

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 1949 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.

### III. 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 Civilization 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 N&L, December, 1966 we had printed this as one of "Two Views of State-Capitalism," publishing, as the other view, the Japanese Marxist Tadayuki Tsushima's "State-Capitalism and Socialist Revolution."

In January, 1962 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, 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 be-

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 post-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."

tween 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.

#### IV. 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" 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 solidifying

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, 1968 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."

On 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 Yukiama, 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-

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## A Look at the Past and the Future

# Thirty years of News & Letters: A Retrospective and Perspective

### THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board  
of News & Letters

#### Part II

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.

Part I of this Retrospective had stressed the uniqueness of the new post-World War II epoch, as it signaled the simultaneity of action and thought—both in the U.S. miners' general strike of 1949-50 that raised altogether new questions on the relationship of mental to manual labor; and in the 1953 East German Revolt, the first ever under Communist totalitarianism, with the slogan of "Broad and Freedom." As against the McCarthyism raging in Eisenhowerland, simultaneously with these early 1950s revolts came a philosophic breakthrough, penetrating Hegel's Absolute Idea as comprising not only development of theory, but a movement from practice.

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

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.")

IN THAT SAME YEAR, new and different audiences for Marxist-Humanism, such as the one reached by Dunayevskaya's being invited by Dr. Erich Fromm to participate in the International Symposium on Socialist Humanism, were reached. Her essay on "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.

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. 431a.)

As we saw in Part I, we recorded all the 1960s voices as they articulated their own experiences and thoughts. Many of the pamphlets thus produced were first printed in whole or in part in News & Letters. At the same time we were conducting classes in the major works of Hegel. These were based on the various summaries Dunayevskaya had made of Phenomenology of Mind, Science of Logic and the Encyclopedia. (These summaries were later published in a mimeographed pamphlet, Dialectics of Liberation.)

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

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 students 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.

1. Indeed, the philosophic breakthrough in Dunayevskaya's Letters on the Absolute Idea came six weeks before the East German uprising of June 17, 1953. (See The Marxist-Humanist Archives, pp. 1797-1812.)

Just as the Black/Red Conference had resulted in a column of the same name in *News & Letters*, so our women's liberationists began editing a special page of *N&L* and a column called first "Force and Reason" and later "Woman as Reason." (See April 1971 *N&L* for excerpts from their "Who We Are" statement. In that same month Michael Connolly wrote the front page lead on "Laos Invasion Widens Revolt," while in the October issue Olga Domanaki wrote "Nixon Declares War on Labor and Blacks with Wage Freeze and Anti-Busing Stand.")

The center of all world events in 1971 had become a totally new stage for the ruling classes with Nixon's trip to Peking. (See the front page article "Nixon to Peking," by Raya Dunayevskaya in the *N&L* of Aug.-Sept. 1971.)<sup>3</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. (See page 1, Aug.-Sept. 1971 *N&L* on "The Civil War in Northern Ireland," described from Northern Ireland by Harry McShane.)

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.

Clearly, far from being an academic question, Marx's philosophy of revolution became the burning question of the revolutions of the 1970s. The process of the development of Marxist-Humanism, as the expression of Marx's Marxism for our age, becomes important to follow. To a certain extent, we are critical of Part I of this Retrospective (July 1965 *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>4</sup> Our paper reached thousands, while these letters, whether mimeographed or not, could not.

3. 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*.

4. Marxist-Humanist Archives pp. 4289-4337 contains the letters on the process of philosophic development, 1967-73.)

**THE POINT IS** that in 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 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 Rosdolaky.<sup>5</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

5. 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; "Rosdolaky's Methodology and Lange's Revisionism," Jan.-Feb. 1973. See also "Herbert Marcuse, in Memoriam," Aug.-Sept. 1979.

philosopher, Martin Buber, in answering those clergy men who were critical of him in Birmingham, Alabama, when he said that everything depended on knowing that 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."

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. (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 Phillips titled, "U.S. Economic Crisis Deepens as Unemployment Swells.")

*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." This became 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 by Harry McShane of Great Britain and an appendix titled, "Tony Cliff Reduces Lenin's Theory to 'Uncanny Intuition.'"

AS AGAINST THOSE who thought themselves ascendant 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.

