of Central America—Nicaragua, Honduras, Panama, Guatemala—and South Ameri-

ca—Chile, Brazil, Bolivia—as well as the Middle East, concentrating on Syria and the PLO. The third section of the draft Perspectives was entitled "Marx's Final Writings Let Us Hear Max Thinking."

That responsibility for Marxist-Humanist ideas was not just our historic responsibility but was directly affecting *News & Letters* as paper and as Organization-Committees when on the one hand we were facing a Constitutional Convention, and on the other hand our Black production worker-founder-editor Charles Denby was lying very ill. Here are excerpts from his last letter to us:

*As you know, I have been ill, and just in case the doctor will not allow me to attend and address this Constitutional Convention, I wanted to say a few words to all of you about my thoughts and feelings at this moment in the life of our organization. I feel very strongly about what this Marx centenary means to me --- and what Marxism means to me --- a movement to change the world totally. This year we have taken big steps in that direction, historic steps.*

*First, we have finally in our hands the whole "trilogy of revolution." Anyone can see and read what Marxist-Humanism has represented over nearly 30 years since our founding, since our first Constitutional Convention. All my life in the movement we have seen how many parties have turned Marx's philosophy into its opposite. But now we can say to everyone: "Here is Marx's philosophy of liberation," and we know that it is the path to freedom.*

*Second, we have published an expanded new edition of American Civilization on Trial. I was very glad that Raya's new essay in it took up Marx's view of the Black world, and our own work. We have always spoken about and practiced the two-way road between the U. S. and Africa in the ideas of freedom, and it is as clear in American Civilization on Trial as it is in Philosophy and Revolution and in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. But the reason I am most happy that it is being published now, is that it can help the movement reach a new stage.*

The 75 years of Charles Denby's life were so full of class struggles, Black revolts, and freedom movements that they illuminate not only the present but cast a light even on the future. At the same time, his autobiography—*Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*—reaches back into the period from his birth in Alabama and life in the South until the Depression when he came to Detroit to become an auto worker. It was in the 1930s, while he led a wildcat strike, that he met the Trotskyists. I first met Denby when he spoke at a So-

cialist Workers Party Convention when his eloquence both on his life in the South and the North, especially of the 1943 Detroit Black uprising, did more than make an indelible impression on me. It was clear that we were co-thinkers because we didn't identify all of Marxism with Trotskyism. The specific question at issue was the Black question and the Marxists' relationship to it, of which Danby was very critical. Our paths never separated. This is clear from the difference between the first part of his autobiography which ends with the decade of the 1940s, and part II, which was published in 1978, and takes up the decades when we became an independent tendency and Danby became editor of *News & Letters*.<sup>6</sup>

The continuation of Marxist-Humanism's *News & Letters*, even with so crucial a loss as the death of Charles Danby, was shown in the very first issue of 1984 with "Worker's Journal" becoming two front page columns, "Workshop Talks" co-written by our Labor Editor, Felix Martin, a production worker in auto, and a young worker working within primarily immigrant labor shops, John Marcotte, and "Black World" written by a Black writer-activist, Lou Turner, who had moved to Detroit; the *News & Letters* Center, at the request of Danby, to do guest columns in the last period whenever Danby would feel too ill to write.

This same issue published an analysis of the depth of the mass revolt in the Philippines, "Philippine Masses Move To Topple Marcos, Close Up U.S. Bases," while Lou Turner reported on "Black Labor Focus of Two History Conferences," the North American Labor History Conference and the Study of Afro-American Life and History conference.

Finally, the U.S. imperialist invasion of Grenada caused an immediate response of protest in Berkeley which we reported on, "Down with U.S. Imperialism's Unprovoked Invasion of the Sovereign State of Grenada!" We announced that we would carry an analysis of the Grenada events in two forms, as the lead article in the next issue of *News & Letters* and as a Political-Philosophic Letter.

