Raya Dunayevskaya’s ‘1953 Letters on Hegel’s Absolutes’

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Human Power is its own end—Marx

Poliburo replacing Andrei Gromyko (center) as President with Mikhail Gorbachev, (right).

by Olga Domanski

Throughout October, the events in the Russian world that made headlines were proof of the "two worlds" there—the world of the ruled and the world of the rulers that exist in each country. On the one hand, there was the sudden assembling of the 1,500 deputies of Russia’s Supreme Soviet in the Great Kremlin Palace on Oct. 1 to dutifully approve a "shake-up" of the Communist Party leadership and elect Mikhail Gorbachev, shown here with the Party, as President of the Supreme Soviet, as well. On the other, was the ever greater turmoil in the "Russian Republics", including the explosion of the long-suppressed nationalities right within Russia itself—from the massive upheavals in the Ukraine and Armenia where unrest was put down with force, to the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, where "popular front" groups were allowed if they would support "perestroika" (restructuring). Significantly unpublicized by the media was the news reported by dissidents of spontaneous strikes by workers against the austerity measures of "perestroika" throughout Russia. (See story, p.3). Far from all the turmoil being the result of Gorbachev’s "glasnost" (openness), as the media would have us believe, it is the other way around. "Glasnost" is the attempt to deal with and contain the deep opposition within Russia to state-capitalism and its constant crises.

GORBACHEV, ANDROPOV AND THE KGB

The swift, 44-minute meeting on Oct. 1, which was all about the power struggle for Gorbachev to consolidate his power, appeared to the media experts a sharp contrast to the much-ballyhooed three-day Community (CP) Conference in June. There, Gorbachev had played "glasnost" as debates in the press, questions of party poli­

tics, and even well-orchestrated picket lines outside the CP headquarters denouncing the selection of some so-called "Old Guard" as delegates. But the brevity Oct. 1 "election" was precisely what all that show of "democ­

cracy" in June had been working toward when it had ap­

proved a plan for a new kind of President who will, for the first time, have the authority to manage both domestic and foreign policy, including chairmanship of the Defense Council—that is, the role of Commander-in-Chief.

In short, what the "reforced-minded" Gorbachev is on his way to attaining, as new President of a soon-to-be­

remodeled Supreme Soviet, is concentration in his hands of authority such as Russia has not seen since Stalin.

Nothing makes that clearer than the way the ma­

jor changes extracted in those 44 minutes on Oct. 1. With increased Gorbachev’s control of Russia’s se­

cret police, the KGB—by replacing Chuvashov, Gorbachev critic who had been on the Politburo, with Kruschev himself, a Gorbachev supporter who is nonetheless not on the Politburo, but subordinate to Gorbachev to his satisfaction.

The final stage of state-capitalist degeneracy that Raya Dunayevskaya pinpointed when the "cultured" Andreopov took over in Russia in 1962, strained that "never before has a man who has spent 15 years of his

life heading the most hated of secret police, the KGB, ruled for 15 years. For the first time, the Army and KGB were all molded in one commander. That is what is now seen in a new form in Gorbachev, who was specifically trained by Andreopov brother in both work and in ideology, and had been picked by And­

ropov to succeed him.

ECONOMIC'S AND GLOBAL ALIGNMENTS

Gorbachev’s much-touted "perestroika" and "glas­

nost" are not fired only by the economic crisis of state­
capitalism, serious crises in this crisis in Russia is part of the global crisis of capitalism whether suppon­
edly "private" or "state." It is capitalism’s drive for single world domination that drives both poles, Russia and the U.S.

From the moment Gorbachev took over in 1985, it made clear that he was out to shift Russia’s world relations. That there is now serious discussion of a possible Russia-China summit next year—the first, if it is taken place, since 1959—is not just about opening eco­

nomic markets, but about nuclear global brinkmanship. The "retirement," in the Kremlin shake-up of the two most closely associated with the pre-Gorbachev Ameri­
can-centered policy—Gromyko and Dobrynin—bears witness to a drive Gorbachev has been working ever since he took power. So does the major push Russia is currently making to improve ties with western Europe—with the October visits to Moscow from Chancellor Vranitzky of Austria, Prime Minister De Mita of Italy, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany, and the trip of President Mitterrand of France scheduled for Novem­

ber.

