

Chicago :
RD Talk :
at :
UIC, 4/18/85 :

D I A L E C T I C S of R E V O L U T I O N :

The BLACK Dimension,
WL & YOUTH, US & int'lly,
+ View of FUTURE

pp 1-2
Q. A. 18/85

I. WORDS, As Ideology, i.e. FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS
VS.
WORDS As Phil. of Liberation

The Great
14/

Let's go adventuring into what may sound like a talk on linguistics -- words -- but, in fact, words will reveal the great contradiction between false consciousness -- Marx called it ideology -- and the practicality of the philosophy of liberation, which discloses the Future inherent in the Present. In one case, the ideology -- becomes a re-writing of history; in the other case, it will reveal the liberating effect of philosophy.

This is an especially appropriate time to discuss both concepts, because I can be concrete on both and single out the force of Youth. I'm referring to the latest events in New York's Columbia University -- the sit-in, teach-in and occupation of a building to protest U.S. policy in South Africa, and to the demonstration this past week here, at Northwestern University, to protest the appearance of a leader of the counter-revolutionary Contras.

x Berkeley where they renamed
Columbia Hall
Renamed Hamilton Hall
Mankala

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PBS mee
We live in a period when, instead of seeing those which reveal the existence of a Second America, movements from below,

erupting everywhere, ~~is~~ ~~Reagan's retrogressionism,~~ ~~tries to foist~~ *his false 29, 115*

he calls pragmatism

ideology upon the American people by calling the Contras "freedom fighters" and likening paid mercenaries to those ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Founding~~ ~~Fathers~~ of our country.

with some equally lying words
~~the same~~ Reagan has dubbed the most destructive weapon on earth -- the MX missile -- the "Peacekeeper".

very So false is that word-designation that ~~it~~ *it* may sound like the Mad Hatter in Alice in Wonderland, who ~~has~~ *explains* that "words mean what I say they mean". ~~But~~ *But* he's not a Mad Hatter.

He is President of the most ~~awesome~~ *awesome* nuclear power on earth. What he's asking Congress to ~~is~~ *support* -- and all of us to think ~~is~~ *is* is patriotic ~~his~~ attempt to overthrow a

legitimate foreign government, and to consider that the equal of what the American colonists did when they ~~to~~ *to* fought for freedom from Britain. Nothing could be further from the truth ~~our~~ *our* What ~~our~~ *our* history shows ~~is~~

~~is something~~ is something very different about words of freedom. ~~is something~~

~~It is true that our~~ It is true that our 1st fight for freedom *which* was ~~also~~ *was* the first ~~total~~ *total* national revolution in the world -- ~~but~~ *but* not a ~~total~~ *total* social

social revolution. The D of I established a white man's country, and by white ^{Men} I mean MEN not WOMEN. Those two revolutionary forces -- Black and women -- were excluded. But, as the slave revolts showed, they were not exactly quiescent. ~~and the congress that beat the~~

Wm. Lloyd Garrison ~~was~~ ^{who} founded The Liberator (1831)

~~with~~ motto was "The world is my country", ~~the~~

Ans: Black rag-picker from Boston, David Walker, in 1829 issued this challenge to no one less important than President Thomas Jefferson, who had bemoaned the ^{Black man's} "unfortunate color" of ~~the~~. David Walker's ~~appeal~~ appealed:

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Abolitionism emerged to give American ^{character} new dimensions. Black + white abolitionists ~~believed~~ adhered to the INT'ISM articulated by

It shows an affinity on humanism between Abolitionism and Karl Marx's first essay as he broke from capitalist society. It's to this we now turn *for Words*

phil of liberation ~~is~~ ^{a true} ~~not~~ ^{historical} needs no re-writing of history. It tells us

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II. TRUE U.S. HISTORY ~~AND~~ AFFINITY TO MARX'S HUMANIST ESSAYS

The rise of Abolitionism, Black and white, created not only a new dimension to the American character, but showed the affinity between American freedom fighters and that New Continent of Thought and Revolution ~~of~~ Karl Marx ^{discovered} in its ~~1st~~ expression as new human relations in Marx's Humanist Essays: There he ~~expressed~~ articulated what he ~~meant~~ meant by a "new Humanism". It was against both capitalism and ^{the} ideology of Hegelian idealism; ^{at the same time} he was also ~~opposed~~ opposed to Feuerbachian materialism as if it were only a matter of opposing materialism to idealism. Instead of either one separately, Marx ^{transformed the H. as a whole} ~~wanted to~~ transformation from mere revolution in philosophy to philosophy of revolution, which ~~alone~~ alone could create new human relations.

