

Johns
3/21/85 - 4/10/85
Average of course / Shanty / ending with Dartmouth
Borely PP 2-31
Meaning of

UIC 10/30/86 - MLH's Humanism pp 4-5

THE YOUTH OF THE '80S / '60S IN A CHANGED WORLD

enl wch
3 N +
Today's
Reality

Intro

Sequences
Adults see
think
see
for granted
youth's
energy
blocks

Hello. Our topic today is not to contrast the '80s to the '60s as if to say we are the silent ones compared to those turbulent '60s. On the contrary. Let's not follow the adult world that has a way of talking down to rebellious youth -- and they are always rebellious, even if, at first it is only against parents. Whether they are rebels with a cause, or rebels without a cause, it makes it easy for adults to just "take ~~them~~ for granted" as if being young is just a question of having a lot of energy but no thought. What thought was a "private reserve" for the adults.

(I know I should be much more understanding of adults, since by no stretch of the imagination could I pass for a youth... indeed, I couldn't have passed for a youth even in the mid-1950s, when Marxist-Humanism first created a category of Youth as a revolutionary force, whether or not the Youth came from the proletariat or the middle class, and despite the fact that they were called the "Beat Generation." To Marxist-Humanists, the designation "Beat Generation" meant nothing; but Youth saying NO to a world they did not make meant the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries. of what Hegel would have designated as a birth-time of history

The decade of the 1980s may seem not as exciting as the decade of the turbulent 1960s, but I will show that, in fact, though it is a period of myriad crises -- that the world is falling apart -- is surely seen in the collapse of the summit -- the Youth of the '80s and the seemingly mild disinvestment movement discloses what Hegel had called "a birthtime of history." Let's look at this year.

(Incl) X

independant
on one hand
123
Microscopic
on other hand

1985/6
f to M-H
via Schumpeter/FR
+ Q Prox

I. The Uitenhage Massacre / Shantytowns at Dartmouth

On March 21, 1985 -- the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre -- apartheid South Africa continued its savage massacre. Sparked by the Uitenhage (Ootenhag) massacre, Berkeley held a demonstration on 4/10/85. Far from only students being involved, it was a coalition of Black, white, Asian and Latino, who met exactly where the FSM had met in 1964 -- Sproul Hall. This time, however, they hung up a sign calling it Steve Biko Plaza. That Coalition included Highschool students as well as Longshoremen and other workers. The person they invited "from the outside" was Mario Savio, the leader of the FSM.

also Dartmouth Shantytown - at end I'll get 10 dated so I'll do em / etc

Show 7311 - Relate Mario Savio
12/2-3/64 - 85 - Removing Shoe 10/1/64
3/21 & 4/10/85

We have no time to go into all the events of the 1960s, which include the Black Revolution, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, but I do want to recount the very highest point when workers joined the students, so that no less than 10 million walked in Paris under the leadership of Cohn-Bendit, whose motto was: Activism, activism, activism -- "theory can be caught en route", and anyone over 30 need not be listened to.

What did that result in?

DeGaulle went to see his dear old friend Adenauer and on something that traveled a damn site more rapidly than the traditional course of imperialism. And when he returned he didn't need to fire a single shot to totally collapse the movement.

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF AM... the drive, the direction, the philosophy that... diving for today, and for that, we must... started and will spend most of my time... philosophy of revolution. And I... point to the first year of his decade, 1983... called Tomorrow is Now. And concentrated... the centenary of his death when I took... national tour with RLWLKM in hand which... Marxism? Not Engels, not Lenin, not Trotsky... and how can I say that the philosophy of one... in 1883 has left a trail for the 1980s?

1983, which is the Centenary of Marx's death, and is also the period when, with RLWLKM in hand, I could challenge all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels, will form a godd transition point to Marx's Humanism, 2 years before he called it a "new Humanism." Because 1983 allows us to see it with eyes of today. The 46 speeches I made that year, the new doors that opened for Marxist-Humanism. I'm referring to WL platforms, Black Studies platforms, Youth platforms, meetings with Labor, which reveal the hunger for a philosophy of liberation -- and please do remember that Hegel considered that you couldn't designate a word as an idea unless it was an idea of freedom. And, of course, all platforms were preponderantly Youth, but youth who didn't make a generational difference but who searched for the idea of freedom as worldwide, as theory, as something that was both a philosophy and an activity. Indeed, a philosophy of action. Now let's turn to Marx

1983

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II. Marx's Humanism: 1841-42, 1843-44, 1883

Let's begin with Marx as a young man, a college student like you, working on his doctoral thesis, and already being the editorship of R-Z, being immediately embroiled with the Russian censorship, fighting for freedom of the press, rights of peasants and Jews, though he had not yet fully broken with capitalism. He was asked angrily, "What has made you into a radical? You've just graduated from the University and already you're an editor. You certainly aren't poor, you're from the middle class." His answer was: "To be a radical means to grasp something at its root, and the root of mankind is man." Lest anyone read that with eyes 100 years after the event and think he means "man" only, that same year he wrote his first and greatest Humanist Essay which focused on a most fundamental human relationship -- Man/Woman, arguing that even if you didn't believe a word of all his economics and his break with capitalism, and you looked at that relationship and saw imbedded in that all the alienations in the existing society, you should want to uproot it.