The drive for world mastery, however, demands, first and foremost, getting the home front in order. "Getting the economy in order" means getting the workers to work harder and harder as they are being driven to fulfill a target of a fantastic 130 to 150% increase in labor productivity by the year 2000. "Getting agriculture in order" means getting the farmers to work harder and harder to end the food shortages that have plagued Russia ever since Sta­

lin’s ruthless driving of the Russian peasants onto the collective farms between 1929 and 1932 ended in a famine in which millions died.

For the full six decades since then, the peasants and workers alike have been in revolt against Russian state­
capitalism, where it is the relation of capital to labor and the "law of value" that rules and that has deter­

ded their oppressive conditions of life and labor. Their "low productivity" is a measure of that revolt,

That Gorbachev’s new Plan for agriculture now calls for "freeing the farms from planning and leasing and leaving them, instead has nothing to do with a better life for the peasants, but with how to get them to work harder.

and her March-April 1987 "Theory/Practice" columns

their "Two of a Kind: Reagan and Gorbachev and Marx's 'Absolute!'" in

Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspec­
tives, 1985-87; and her March-April 1987 "Theory/Practice" column

2. It is easily 60 years since the First Five Year Plan was introduced by Stalin in October, 1928, after the upheaval in the struggle of the Great October. For a profound analysis of the First Three Five Year Plans that shaped Stalinism in Russia today, see "Russian Revolutionaries vs. Workers Reformists," in Marxism and Freedom by Raya Do­

nayevskaya’s writings on developments within Russia in the 1950s are, unfortunately. See especially her Political-Philosophic Letter of No-

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en. Kathleen Barry, author of the ground-breaking book Sexual Slavery, criticized the U.S. feminist movement as "de-radicalized" from its revolutionary politics 20 years ago.

Today, conditions for women have worsened in many places. The U.S. military bases, the global sex trade, and war economies, and the world-wide climate of abuse of women. Yet there are groups in every country organized against this state of affairs.

WOMEN AGAINST THE SEX INDUSTRY

Yayori Matsui of the Asian Women's Association of Japan said, "We have been talking for decades to stop the Japanese "sex tours" to the Philippines and Korea. While they were successful in stopping most tours, Japan in the 1980s has imported 100,000 women "entering in the Japanese 'sex tours' to the Philippines and Korea.

Women's Programme of the Resource Center for Philippine Concerns in Tokyo said, "We cannot have sisterhood without genuine solidarity with Third World Women."

Several speakers criticized the U.S. women's movement for having largely ignored prostitution at home and abroad. Women in the Migrant Women's Programme of the Resource Center for Philippine Concerns said, "We cannot have genuine solidarity with women who are promised legitimate jobs by recruiters and then are not provided with jobs, or who are promised legitimate jobs by recruiters and then are not provided with genuine solidarity with Third World woman."

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Meatpackers struggle for health, solidarity

Eckrich

Chicago, Ill.—Health care, any kind of health care, is really hard to find in the city of Chicago. The primary care, Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has just announced a $4.33 million fine against John Morrell & Co. for a lack of protective clothing. What they don't have to tell you is that they're going to get to keep their $50,000 deductive insurance for the employee and family. If you're trying to make an appointment, you'll end up waiting in the waiting room. The insurance increased from $100 to $500 deductible, the main demand being for health care for workers and disabled workers. A Federal judge has ordered them to a settlement, and the doctors and nurses are now working on the floor, snipping the clothes and safety equipment. For the small money they are paid, the women are not given any protection. If you are fulfilling the role of a kiosk minder then you have every right to demand a pay raise or refuse to work. The party began at a series of meetings, "pre-revolutionary illegal May Day meetings" that have been announced. The strength of the workers is that it is a trade union and the free organization is distributed by opposition activists in Arhangelsk, reprinted below.

A magnificant effort, you drivers of the trolley busses, Old Foreman! We are in full solidarity with you. As friends of the trolley busses, we must all join the efforts to tell workers about our sick sons. We can work in the factory, go to the doctors, and, therefore, it is not simple to silence us.

The example of the workers in Arkhangelsk, however, reflects the changes taking place in the consciousness of the Soviet working class. In reaction to the austerity policies of the "perestroika," workers are rediscovering the weaknesses of official propaganda. The population, with few exceptions, supported the action of the drivers and totally disbelieved the official version of events. The increased consciousness and self-organization of the workers demonstrated that the mass of workers had failed to be distributed by opposition activists in Arhangelsk.