Marx ~~developed~~ developed ~~this~~ this affinity between freedom thought in Europe and in the U.S. when ~~Abolitionism~~ Abolitionism finally led to Civil War and he, at that time, headed the First International, which came to the defense of the North against the South. Furthermore, the Labor trade union movement, i.e. the very 1st National Union organization, ~~which~~ which at one and the same time, affiliated with the First International and disregarded capitalist laws insofar as Women were concerned, welcoming them as leaders.

ML

The paths Marx crossed both to the Abolitionists and the American labor movement, as well as the struggle for Women's Liberation, was ^{not limited} even with that range to those historic periods. It extended also, in the very last decade of his life to the sudden appearance of what was considered a new science, -- anthropology. That is to say, the publication of Morgan's Ancient Society, revealed a new concept of primitive communism as seen in the role of the Iroquois women who had a great deal more freedom in some respects than modern women but in general to the communal form.

This doesn't mean that Marx's multilinear view of the development of human life meant accepting primitive communism as Frederick Engels' ^{unilinearism had him accept it,} as if this meant a modern classless society. It did mean that Marx was expanding his view of new human relations, and uniting what he saw in primitive communism with what ^{was created by} revolution in his time, ^{specifically} the Paris Commune. He had singled out as the greatest achievement of the P.C. "its own working existence." That is to say, that the masses themselves made all decisions -- economic, political, social, revolutionary.

Furthermore, he related this new view of primitive communism to what was preoccupying him in capitalist society -- the relationship between advanced and backward

countries. As against his previous view that revolution would come first in the advanced countries, he now stated (in his letter to Zasulich and his letter to Mikhailovsky) as well as the 1882 Preface to the Russian edition of the CM) that revolution could come first in a backward land. The backward country he referred to was Russia. That was in the 1880s, and that's why we consider his new moments in the 1880s to have pointed a trail to the 1980s.

R My point here is that it was a non-Marxist great anthropologist, Sir Raymond Firth, who saw that Capital was not a mere economic work. Rather, he said it was a dramatic history designed to involve its readers in the events described."

R In going through these historic points of affinity, the point is to show: 1) that while Marx opposed Hegelian idealism as dealing only with words, he nevertheless recognized that in "negation of the negation" there was in fact a general revolutionary principle which is related to the dual rhythm of revolution -- overthrow of the old and creation of the new.

R And 2) in every historic period, Marx looked for a new concretization of the force and Reason of revolution. And, that was never limited to any one country, be it Russia or France, as he singled out that new concept of how advanced a backward society is when it comes to human beings.

~~_____~~ In commenting on Lubbock's analysis of the backwardness of the Australian aborigines, Marx called the British anthropologists "blockheads" and called the Australian aborigine (who argued with the British trying to teach them "civilization") ~~_____~~ "the intelligent black."

~~_____~~ take another ~~_____~~ instance ^{in the US} when the North seemed to be losing the Civil War and Marx declared that "one Black regiment would do wonders against Southern nerves" -- that is, the war could not be fought as one for union between the states, but had to be fought as a revolution.

~~_____~~ What Marx was commenting on in his EN-- both on Morgan's Ancient Society and the British anthropological studies -- was ~~_____~~ what we would consider the study of the Third World. ~~_____~~ Here is how Lafargue described Marx when Marx returned from Algiers: "Marx came back with his head full of Africans and Arabs."

~~_____~~ It is time ~~now~~ to turn to the 20th century, focusing on what Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. did for our epoch, beginning in the 1950s.

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Birth of MLK

III. THE 1950S: "THE MOVEMENT FROM PRACTICE THAT IS ITSELF A FORM OF THEORY" 1904-71

Let's begin the look at 1950 with eyes of 1985. There (S H O W PAMPHLET) we see the simultaneity of the actual 1950 Miners' General Strike and the Hegelian dialectic both as Lenin ~~concretized~~ it for his age in the Philosophic Notebooks and as I ~~was~~ then translating them at the same time that I was active in that strike.

1) It was the 1st battle of labor against Automation that before the word was invented, ~~the~~ the new stage of production signified by the continuous miner.

2) The force of labor in battling Automation showed itself to be Reason, that is to say, it raised altogether new question when it demanded "What kind of labor should man do?" And "Why should there be such a gulf between thinking and doing?"

3) Both the Black dimension that has been a vanguard force throughout freedom struggles in the U.S. ~~signaled~~ signaled a new aspect of the Black dimension that would echo throughout the land in the Black Revolution.

