

MAKING AND FREEDOM

from 1776 until today

By **RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA**

preface by Herbert Marcuse
new introduction by the author

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'Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realize it . . . No man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others. Every kind of freedom has therefore always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, another time as a universal right.' KARL MARX.

'When individuals and nations have once got in their heads the abstract concept of full-blown liberty, there is nothing like it in its uncontrollable strength, just because it is the very essence of mind, and that as its very actuality . . . If to be aware of the idea—to be aware, i.e., that men are aware of freedom as their essence, aim and object—is a matter of speculation, still this very idea itself is the actuality of men—not something which they *have*, as men, but which they *are*.' G. W. F. HEGEL

Raya Dunayevskaya

with a preface by Harry McShane
and original preface by Herbert Marcuse

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

from 1776 until Today

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POSTFACE FOR 1982

A passion for Marx's philosophy—which he had originally called "a new Humanism"—emerged in the 1960s, with the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries and a whole new Third World arising from under Western imperialism; it followed the first revolts against Communist totalitarianism in East Europe in the 1950s. This interest in the new continent of thought and revolution that Marx discovered has gained a new intensity today, the eve of the one-hundredth anniversary of Marx's death.

I am glad to say that I have not had to change a single word in my analysis of Marx's *œuvres*, although, in the 25 years since the first edition, some previously unavailable writings of Marx, like the *Ethnological Notebooks*,* have become available. This is so because then, too, my stress was not on the fact that I was the first to publish in English Marx's now-famous *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844*; rather, the emphasis was on the integrality of the "new Humanism" of the young Marx with the mature Marx's greatest economic work, *Capital*. Here is how the late Herbert Marcuse† expressed it in his preface to the first edition: "Dunayevskaya's book goes beyond the previous interpretations. It shows not only that Marxian economics and politics are throughout philosophy, but that the latter is from the beginning economics and politics."

*For an analysis of the *Notebooks*, see my *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1982).
 † See my "In Memoriam" to Herbert Marcuse in the December 1979 issue of the *International Society for the Sociology of Knowledge Newsletter*.

Nor did the work stop with the dialectical relationship and integrality of Humanism in Marx's economic and political works (see Part III, "Marxism: The Unity of Theory and Practice"). It also revealed the unknown American roots of Marxism in the Black dimension. This, too, did not stop with the analysis of the Abolitionist movement leading to the Civil War; or the struggle that followed it for the shortening of the working day, but encompassed the historic impact it had on the very structure of Marx's *Capital*. Because Marx had caught the significance of the Black dimension that early, I was able to develop those American roots through to our age, so that the last chapter of my work, "Automation and the New Humanism," brought in the very latest developments: the initiation of the Black Revolution in the United States with the Montgomery bus boycott, 1955-56.

To this author, the republication of this work is urgent because of the myriad crises that characterize today's world, especially the drive to war on the part of the two nuclear titans, the United States and Russia, and the need, instead, for a struggle for the minds of humanity. What compelled the first edition was the transformation of the first workers' state into the state-capitalist society that we know. The Hitler-Stalin Pact had demanded both the rejection of any conception that Russia was a workers' state (as Trotsky still maintained) and a fundamental analysis of how that transformation into its opposite had occurred. The theory of state-capitalism that I initiated back in 1941 was developed on the basis of both Marx's analysis of the economic laws of capitalism and a concrete study of Russia's first three Five-Year Plans (see Part V, "The Problem of Our Age: State Capitalism vs. Freedom").

Because it is the ideologues not only in the East but in the West (and nowhere more vulgarly than in Reagan's U.S.A.) who keep attempting to devise that monstrous amalgam of opposites—exploitative state-capitalism calling itself Communism, with Marxism, a philosophy of liberation—the task of clearing the air and our heads with Marx's Marxism retains its validity.

The structure of *Marxism and Freedom* was grounded in the movement from practice to theory as well as the movement from theory to practice. I began with the age of revolutions: 1776, the United States; 1789-93, France; 1848, Germany; and 1871, the Paris Commune; and the relationship of each of these actual revolutions to the intellectual revolutions: the rise of classical political economy;

Hegelian philosophy; and Marx's recreation of the Hegelian dialectic in the dialectic of proletarian revolution. I then continued to an analysis of the problems of our own age.

By the early 1960s, when the Sino-Soviet conflict came into the open, a group of revolutionaries in Japan who were translating *Marxism and Freedom* asked me for permission to add my 1961 essay, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung." This new Chapter 17 was included also in the second English edition. The third edition further added a Chapter 18, "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction?" Both are included in the present edition.

The relevance and urgency of Marxism for our day has reappeared also in the Iranian Revolution. I was delighted to learn that in 1980 a group of revolutionaries in Iran translated both my selection of Marx's Humanist Essays and the chapter from Part Two of this work, entitled "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History: 1848-1861." The intellectuals I had been dealing with were Lassalle and Marx. The intellectuals the Iranian revolutionaries had in mind were those who became part of the government when Khomeini gained power, and those who wished to continue the revolution. The present near civil-war there proves again that rulers can kill those who are fighting for freedom, but not the idea of freedom.

The new stage of cognition that the 1956 Hungarian Revolution achieved by bringing Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays onto the historic stage has been the Reason underlying the East European revolts for more than two decades. Today we are witnessing a new massive stage of these revolts in Poland. By no means are either the revolts or the new stage of cognition limited to East Europe. Discontent with the ruling powers, West and East, circles the globe. In the massive youth antinuclear movements especially, the quest for totally new human relations is linked to the question of time itself. As against the nuclear titans playing with the possibility of nuclear war, which would put an end to civilization as we have known it, the new forces and Reason of opposition are bringing onto the historic stage Marx's definition: "Time is the space for human development."

—Raya Dunayevskaya
Detroit, Michigan 5 October 1981