The whole front page of the issue of *News & Letters* in December was titled "The Three Way Drive to War: Grenada, Endless Militarization, Retrogression on Black

6. The entire front page of the November, 1982 issue of *News & Letters* was devoted to our worker-editor, with his last writing, and my In Memoriam article.

Rights." It also had a special eyewitness report from Grenada on "The Mass Freeing and Army Murder of Maurice Bishop." We reprinted in this issue the article from *Africa Today*, "Dunayevskaya on the Black World," which was a review of my *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. 1984

The first issue of 1984 (January-February), had two new columns on page one in the place occupied by Charles Denby's "Worker's Journal": "Workshop Talks" and "Black World." The "Black World" column by Lou Turner was the first part of a critique-review of the initial two volumes of a projected 10 volume collection of *Marcus Garvey Papers* edited by Robert Hill. This critique continued in the March issue. This first 1984 issue also printed the new introduction to *American Civilization on Trial*, "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," while Diane Lee wrote the "Woman as Reason" column on "Questions of Theory for Black Women Writers."

The March News & Letters printed the new introduction to *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* and included two pictures, one of South African women demonstrating against apartheid's Pass Laws in 1958; and one of the Soweto youth in rebellion in 1976. There was also a report from the Gambia on the arrest of Dixon Colley, the editor of the Left paper, *The Nation*.

Certain of the essay articles became important to News and Letters Committees, not just as something in one issue of the paper, but what we would want to use as if it were a pamphlet. This is what we did with Terry Moon's essay "Eleanor Marx in America," which appeared in the March issue, and which was subsequently issued as a mini-pamphlet.

One other feature that we became more concerned with since Denby's death was our Philosophic Technical Committee which prepares the copy sent in for News & Letters. Mary Joe Gray, one of its members, became the co-author of the Women-Worldwide column along with Susie Van Gelder.

A first hand report from India describing the women's movement, and a book, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries—Women and Irish Nationalism*, reviewed by a London feminist reader, were carried in the April issue. The front page article dealt with "Battles Over Coal

Mine Safety Show Stakes Are High for Labor in 1984" while a full page was devoted to an essay article on "Black Opposition to U.S. Imperialism at the End of the 19th Century" by John Alan. Lou Turner's "Black World" column analyzed "Miami and Black America."

The "Theory/Practice" column in that issue was on "Marx's Philosophy of Revolution vs. Non-Marxist Scholar-Careerists in 'Marxism,'" and carried a lengthy critique of Terrell Carver's *Karl Marx Texts on Method, his Marx & Engels, The Intellectual Relationship* as well as a forthcoming article "Marxism as Method."

Michelle Landau's "May Day Includes Working Women -- Past and Present" appeared in May, where the women's liberation page included as well a picture of Lizzie Swank-Holmes, who organized a march by Chicago sewing women for the eight-hour day on May 3, 1886. The emphasis on class struggles could be seen in a story on "Class War Returns to Arizona Copper Mines" which included a picture from the Phelps-Dodge strike. The draft perspectives, 1984-85, "Where Are the 1980s Going?" centered around "At Home Abroad, Abroad at Home" and appeared in this May issue.

A Preconvention Discussion Bulletin that year published a breakthrough in the science field as it related to computers, "Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts and the Fetish of High Tech" by Ron Brokmeyer. It stirred a wide discussion and was reissued as part of an expanded pamphlet which included discussion by Franklin Dmitryev, Malcolm, Ted, and Raya Dunayevskaya.

The June issue was characterized by extensive reports of class struggles. The front page story was on the Toledo workers blockade, featured on the spot workers' reports and a picture of the strikers and their supporters being tear-gassed. Stories were carried on nurses strikes exposing dehumanized care in St. Paul, Detroit, Los Angeles and New York. The same issue carried an article from Bihar, India on "Women's Lives in India" as well as a report from London on "Miners' Strike Arouses British Workers." The "Our Life and Times" column included a report of "200,000 Strike Throughout West Germany."