That Essay revealed a Promethean vision that never left Marx's life and thought, beginning with

his break from the Left Hegelians, and with it the critique of Hegel himself.

critique of Hegel himself.

He unchained the Hegelian Dialectic by transforming

Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution. He accused Hegel of de-Humanizing the Idea by throwing the mystical shroud over it and talking only of stages of consciousness -- Consciousness, Self-Consciousness, Reason. What is the point of all this, asked Marx. The brain is not outside of us. It is men and women who think. It is necessary to unite the material and the ideal, and to become really human (which none of us are in a class society) the division between mental and manual labor must be abolished, as must that between city and country.

The "new Humanism" therefore is the unity of the ideal and the real, the mental and the manual, of being not only against capitalism but what Marx called "vulgar communism", of being for totally new human relations.

All of the ideas he developed for the next 40 years were, in embryo, present in that first Essay on the reasons why he broke and why he called his philosophy a "new Humanism." You have a right to ask how can that be, when many intellectuals in our age do refer to Marx's "new moments" as if he got them in his final decade and overthrew all his earlier ideas. And even then, you might ask, how could I claim that the 1880s have left us a trail to the 1980s?

The answer is
Today's ~~Marx~~ Reality

Let me repeat. It is today's reality, it is the active presence of the Actual Third World that has finally made us see what Marx saw and what his Promethean vision of 1843, expressed as "revolution in permanence." But when this age (1970s) finally saw Marx's Ethnological Notebooks it is we who finally realized that seeing Marx as a totality could make us finally see that it was the "new moments" of Marx that were an actual return to the "New Humanism" he first propounded. What he had called pre-capitalist forms of society is what we call the Third World. That he had first learned about it when he read Henry Lewis Morgan's Ancient Society in the 1870s -- and they can prove it by his excitement over that and his stressing that the Iroquois women had more freedoms than the women of the Western world of the 19th century.

In fact, we could see that before those new writings on anthropology, before even his greatest theoretical work, Capital (1867-1873), in the Grundrisse (1853), the first draft of what was to become Capital, he had a whole section on pre-capitalist forms and his great appreciation of craftsmanship, the peasantry, and primitive communal forms. And indeed, in Capital itself in the whole magnificent section on the fetishism of commodities he practically repeats, word for word, what he had written in his doctoral thesis on the critique of the Hegelian Dialectic insofar as ancient Greek philosophy is concerned. That, too, did not mean a departure from, but a retention of the source of the Hegelian Dialectic, by including the most Hegelian of all phrases in the Grundrisse: as ABSOLUTE MOMENT OF BECOMING.

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III. 1985-86

Now then, as I said at the beginning, 1985-86 was a good year, a very good year. I mean that it manifested the Absolute opposites -- on the one hand a devastating year with the two nuclear behemoths on the threshold of a new arms race that would bring on the nuclear holocaust, but on the other hand a year of revolts both in outright revolutions like the Philippines and Haiti, and the continuous revolt of the Black South Africans against the arsenal of apartheid South Africa's rulers. And even the comparatively mild and peaceful divestment movements here have many more revolutionary aspects to them, when you look at them as a totality, rather than individually, sandwiched between ruler politics, and when you search for the meaning, the philosophic drive. Take an elitist college like Dartmouth:

It was at Dartmouth College that on November 15, students ~~set up~~ ^{set up} shanty towns on their campus to symbolize the Crossroads shanty town in South Africa. This started a whole wave of students' building shanty towns at other campuses. It was also at Dartmouth that students first faced the College Republican vigilantes attacking their shanties with sledgehammers on Jan. 21, 1986, immediately after Martin Luther King Day. An attack which since then Reaganite vigilantes have continued on other campuses. The latest protest of the Dartmouth students was ~~at~~ a joint picketline with United Steel Workers in front of the Phelps Dodge Corporation, calling for the resignation of its head who is the head of the Dartmouth Board of Trustees. They also have participated in anti-nuclear ^{ear} demonstrations, joining with others ^{no less than 1500 others} to blockade the Seabrooke Nuclear Power Plant, making it clear that it is not only anti-nuke but the whole question of anti-war that is the issue.

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Also Los Angeles saw a shanty-town, set up at the University of California. The students there renamed a plaza "Nelson Mandela City" and camped out for several weeks to draw attention to the college's links to apartheid. Nor are all the anti-apartheid actions in Los Angeles limited to the campuses. The Free South Africa Movement there has organized large demonstrations that attracted both campus youth and Blacks, and some of these demonstrations were held in the Black community.

Or take that true ivory tower college, Harvard, and take even their alumni who have named themselves AAA --- alumni Against Apartheid --- and elected a pro-divestment candidate to the board of overseers.