In the mid-1970s we were, at the same time participating with the developing Women's Liberation Movement. Thus, the April 1975 issue of N&L carried a front page article by Olga Domanski, "Working Women on the March," with an overline, "Unorganized Are Organizing."

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>6</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 includes 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>7</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 Mihalovsky, 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 revolution first (which turned into fact in 1917) in the special introduction of the Russian translation of the Communist Manifesto. That was 1882!

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."

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<sup>8</sup> 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.

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 ex-

pressed 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 relationship 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 Con-

7. 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, 1961 N&L.

8. See Introduction to Frantz Fanon, Soweto and America Black Thought by Charles Denby and Raya Dunayevskaya printed in May, 1978 N&L.

6. See especially the "Two Worlds" column, "New introduction distorts Marx's Grundrisse," November, 1973.

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# The '80s in the Thirty Years of News & Letters: a Retrospective/Perspective

## THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board  
of News & Letters

*Editor's Note: Below we are printing excerpts from part III of Raya Dunayevskaya's "30 Years of News & Letters, a Retrospective/Perspective." The full text will be available soon in pamphlet form.*

### Part III

1980, 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 Reagan's 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 excited 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 Letter of March 25, 1979 Letter on "Iran: Unfoldment of and Contradictions 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—Be-

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

### 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: Its 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 successively annexed extensive areas of the New World, Asia and Australia."

#### 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.

1982 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" col-

umn 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...

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 as-

pendancy, 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 Manuela Saquic, a 17-year-old Ixil Indian from El Quiché.

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 Susan 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 by projecting the new works of Marx, we opened new doors, or more precisely 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.

My national lecture tour for that centenary was not only the most extensive, 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, W. Va. that had led Marx to declare that 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 1963, the combination of the activity in the 1960 strike and the continued concentration on the final chapter of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, "Absolute Idea," had led to my breakthrough on Hegel's Absolute Idea.

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 reinforced when 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 Phillips, 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 Marxism, especially as to the origins of the American Negro Labor Congress and its paper the *Negro Champion* in Chicago.

*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 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 Gdanak woman striker in prison, Ewa Kubasiewicz.

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

America—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 Marx 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 Socialist 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 Denby 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 1973 and takes up the decades when we became an independent tendency and Denby became editor of *News & Letters*.

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

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 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*, "Dunayevakaya 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—FORCES OF REVOLUTION

In the first issue of 1984 (January-February), 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."

A firsthand 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." My "Theory/Practice" column in that issue was on "Marx's Philosophy of Revolution vs. Non-Marxist School's Career in Marxism," and carried a lengthy article by Carroll Curves on "Marx's Texts on (Me)dia and Marx's Essays on Intellectual Relations," as well as a (forthcoming) article "Marxism as Media."

Michael London's "May Day Includes Working Women Past and Present" appeared in May, where the women's liberation page included as well a picture of Leno Swank Holmes, who organized a march by Chicago working women from the "Young Men's Day" on May 3, 1908. 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 Daily Perspective, 1964-65, "Where Are the 1960s Counters?" centered around "At Home Abroad" "Abroad at Home" and appeared in the May issue.

VA Preservationist/Democrat Bulletin that year published a breakthrough in the science field as it related to computers. "Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts and the Search 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 D. Smith, Malcolm J. D. Hill, and Raya Lunayevskaya.

#### ARCHIVES AND REVOLUTION

I was invited by Dr. Phillip A. Mason, Director of the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, to give a lecture in March of 1965 in connection with an exhibit on my Archives, which are now housed 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 giving me to address the Archives, The Raya Lunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism—

1. "At Today's Origin and Development in the U.S." I wanted me to relate some of my early history, beginning when I came to the United States.

2. "Remembrance of things past" from the perspective of the 100th anniversary that I have been in this country. I want to review my experiences in relation to historic change, continuity, and discontinuity merge. Because my arrival in the United States as a child from Russia coincided with what was going on in the Palmer Raids, the new Black movement, and in a general "cultural" that internationalism of history and person-ality, I discussed that almost as soon as I was here there was identification with "Red" in grammar school and 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 1965 at the WSU Archives, entitled "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanism," was deposited as part of my Archives. All I want to mention here are 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. 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 introduce to the audience the widow of Charles Denby, Ethel Dunbar, 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. The date 1941 was the first publication of my work 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 displayed a copy of my latest work, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future, which is now included in my Archives.

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