The August-September front page article featured excerpts from the News and Letters Committees Convention Perspectives: "Reagan's Central America Wars vs. Revolutions in Theory and Practice." The issue carried both an "As Others See Us" of an Italian review in the

journal *Dimensioni of Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* by Valeria E. Russo and a "Woman as Reason" column which reprinted from *Off Our Backs* Terry Moon's letter on Raya Dunayevskaya and Michelle Landeau's review of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

The October issue had a front page article on "What Would Four More Years of Reagan, World Outlaw, Mean." Angela Terrano wrote the "Woman as Reason" column on "Women Miners Fight Poverty, Chauvinism," while the "Black World" column, "Aboriginal Women Speak," reviewed *We Are Bosses Ourselves: The Status and Role of Aboriginal Women Today*. The Labor page was almost fully devoted to stories "From the Auto Shops" including reports from Felix Martin, Labor Editor, as well as from Detroit, Vn Nuys and Oklahoma. The "Workshop Talks" column asked "Will Labor Gain a Mind of Its Own?" We also printed a report from Britain, "British Miners, Women Strike Supporter/Activists Speak for Themselves." Finally, a bulletin flash in "Our Life and Times" told of the "New Trials in Yugoslavia" where Marxist-Humanists of the Praxis group, organized since the 1960s, and including the leader of the 1968 student revolt, Vladimir Milanovic, faced prosecution.

The revolts abroad were highlighted in the Philippines with the Lead by Kevin A. Barry in the November issue. That issue also carried John Marcotte's "Immigrant Workers Face Capitalist Horrors" and included workers in a New York sweatshop. The "Theory/Practice" column printed excerpts from the Political-Philosophic Letter entitled, "Counter-Revolution and Revolution: Grenada, the Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice that were Themselves Forms of Theory," which had been written shortly after the invasion. We carried a picture of the opposition in Grenada one year after its "success."

#### ARCHIVES AND REVOLUTION

Were it not for Dr. Philip A. Mason, Director of the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, asking to interview me on my Archives, this would complete the 30-Year Retrospective-Perspective. He invited me to give a lecture in March of 1985 in connection with an exhibit on my Archives which are

on deposit at Wayne State University. Because the Archives are integral to any retrospective of News & Letters, I wish to briefly sum-up in relation to that exhibit and my talk. In asking me to address the Archives, The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist Humanism—1941 To Today, Its Origin and Development in the U.S., he wanted me to relate some of my early history, including when I came to the United States.

Remembrance of things past, from the perspective of the more than 60 years that I have been in this country, meant reviewing experiences in relation to historic events whereby discontinuity and continuity merge. Because my arrival in the United States as a child from Russia coincided with what was going on in the Palmer Raids, in the new Black uprisings, and in a general "culture shock," this interrelationship of history and personal life disclosed that almost as soon as I was here there was an identification with "Red" in grammar school and soon a relation to the founding of the American Negro Labor Congress and its paper, The Negro Champion. Thus, a smile came to my lips when I discovered that the Chicago Tribune had in 1924 recorded my strike at Cregier public school, and I could read, "Many of the strikers came on roller skates." We were thirteen-year-olds.

The talk I gave March, 1985 at WSU Archives was entitled "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts"<sup>7</sup> was deposited as part of my Archives. All I want to mention here is new things in the Exhibit which had not been in the Archives, not only the article on the school strike from the Chicago Tribune, but a truly historic find, one issue of the Negro Champion.<sup>8</sup> There was also a photo Leon Trotsky inscribed to me as well as a photo of myself and Natalia Trotsky.