4) Though the women were not in the mines then, ~~the~~ the manner of their unique participation on the picket lines ~~anticipated~~ anticipated something altogether new about ~~self-~~ self-organization and total spontaneity.

Definitely when the miners asked "What kind of labor should man do?" this was a question directed not only at labor in the mines and factory labor but at all activity that separated thinking from doing.

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What became a reality after 1950 was what we started to call "the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory". Here is why:

What the great poet William Black called "mind-forged manacles" is what they were breaking. They made imperative facing the specificity of the age, its maturity.

know Lafargue describe it. M. M. M. 16/82 he retires from Algeria
H.M. has come back with his coat full of Africa & the Arabs:
No event of the 1950s was more exciting and profound

than the emergence of a Third World, first of all in Africa. *Here is*
Let us ^{1st} pause ~~here~~ ^{here} on the question posed by the youth of the 1950s, which involved the whole concept of the future in the present. When the youth were called "the beat generation" just because they refused to accept the world of their parents, a world they did not make, the question concerned a great deal more than any one single force of revolution.

On the

When your school gives you a diploma and says the future belongs to you they mean no more than that you are young and will live beyond them. Take the specific question of the FSM when it arose in 1964. Both in the 1950s when they were called the "beat generation" because they didn't accept the world they did not make and the Free Speech Movement that had been inspired by the rising Black Revolution of the 1960s, and meant ~~eliciting the voices of the~~ eliciting the voices of the silent minorities and Free Speech for opposing forces. not only Contrast this to what Reagan is doing now in a foreign land where he tries to degrade it to counter-revolution, but to ~~the media~~ the media which claims "objectivity"

In the last week, there was the appearance of the occupation of a building at Columbia University to protest investment in South Africa and to demand freedom for that Black ⁱⁿ majority/their own land which has been occupied by the whites for the past 200 years. Here internationalism showed itself on a much higher stage than when the 1st FSM arose and they were just asking for freedom for Blacks in South USA. Yet the write-up in the NYT was 95 % devoted to how ~~unlike~~ unlike the occupation of 1968 was this present occupation, And the Chicago Tribune writing up the speech of the CONTRA leader held in some little church, where he compared that meeting to the one at NWU where "a bunch of Communists just like the Sandinistas ^{we} are fighting in Nicaragua" prevented him from speaking.

One more word on Youth, not just as age, but as an integral part of the relationship of philosophy to revolution. I was, of course, younger in 1964 than now. But I was not exactly under 30. I was, however, ~~very~~ active in the FSM and at midnight one night 100 of us went to the prison from which Mario Savio was to be released at 12:01. We then rode into the hills where I gave a presentation on "Marx's Debt to Hegel" and the Theory of Alienation. In a word, it wasn't only age, but a philosophy of new human relations. The future in the present was definitely what inheres in the present as the Promethean vision Marx ~~expanded~~ ^{kept the concrete in his concept of} "new Humanism" ^{on the African scene} ~~expanded~~ ^{on economics in his greatest theoretical} ~~work, CAPITAL~~

At the end of the final part, where he analyzes "the law of motion of capitalism" he did, in general, disclose not only capitalism's collapse but the creation of the new human relations, which he defined as "Human power is its own end." But it is only after Morgan's study of Ancient Society that he projected that revolution could first erupt in "backward countries." It is this presence of the future that we need to concretize for our age, Marxist-Humanism set about the task of tracing through all 4 forces as Reason, which we designated as Labor, Black, Women, Youth. It is this which accounts for the birth of M-Humanism in the U.S.

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Relationship of Birth of M-H to the
IV. UNCHINING THE DIALECTICAL THE DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION
IN THE 20th CENTURY

helped
uncover
the

Here is How Birth of M-H

The revolutions of 1905-07 and the ramifications in Iran; the 1917 Russian Revolution and its international impact, as both it and the beheaded 1919 German Revolution touched America ~~was~~ were my points of departure for concentrating on our own era in all 3 of my major theoretical works -- M&F in 1957; P&R in 1973; RLWLKM in 1982. Those ~~was~~ ³ decades became ~~the~~ pivotal, the point was to trace all the revolutions --

-- the industrial^{revolution}; the political, like the American and French Revolutions; as well as the intellectual revolutions signified by the revolution in philosophy that Hegel had created. There was one other ~~new moment~~ ^{also, Republics} reflected in ~~in~~ M&F -- from 1776 Until Today, and that is that I ~~did not accord~~ ORGANIZATION a separate part, but called the whole period of 1889 to 1914 (the period of the Second International under the domination of the German Social Democracy) "An Organizational Interlude".