Roofers forced to accept sell-out contract

Los Angeles, Calif.—In the August-September edition of FLINT, a strike report by a member of the Building & Allied Workers Union, an amazing self-control and single mindedness. The example of this strike also points out the weaknesses of the workers oppositionists Valery Senderov, writing in the August issue, under the title "The strike in Arkhangelsk," claims that the workers oppositionists have not succeeded for decades. As Senderov points out, "people were able to take a breath of fresh air of freedom and, therefore, it is not simple to silence us.

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WHAT IS CAPITALISM?

Reading Lou Turner's article about the 500,000 Jamaicans left homeless from Hurricane David, one gets a glimpse of the millions left homeless by capitalism. Both are devastating to human beings, destroying their very paths. In Jamaica, 450 people lost their lives, but each day capitalism causes the death of thousands of lives. Hurricanes, earthquakes, tornadoes destroy in a small scale compared to the destruction of capitalism. It destroys everything human in sight.

The people can protect themselves nothing; on their own. The only protection from capitalism is its complete uprooting.

Retired worker
Orange County, California

Angry Capitalist

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE is carrying its second major series on the activities of the meatpacking industry. The speed-up is so horrendous that even the union-busting bourgeoisie openly acknowledges that this phenomenon, coupled with the complete fragmentation of all meatpacking industry tasks, is the reason for a massive inhuman torment.

But what made me feel like screaming is the complicity of the union bureaucracy. The Teamsters are supposed to serve certain “light duty” jobs for injured workers. I think that these jobs should go to those with the most seniority and argue that the company is only interested in avoiding union-busting bourgeois press openly acknowledges that this phenomenon, coupled with the complete fragmentation of all meatpacking industry tasks, is the reason for a massive inhuman torment.

...and WHAT IS FREELY ASSOCIATED LABOR?

After reading chapter six of Raya Dunayevskaya’s Marxism and Freedom on the Paris Commune and Marx’s contribution to the understanding of capitalism, I don’t think that the question is just who controls the machine. It’s how and for what purpose the machine is operating, from the beginning, before it even shows up on the factory floor. Who orders it, who is it for, who should control that product in the first place? Out of what kind of society?

It isn’t just a question of having control over what is there, because that is never going to happen. It is the question of organizing, from the very time the idea entered somebody’s head, counsel developed under capitalism. It has to be rethought from the beginning. It’s not just us taking over the plant and saying, “Okay, we’re going to slow it down and rotate jobs every two hours—or whatever we decide to do. It’s not that.” It’s a whole lot more than that.

Woman production worker
Chicago

MASSIV-HUMANISM AT TWO CONFERENCES

The North America Labor History Conference was held in Detroit, Michigan. The conference had a panel in which auto workers joined labor historians to discuss the future of the union movement—something that the Chicago Tribune’s piece on the 1972 Detroit Labor Action movement was not. The 1972 conference was held in Detroit, Michigan. The conference had a panel in which auto workers joined labor historians to discuss the future of the union movement—something that the Chicago Tribune’s piece on the 1972 Detroit Labor Action movement was not.

El Feldman, author of End of the Tragedy for Auto Workers, Heather Thompson of the North American Labor History Conference discussed, at the moment when Russia has reached a new stage. The opening up of the country is a world-wide phenomenon, a world-wide phenomenon, and it is a world-wide phenomenon. It is a world-wide phenomenon. It is a world-wide phenomenon.

The only protection from capitalism is its complete uprooting.

Participant
New York

YOUTH AS SUBJECT OF REVOLUTION

I appreciated Terry Moon’s response to Susan Eaton’s essay on Raya Dunayevskaya’s essays. She had been trying to think what Eaton meant, when she said that philosophy was an extended form of consciousness. Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s philosophy is a world-wide phenomenon. It is a world-wide phenomenon. It is a world-wide phenomenon.

I received two papers at the same time. One was from a young Socialist, very much like absolute opponents—the October issue is full of NAI and I have used the article put out by the Socialist Labor Party (SLP). In NAI, Sheila Fuller’s essay about youth not just as a factor of produc- tion but Subject of revolution. The SLP is not interested in the youth as a factor of produc- tion or as auxiliary force. They review one of my favorite albums by Tracy Chap- man, because she doesn’t call for socialist industrial unionism. They especially criticize the song “Talkin’ ’bout a Revolution,” but in all the songs, to me, deal with what life is like for the youth, the lack of solidar- ity amongst youth, the lack of a program.