Other elitist college which you would not expect to be in on this activity but were, and they all evoked the true savage violence of the right. Thus at Johns Hopkins University the shanties were set on fire. At Yale University the departing president A. Bartlett Giamatti was so enraged when he saw the students put up shanties that he yelled and said he would have them torn down. And when the police arrived at 5:30 am and arrested the 75 people blocking their path, it only brought 1,500 people by noontime to join a protest rally. I cannot go into all of these and I do want to go back to one of the "oldies" because though elitist, it had already been known for its mass demonstrations in 1968. Columbia University. This time they named Hamilton Hall Mandela Hall.

The Administration may have thought it won because when it threatened to dismiss the students who were demonstrating, the occupation was called off. In fact, they simply turned around and with high school youth, with Blacks, and with hospital workers as well as neighborhood people, they proceeded to march all through Harlem.

I cannot go into all, but just a listing of all the states you wouldn't expect -- like Austin, Texas; University of Wyoming at Laramie; Utah State University; Bryn Mawr and Smith Colleges -- will give you an idea of how widespread the activities were and they have by no means ended. Nor is it limited to divestment.

At the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, the anti-apartheid demonstrations focused particularly on the fact that they sat-in for divestment at the President's Office. These were the same students who protested CIA recruitment and Star Wars research that is being done on the campus, especially when they protested a speech by George Bush.

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As I move toward the end, we are back to what I started with, Berkeley. Indeed, if you have money and time, you can get there still. The date is November 13. The Berkeley faculty against apartheid are sponsoring a teach-in and festival, with live music and a phone hook-up with Winnie Mandela.

I would like to end with a quotation from my Dialectics of Revolution. Though it seems to have its point of departure, indeed, its title as well as its concentration, on Women's Liberation, the fact is that all forces of revolution -- not only Women's Liberation but Youth, not only Black but Labor, not only voices from below but in the battle of ideas above as well as below -- are present. And they show their presence through 35 years. Let me give you just 2 references to intellectuals who are by no means Marxist-Humanists, but do in their own way reflect the Promethean vision of Marx -- the great economist Joseph Schumpeter, who credits Marx with having greatly influenced all developments of the business cycle, hated philosophy so much that when he attacked Marx on bring philosophy into economics, he had a most cogent phrase to express it. Marx, he said, turned "historic narrative into historic reason."

Sir Raymond Firth, the great anthropologist, said that Marx's greatest theoretical work, Capital, was not just economics but "a dramatic history designed to involve its readers in the events described."

Now then, here is how I ended my 1983 tour when like questions were asked of me: (p. 271)

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The Student Newspaper

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News

Chicago ILLINI Monday, November 3, 1986

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Marxist-Humanist reflects on student activism in 1980s

By Joan E. McGrath

Don't try to tell Raya Dunayevskaya that the youth of the '80s aren't as revolutionary as the youth of the '60s. "On the contrary. Today's youth are saying no to a world they did not make. They want to change that world — and that is revolutionary."

Dunayevskaya, a petite woman in her late seventies, spoke to an audience of 70 people gathered in Room 509, CCC, Thursday afternoon. She compared the free speech and anti-war movements of the '60s to the divestment movement of '85-'86, and she cautioned that unless today's movements have a philosophy to propel them forward, they will disappear like those of two decades ago.

"It is not enough to know what you are against. You need to know what you are for," said Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

Dunayevskaya's family fled the Ukraine and settled in Chicago when she was twelve. She was active in the black movement of the 1920s and, in 1937, worked as Trotsky's secretary for a year of his Mexican exile. She and

C.L.R. James, a Trinidadian Marxist, broke with Trotsky after they declared that Stalinist Russia was counterrevolutionary.

According to Dunayevskaya, when Karl Marx was a middle-class Prussian college student, he became bothered by the fact that there were more laws dealing with peasant theft of firewood than any other offense. "His friends asked, 'What are you bellyaching about?' to which Marx replied, 'To be a radical means to grasp something at its root, and the root of mankind is man.'" It was then that Marx broke with the Hegelians and capitalism and developed his philosophy of "new humanism."

Marxist-Humanism derives from "new humanism," which says that every human being desires to be free. Freedom, according to Marx, is "the ability to develop yourself to full potential." It was Marx's historical analysis that societies construct impediments to this desire to be free, and that we should look at the most fundamental relationship — the relationship between man and woman — to judge how free any society is.

"Realize the alienations in this fundamental relationship — who does the dishes — and you can see all," said Dunayevskaya. "You can't get rid of the alienation by eliminating private property, because that doesn't change human relationships."

Dunayevskaya views the em-

pathy of U.S. students with the struggle against apartheid in South Africa as an indication of a shared view of human development. She points out that while the Dartmouth "elitist" college students who built shantytowns have little in common with black South Africans, they are moved

by the existence of human suffering and indignity to join the struggle.

Likewise, she sees the revolutionary movements all over the world as revolts against impediments to freedom — whether constructed by Reagan or Gorbachev.

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Trotsky's former secretary shares views

Lecturer

Speaker discusses

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