Just as the Black revolution in the 1960s was our impulse to write the full history of the U.S. in ACOT, so the failure of the 1960 revolts in 1968, was our impulse for completing the new study we called Philosophy and Revolution.

The new in P&R- from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao was the return to ~~the~~ the Hegelian dialectic, in and for itself; that is to say, tracing the dialectic through his major philosophic works where what becomes central to our epoch is that the Absolute Idea as totality, as the unification of theory and practice, is not the end but the beginning, a new beginning, that 1st has to be worked out by each generation of Marxists.

You'll note, if you read P&R, that ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ what follows from Chapter on "AI as New
Beginning" is not the immediate analysis of the new passions
and new forces in this era; this will 1st be done in the
final chapter. Instead, I felt it necessary to go into the
world ramifications and thus the world Humanist concepts.

Thus, I traced it through what happened in the actual
revolutions in East Europe and in Africa. In ^{each} of these
far-removed places, a mass movement from below had actually
brought back onto the current historic stage Marx's Humanism.
In East Europe it was the Humanist Essays themselves. In
Africa it was the great Frantz Fanon who identified his
concept as "a new Humanism." *Only after those int. revolutions*
I go to US & the new passions and forces that reveal in life
AI as New Beginning
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXX~~ What was new in my 3rd work was both Rosa
Luxemburg and her unknown feminist dimension as well as the
totality of her as a revolutionary; and the reconsideration
of Marx's development from a critique of Hegel to the theorist
of "revolution in permanence". It is this which led to the
new category of "post-Marx Marxists," beginning with Engels.
And it is the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ summation of what was unique
in ~~XXXXXX~~ today's WLM that I abbreviated in my recent attempt to
not just 35 yrs. but a b c
summarize all of my Archives in the lecture sponsored by WSU
Labor Archives in Detroit:

Q N+R p. 7

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All the aborted revolutions of our era are the compulsive force to make us realize that you ^{cannot} get there ~~from~~ here if it is limited to mere activism and by activism you mean only physical activity, instead of the hard labor or thinking. ^{thinking} And ~~is~~ ^{is} hard labor, which is why Hegel called it "the labor, the patience, the suffering, the seriousness of the negative."

Whether ~~we~~ ^{we} take Columbia U. 1968 or Paris ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ May 1968, it is clear that the rejection of anyone ^{over 30} did not bring either DeGaulle to his knees, ^{and make the} ~~the~~ Days of Rage didn't save ~~us~~ ^{us} from a Nixon. The missing element of philosophy ~~only~~ ^{what} helps obscure what could have been learned from those defeats, as ^{what} Lenin learned from the defeat of the Second Iⁿternational in WWI. What did transform the imperialist ~~into~~ ^{into} WW into the Russian Revolution was that with Lenin's opposition came ^{not} just a mere acquaintance with Marx's roots

in Hegel, ^(but) its concrete working out on the Russian scene as State and Revolution. ^{The} fact that that, in turn, ~~could~~ ^{could} be transformed into its opposite by a Stalin was the void created in post-Marx Marxism and with it, the continuation of capitalism on a world scale as well as Lenin's own failure to work out Marx's revolution in permanence in concrete organizational forms as opposed to ~~his~~ ^{his} 1903 vanguard party conception from which ~~he~~ ^{he} never fully departed even when he called for ~~the~~ ^{the} a new form of workers' power with his slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"

The Party as vanguard as he developed in 1903. Remains of our task to rid ourselves of all Vanguardism. Party for

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~~When~~ ^{In conclusion, the} I have very little time left, I ~~will~~ wish at least to give you an indication of what is new in my forthcoming book -- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future. The Introduction to the work, which is also the Overview, precisely because it ~~ranges~~ ^{ranges} over a 35 year period, reveals when an Idea is just in embryo and when the fight for freedom becomes concrete both in actuality and in philosophy. Thus, the central point of the 4th book is to show that even if you take only one of the 4 forces as Reason as well as force of revolution, the DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION will emerge when you seriously consider it over a historic period.