Margaret Ellingham
Italy

THE ORGANIZATION QUESTION

I need to subscribe to your paper. My own feeling is to try to create something new that will be built on solving its empirically defined problem. To do this you have to be clear about your incapacity your writers achieve. I would like to think that it is possible to artic- ulate a number of ideas which will con- ceptually sophisticated enough to allow all the current groups to push for a higher status of human liberation to be perceived clearly, and to provide a forum in which this problem of organization can be worked out. Keep up your good work!

R. Winslow
Los Angeles

Best, Brian

Yvonne Sycy, N.Y.

“I do not consider one who joins an organization one day and leaves it the next morning as having any real capacity or so-called organization or about philosophy.” This statement by Raya Dunayevskaya (on the “absolute and the organization of Thought” in the Aug.-Sept. 1978 NAI) means that the hypothesis of Marxist-Humanists is building to be more serious and better organized than we think that it is in our work. It is the only way we can meet the capitalist challenge of Leage.

Absolutely a member
Chicago

THE CHURCH: CHUT AND RUN?

The Catholic Church has just stunned many of its parishioners with the retreat of some of its churches in the poor neighborhoods of Detroit will be closed down. Detroit has been in financial crisis for several years, as the rust belt spread south and the city's population declined. The Church put its computers to work on failing attendance and mount- ing church deficits. Did what we capitalist institution would do—cut the overhead, cut your losses and run. If it followed such practices, it would sell the tax free property on which these institutions stand and tell them for another tax-free windfall.

Some of the poor Blacks who have been evicted from the riparian Point area (all white) fear being picked up by the Detroit Police and driven to an illegal church. It happens all the time, for no Blacks can afford to live in the Grouse Point.

Peter Mallory
Chicago

WOMEN’S STUDIES...WOMEN’S FREEDOM

I understand the feelings of Terry Moon about the National Women’s Liberation Conference when I was in Nair. "We can’t have this year’s summer, a lot of my friends were married because the situation for women was so bad. Because of the economic situation, everyone has to work. But a lot of women married because the situation for women was so bad. Because of the economic situation, everyone has to work. But a lot of women married because the situation for women was so bad. Because of the economic situation, everyone has to work. But a lot of women married because the situation for women was so bad. Because of the economic situation, everyone has to work. But a lot of women married because the situation for women was so bad. Because of the economic situation, everyone has to work.

Feminist
Mainland China

I’m especially interested in the arti- cles in News & Letters on women’s lib- eration because when I was in Nicaragua last summer, a lot of my friends were married because the situation for women was so bad. Because of the economic situation, everyone has to work. But a lot of women married because the situation for women was so bad. Because of the economic situation, everyone has to work. But a lot of women married because the situation for women was so bad. Because of the economic situation, everyone has to work. But a lot of women married because the situation for women was so bad. Because of the economic situation, everyone has to work.

Latin America solidarity activist
New York City

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But too often it is a world-wide phenomenon. It is a world-wide phenomenon. It is a world-wide phenomenon. It is a world-wide phenomenon. It is a world-wide phenomenon.

Reader
Ontario

It is chilling, indeed, to imagine a future in which women live under the same conditions as women in the United States. The difference is that there will be a Baug_____ 2

Karen A.

Theatre of Liberation, or the Women’s liberation struggle lives ahead and the Liberals slipping badly. The NDP (New Democratic Par- ty of Canada) has been doing well. They’s been doing well. They’s been doing well. They’s been doing well. They’s been doing well.

But just as I look at something Dunay­ evskaya once wrote in the 1980’s that I copied out and put away in my files: “Nothing gets so severe as to see that a reactionary step objectively gets people somewhere. For me, it is the exact opposite: I start a new campaign on the basis of the new situation that I have.”

Marxist
Los Angeles

2 FRIGHTENING ELECTIONS

The women’s liberation movement progresses as it develops. It is not a question of fighting against. It is the only way we can meet the capitalist challenge of Leage.