At the reception after my talk, I had a chance to in-

7. Excerpts of the talk as well as a report of the Exhibit and talk were printed in the April, 1985 News & Letters.

8. The U.S. Congressional "Red Files" gave an account of the founding convention of the Negro American Labor Congress: "The Congress opened Sunday evening, October 25 (running for 6 days) at the Metropolitan Community Center, 3118 Giles Avenue...Decorations, due to the energy and tact of the Chicago local committee of action, fittingly and distinctively complied with the spirit of the first national meeting of Negro workers ever convened in the Western world...Thunderous applause greeted Lovett Fort-Whiteman, national organizer of the (American) Negro Labor Congress, when he stepped upon the platform to reply to the speakers of the evening on behalf of the national committees of the Congress."

roduce to the audience the widow of Charles Denby, Ethel Durbar, as a writer in her own right. She immediately identified herself as "Christine," the author of her own chapters in Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*.

The Exhibit spanned the decades from the 1920s to the 1960s. The Archives as originally handed in to Wayne State began with 1941, except for correspondence from Leon Trotsky from the period 1937-38 when I was his secretary in Mexico. That date 1941 was the first publication of my writings on the theory of state-capitalism. Recently I have discovered papers from the 1920s and '30s and have handed them in to my Archives collection. The Exhibit included and Archives now has a copy of my latest work, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*.

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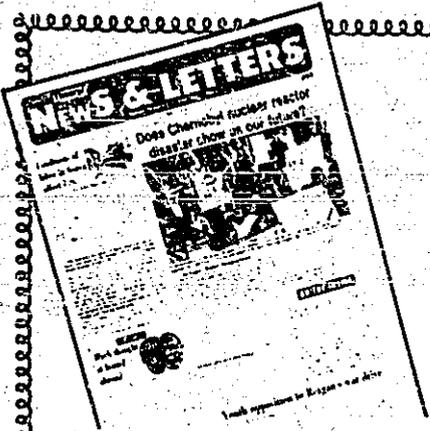
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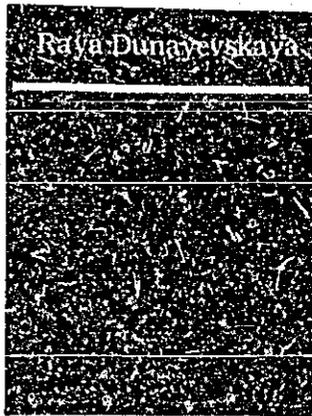
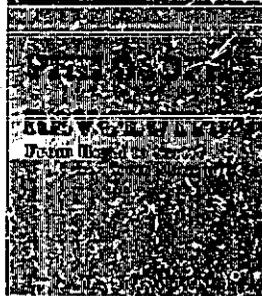
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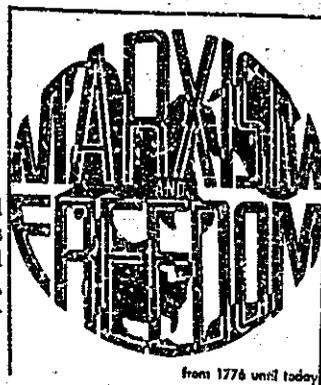
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*Raya Dunayevskaya is the founder of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism in the United States. Her extensive writings are on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, under the title, "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of World Development." This vast collection ranges from the 1920s and the 1937-38 period when she was Russian Secretary to Leon Trotsky during his exile in Mexico; through her break with Trotsky at the outbreak of World War II, when she worked out the analysis of Russia as a state-capitalist society from original sources; to her founding of the global concept of Marxist-Humanism in the post-World War II 1950s. Her works demonstrate the concretization of that philosophy in all the freedom movements of our era—whether of labor, women, youth or the Black dimension. Among her major works are the following books and pamphlets: Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today (1958); Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions (1959, 1961, 1984); Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao (1973); Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis (1978); Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (1982); Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts (1985), co-authored with Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly, Olga Domaniski; and Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future (1985).*

*News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. The paper, edited by the Black autoworker Charles Denby, was established so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation.*

*News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We oppose the class-based, racist and sexist societies worldwide. We stand for the development of new human relations based on the principles of Marx's Humanism recreated for our day.*

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