The 35 year period of the movement from practice and from theory needs further concretization, especially on what is meant by the philosophic challenge expressed in the phrase "not by practice alone." Clearly, it ~~compels~~ ^{compels} no capitalization to either vanguardism or to scientism. That becomes an urgent question for our nuclear world. Here is how I expressed it in the final paragraph of the Introduction/Overview to my new work:

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N+L p. 8

RD

June 21, 1985

Dear Gary:

Ever since we received the inquiry from Ohio from the man who found your note in the library book there, I have been thinking of your creativity and how it is needed at this specific period for the Plenum, especially the Youth and especially the region we call Appalachia. Long before you yourself were born, Appalachia meant not only the deepest layers of the proletariat, but the whole concept I had developed in 1950 about a revolutionary force being also Reason. At this moment, the question of both that region and your Youth, who are at some stage of development moving on divestment in South Africa -- I mean, the youth movement of course, not you individually as a youth -- have aroused all sorts of brainstorms in me. I will not tell you all of them, but I do want to urge you to develop a serious article, not at all limited to your experiences, but rather, theoretical.

I'm sure you have recognized that ever since March 21 and the last REB shows you that I have moved that back to Dec. 30, 1984, I feel that Marxist-Humanism is something more than just any philosophy of liberation, something that everyone who is already committed in one way or another in freedom struggles would really wish to know philosophically. Considering how you seem to take so creatively to dialectics, don't you think that, despite all the pragmatism that is drummed into us in school, at business, in the media, indeed in all of American history, in a world the Youth do not consider their own? the Youth involved in these new struggles would want to know about what we call "passion for philosophy of revolution?" I feel very strongly that it takes one who speaks their language, who feels their uncommunicated hunger for philosophy, to reach those youth -- and that you could do it. That's what I feel, and that's why I'm asking you to please develop a discussion-article that would take off from your own feelings and experiences in discovering us.

Let me know what you think and whether you would give yourself a deadline no later than the end of July, and whether you would wish the article in the Youth bulletin or in the general discussion bulletin. You will have noted from the REB minutes that preliminary reports by the Youth are scheduled for July 29, and that the Youth in Chicago are being invited to the July 1 REB to hear Olga's organizational report. I intend to try to ~~see~~ talk to each one separately in Chicago, and I know that by then Gene will be present on the 10th of July and that the Chicago youth will meet with him before they make their report to the REB, and of course, meanwhile, he is invited to the July 10 REB where I present my draft for the Perspectives.

It seems to me that either age or sickness or something has been dogging me ever since I first met you and couldn't speak, but I am looking forward to the Plenum and I'm taking for granted that you will be here for the August 30 pre-Plenum Youth Conference, and that I may have a chance to speak with you when you are here.

Yours. *[Signature]*

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July 29, 1985

Dear Gary (with copies to Felix Martin and Peter) --

We are hurrying this letter to you because we have just heard of your planned trip to Kentucky immediately after the Plenum, and we would like to take advantage of that opportunity to lay some ground for a very new kind of trip, and a very new combination of Marxist-Humanists to make it, that we had in mind for next Spring. Here is what we were thinking of the minute we got the review of the 1949-50 pamphlet in Appalachian Notes, which, short as it was, paid special attention to the Marxist-Humanist Archives, and which was connected somehow to the University of Kentucky: first, our view of Appalachia as directly in the sights of M-Hism expanded to not only West Virginia, where we have always considered we had roots, but to Kentucky ~~we~~ ^{as} well; and second, why not a most unusual combination to see what we could establish there, that could include Felix as experienced labor dimension with many contacts there, Gary as creative youth dimension also with many contacts there, and Olga as co-National Organizer who has ^{not only} done substantial work both in West Virginia and in Hazard, Kentucky, ~~and~~ ^{but} could bring a WL perspective and speak directly on the new book, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, relating it directly to that 1950 Miners' Wives article?

This kind of trip was something we were thinking of for Spring both because we would want to have the book well in hand and circulating widely; and because, to take advantage of such a trip, we would have to do considerable preparatory work, trying to get an actual meeting (or meetings) where all three could participate. A meeting for Olga to speak directly on the new book (and the Archives) would certainly be an opening for all sorts of developments, if we could swing it. Whom could we meet with? Who could help us arrange something like that? How many places could be included in such a trip? (Olga wrote to the editor of Appalachian Notes as soon as we got the review, and received a reply that he has turned information about the M-Hist Archives over to the Library at U of K.)

Would you, Gary, get together with Peter and Felix to talk over all these things so that when we see each other at the Plenum -- and we will set some time aside to dig into this very specifically then -- we will have a better idea of all that things that Gary might be able to start rolling during this immediate trip he has coming up? You should know that Raya feels

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If you can't come, and yet would not wish three members of the LA local all gone at the same time, that is a possibility. Do let us know how the idea strikes you, and what thoughts you have to make it the real success we think it could be for Marxist-Humanism. Yours,

Raya and Olga