Absolutely a member
Chicago
May 12, 1963

Dear H:

I am going to take the plunge and if it turns out that I have behaved like a bull in a china shop—well, I simply felt that I had to do it. If I must sleep nights at all? There is no concrete problem that I meet daily, no matter how minor, that doesn't send me scurrying to the LOGIC and by now I'm so drunk with it all that I brazenly shout that in the dialectic of the Absolute Idea is the dialectic of the party and that I have just worked out. Just like that, I have taken the plunge. But I will restrain myself from beginning with the conclusions and the differentiation of us from him. I am not saying that I have been a Bolshevik since 1949 but I will have you bear with me as I go through the whole last chapter of the Loge. However, before I do so I want to make contact touching upon the mass party; the workers will do what we will and until they do we can have only the faintest intimation of the great leap. 2) This is not 1948, but 1953; I am not concerned with spontaneity versus organizational, nor with Stalinism which the workers will overcome. I am concerned only with the dialectic of the vanguard party of that type of grouping like ours, be it large or small, and its relationship to the mass.

Let's begin with the beginning: The Absolute Idea has now turned out to be the identity of the Idealist and the Practical Idea," (p.466 J&S; 5244; 5401c). At this moment this means to me that the party is the identity or unity of the activity of the leadership and the activity of the ranks. [Each of these by itself is one-sided and contains the idea itself only as a sought and pursued aim while the other is the oneness of the tendency, and both contain and does not contain the idea. Both are necessary and indispensable and they are indivisible and inseparable. And further down on the same page we have the warning that the Absolute Idea contains "the highest opposition within itself."

While the staggering truth of this last phrase sinks in, I will make one more quotation from that page: "The idea is one object and content of philosophy. As it contains every determinateness, and its essence to return to itself through its self-determination or particularization, it has various phases, it is the business of philosophy to recognize it in them. Nature and freedom are different outside. What I wish to contrast to it is the description of Other when the No.

1. The second sentence of this paragraph does not appear in the 1956 edition.

2. This paragraph "even as we fought" refers to a 1948 memorandum by C.L.R. James, then co-leader with Raya Dunayevskaya of the Johnson-Forest Tendency within the Socialist Workers Party, by C.L.R. James (in his "Wage Labor and Capital," 1948). It is a summary of the ideas behind "Weaver," the organizational name used by Raya Dunayevskaya in this period.


4. This pamphlet was published in 1961 by Raya Dunayevskaya. For available for the 35th anniversary of the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

5. This is an excerpt from Dunayevskaya's Introduction to the 1991 micrographed publication of her 1953 Letters.
tion is further developed on p.477 where Other turns out to be the protagonist outside, but the party it- Self. Hegel says:

"The second or negative and mediated determination is at the same time the mediating determination. At first it may be taken as simple determination, but in truth it is a reference or relation; for it is negative—the negative, however, of the positive, and includes the latter. It is not therefore the Other of an Other. It is indifferent, for thus it would be neither an Other, nor a reference or relation; it is the Other in itself, the Oth- er. It thus includes its own Other, and so is contradiction, or the posited dialectic of itself."}[pp.476- 477 J&S; 834-835M; 506J]

The other jump that I referred to that I wish to make is to leave the Logic for a moment and go to the last chapter in the PHENOMENOLOGY. In that chap­ ter on Absolute Knowledge Hegel writes, p.667: "If we take a whole in the mediated result [the syllogism—Baillie re­ verse] of the passing of universality into individuality through specification, as also the reverse process from individuality through universalised cancelled individuality or specific determination..."[p.709B; 480M; 506F]

Take a second look at the phrase, "the mediated re- sult" and remember that our object is the party and that we are working out the tripartite relationship not only politically, but also in the Hegelian sense—speaking, the party is the totality, the mediated result of the contradiction, or the posited dialectic of itself."[pp.476- 477 J&S; 834-835M; 506J]

So Socialism too as it "externalises" itself in parties, and in this case I mean not the vanguard grouping but the leader which he calls "internal intuition." First, let's see from the fact that in the previous section on the Idea of Cognition Lenin had gone further, saying that "the movement from practice that is itself a farm, of theory..."

Here, then Other is the proletariat out­ side, but the party itself. On p. 477, however, Other turns out to be, not the proletariat outside, but the party itself per se. Hegel brings this development of method to a climax by specification. The party, as Lenin pointed out, is, where it is "in the position of a tool, of a means which stands on the subjective side, whereby the method rela- tions, approximations, but it is nevertheless all around us, or the party in the sense as it is completely subject to the method..."[pp.468 J&S; 832M; 555-556J]

It is directly after this that Hegel discloses to me the secret of something that I have been chewing over like a dog does a bone, for many a moon—the intuition of the Idea of Cognition, the essence of which was three- phase, the party 1903, 1920-3, now). He ends Absolute Knowl­ edge with the statement: "The goal, which is 1) the Absolute Knowledge or Spirit knowing itself as Spirit, finds its pathway in the recol­ lections..."[pp.469 J&S; 832M; 554-555J]

In a word, the logic has itself as infinite form for content...As opposed to form, content appears as Other and as given.

So, to recapitulate: The Absolute Idea itself has only this further con­ nexion that the form-determination is its own perfected totality—the pure Nothing...What remains therefore to be considered here is the universal element of its form—that is, the method."[p.467 J&S; 825M; 506J]

In the party both as political organisation and as the realisation of the theory of knowledge, the "form-deter­ mination" or form of relations between leaders and subordinates, between the various layers, and within each layer tells us a whole story. There is no content outside of that. Or, once again to stick close to Hegel, "The me­ thod therefore is both soul and substance, and nothing is in itself and absolutely so. It only has substance as it is, from the way, we would say, the third layer lives, and in this case I mean not the vanguard grouping but the leader which he calls "internal intuition." [pp.470, 471 J&S; 827, 828, 832M; 506J; 506F]

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letters on Hegel's Absolutes'

This new has been enriched "concentrating itself upon itself" for we have that new source, the third layer. 16

Now watch this: “Each new stage of exteriorization (that is, of further determination) is also an internalization, and greater intensity is also involved.” [p. 148 J&S; 840-841M; 570G] What a more perfect description of going outward with B, 20 and becoming richer inward and more intense.


"In Hegel’s Absolutes there is imbedded, though in abstract and not any other form) and to be immediately in the absolute, has nothing before it as object of its cognition but the empty negative the absolute, which is imaginary because it is not equally posited nor comprehended. 18 [p. 148 J&S; 841-842M; 571G]

I am shaking all over for we have come to where we part from Lenin. 19 I mentioned before that although in the approach to the Absolute Idealism has named man’s cognition not only reflects the objective world but creates it but that within the chapter he never developed it. Objective world connections, materialism it is true, but not the object and subject as one fully developed—that’s what he saw. Then he reaches the last paragraph: “For the Idea posited as the absolute unity of that pure Notion and its Reality, and thus gathers itself into the immediate Being and in doing so, in no formality, in that Nature.” [p. 148 J&S; 843M; 573G]

There Lenin stops—it is the beginning of the last paragraph—and he says: “This phrase on the last page of the Logic is exceedingly remarkable. The transition of the pure Idea to Nature. Stretching a hand to materialism. This is not the last phrase of the Logic, but further till the end of the page is unimportant.” 21

But, my dear Vladimir Ilyitch, it isn’t, the end of the chapter is important: when in 1965, we who have lived 3 decades after you lived 3 decades after you and tried to absorb all you have left us we can tell you that.

Listen to the very next sentence: “But this determination is not a perfected becoming or a transition—” [p. 148 J&S; 843M; 573G] Remember how transition was everything to you in the days of Monopoly, the eve of socialism. Well, Hegel has passed beyond transition, he says this last determination “the pure Idea, in which the determinateness or reality of the Notion is itself raised to the level of Notion, is an absolute liberation, having no further immediate determination which is not equally poised and equally Notion. Consequently there is no transition in this freedom... The transition here therefore must rather be taken to mean that the Idea freely releases itself in absolute self-security and self-repose.” [pp.485, 486 J&S; 843M; 573M]

You see, Vladimir Ilyitch you didn’t have Stalinism to overcome, when transitions, revolutions seemed sufficient to bring the new society. Now everyone looks at the totalitarian one-party state, that is the new that must be overcome by a totally new revolt in which everyone experiences “absolute liberation.” So we build with you from 1920-3 and include the experience of three decades.

But, H. (Hausser, not Hegel) I have not finished yet, not that last paragraph in Hegel, nor my summation, for we must retrace our steps to the paragraph before and as we do, let’s keep in mind Marx’s last chapter of Capital (Chap. V). Hegel writes: “In so far the pure Idea of Cognition is enclosed in subjectivity, and therefore is underlined. 20

In the 1974 edition this paragraph has vertical double lines drawn alongside it.


21. In the 1974 edition this paragraph has vertical double lines drawn alongside it.

Philosophy and Revolution. (1973), p. 43

"Where workers think their own thoughts, there must be the integration of the two... Outside of this thought there can be no serious theory... A new unity of theory and practice can evolve only when the movement from theory to practice meets the move- ment from practice to theory."

—Marxism and Freedom. (1958), pp. 286-87

the “philosophic moment” of 1953 as a determinant in Dunayevskaya’s “trilogy of revolution”

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Letters on Dunayevskaya's Hegel's Absolutes

Karl Marx in 1867, the year of the publication of Capital

(continued from page 7)

an impulse to transcend the latter; and, as last result, pure truth becomes the beginning of another sphere and with this transition need here only be intimat­
ed. [p.485 J&S; 843M; 573-573G]

And then he goes on to show how the Idea posits itself and is liberation. That, he says, he cannot fully develop here; he can only intimate it.

Now you will recall that that is precisely what Marx does in the Accumulation of Capital when he reaches the laws of concentration and centralization of capital and socialization of labor. He says he cannot develop these, but he can give an intimation, and this intimation turns out to be the ultimate centralization of capital "in the hands of one single capitalist corporation, that it would not matter if that occurred peacefully or violently, 3) but that with the centralization grows also the revolt, and it is not just any revolt but one that is "organized, united, disciplined by the very mechanism of capitalist production." 4)

H, are you as excited as I? Just as Marx's develop­ment of commodities and commodity money comes from Hegel's syllogism U P I, so the Accumulation of Capital (the General Absolute Law) is based on The Absolute Idea. 5)

Remember also that we kept on repeating Lenin's aphorism that Marx's method was "organically left us a "logic, but he left us the logic of Capital." 6) And this is —the logic of Capital in the sense of "commodity and commodity money capitalism at one pole and the revolt at the other.

At one stage we tried to divide socialization of labor from revolt, the former being still capitalist, and the latter the beginning of socialism. We didn't get very far because these two elements were so interpenetrated. We had to revise our notion of Capital and realize that Marx's treatment of it is a bit of a con­ceit from his capitalistic integument. Marx, however, was dealing with something much more radical. He didn't make the negation of the negation any more concrete, but, on the contrary, in the last chapter returns to the origin of capitalism.

Now we are ready to return to the last few sentences of the Introduction to the Logic, in which Marx begins to determine it as a pure IDEA—thereby only positing the mediation out of which the Notion arises as free existence that out of externali­ty has passed into itself, to perfect its self-libera­tion in the Philosophy of Mind, and to discover the highest Notion of itself in that logical science as the pure Notion which forms a Notion of itself. [p.486 J&S; 843-844M; 573C]

(Please, Hauser, can you get a hold of a copy of Phil­osophy of Spirit or is it Mind? I am brazen enough to want to swim there too. I have an instinct that we could get very far there when we tried it before because we got a very fine launching from Marx's "real historical movement" in the form of the dialectical state and spirit of the working class, from which we could go directly to the Hegelian form of the Notion.


Great Beginning in Russia. What is so remarkable is that it comes not as direct result of any revolu­tion, but rather its result. The social, political, and feelings and social thinking when placed in the proper theoretic and climatic atmosphere of life people can be said to have. This is not only because of the social and political kind of life. It is only because the social and political kind of life makes it possible to have a real beginning and real beginning means that there is a social and political kind of life and a social and political kind of life makes it possible to have a real beginning.

First now you are where I was as I read the Philosoph­y of Mind which, to me, is the new society. That's what materialism is and in the final chapter of the Philosophy of Mind which, to me, is the new society. That's what materialism is and in the final chapter of the Philosophy of Mind which, to me, is the new society.

23. In the 1956 edition the first two sentences of this paragraph read as follows:

To the paper this is the climax not alone because it has never been such type of paper could not have been born before. 24. In the 1956 edition the first two sentences of this paragraph read as follows:

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27. "B" refers to Charles Derhy's Indigent Heart (see footnote 19).

The Lettter of May 20, 1953

Dear Hauser:

Please do not interpret this as any prodding of you to commit yourself on my analysis of the Absolute Idea; it is only that I cannot stand still and so rushed directly to you.

May 20, 1953

Hills, Lenin to leaders and ranks in Germany

The party as a "simple" class instrument—Communist League, the First International (reflecting 1848 class struggles and the Paris Commune)

The party as divider of politics from economics—1920—(in CIO, National Resistance Movements) 1923-53

The party as suppresser of ranks and destroyer of discipline—Stalinism—(Spanish Revolution, the German Social Democracy (trade union arising out of 1848 class struggles and the Paris Commune))

The party as different social layers—1920—(in CIO, National Resistance Movements) 1923-53

1) Movements separate from Hegel but very close to him in their outlook.

W. [Raya Dunayevskaya

East German workers uprising—June 17, 1953

"Ideas", is it "self-contained and free." 2) Movements from the Mind Subjective he come to the second stage the "form of reality" and in his objective work the "form of the shape of necessity" 3) From Mind Objective we reach Mind Absolute "unity of mind and objectivity and of mind as ideality and objectivity, which essentially and actually is and for evi produces itself, mind in its absolute truth." [p.365 J&S]

Hegel continues (para. 365): "The two first parts of the doctrine of Mind embody the unity of mind as ideality and objectivity and of mind as ideality and objectivity, which essentially and actually is and for evi produces itself, mind in its absolute truth."
To get to the "will to liberty (which) is no longer an
Stoics, did not have it. On the contrary, they saw that
very actuality. Whole continents, Africa and the East,
meaning only the proletariat that has absorbed all of
self to the concluding four paragraphs, para. 574-577.
and there Hegel issued a warning, "It is certainly possi-
ty, of thought."
Free Mind or end of Section 1 of Mind Subjective, we
that the formalism, fortuitousness, and contractedness
freedom itself." [para. 481] Hegel cannot avoid
know
the beginnings of modern society, or
36
35
34. Irving Howe, writing in a Workers Party discussion bulletin
us with creating "soviets in the skies.
We are ready for the Absolute Mind. I will limit my-
Hegel begins his conclusions about philosophy which
"is the self-thinking idea, the truth aware of itself" by
referring to us the Absolute Idea in the Smaller Logic, and
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very object—matters of the mind as if it were sich, whereas in
read as 'sich' (itself)."
1951 "Letters on He-
Hegel's
Karl Marx, "The Civil War in France," in Collected
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ECONOMIC ILLUSIONS

The Family Security Act of 1988 is a creature of capitalism, a device worked out and approved by President Reagan and both Houses of Congress within the limits of their own mutual political interests. It projects the illusion that the economy is OK and that all minorities have to do is to train for the ghettos, and that all minorities have to do is to train for the ghettos, and that all minorities have to do is to train for

solidarity with the idea of freedom!

Poland's Unpredictable Struggle

In her book, Olga Domanski, Peter Wermuth, Co-National Organizers, News and Letters Committees

Vol. 33 No. 9
November, 1988

News & Letters

NEW THINKING—BUT ONE PARTY RULE

"Mainstream" or "legalized" revolutions are not the answer. Women have raised new social and political demands for freedom when it erupts on all

POINCHO NO!

New York, N.Y.—Chileans didn't want to risk a chance to vote NO in the September plebiscite on their right to choose whether or not to remain in the Pinochet dictatorship. Instead, they stayed away in droves, giving support to the regime. Ninety-seven percent of the population registered to vote, and 57% of them voted.

During my recent stay there, I was surprised to find that even the political parties themselves were afraid to campaign. While the polls felt so strongly about voting and had such high expectations of the results. When I asked people if they were planning to vote NO, the usual response was that they would, but when they were asked if they would actually vote, the people said they would not be above the law.

Russian state-capitalism vs. growing revolt

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The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis

by George Katsiaficas, South End Press, 1987

1968 is bound to have an important impact not only on the Left in Europe and Asia, but on the world-wide New Left, which is non-essential to the agricultural bourgeoisie and its anti-revolutionary apparatus. I would recommend to other young radicals, who are with me in the struggle, to come to terms with the late 1960s so as to develop a movement that is more revolutionary than the New Left, that we all read Imagination of the New Left side by side with Philosophy and Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya. Studying these two works is an education in revolutionary thought in itself, in which the student is taught in the Marcuse view and the Marxist-Humanist philosophy.

Unlike Katsiaficas, Dunayevskaya does not forget that the revolutionary movement of the 1960s failed, so she can move beyond the contradictions that the movement did not resolve. And those of us who happen to be university students should especially pay attention to Raya who tells us that a lack of confidence in the masses is the common root of a lack of confidence in the self-development, self-activity, and self-movement in the Hegelian dialectic.

—Jim Guthrie

Selcted Philosophic Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya as found in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development

• Hegel’s Absolute as New Beginning. Dunayevskaya’s 1974 lecture to the Hegel Society includes important contributions from Art and Logic in Hegel’s Philosophy of Spirit, published by Warren E. Steinke and Kenneth E. Schumacher. (Microfilm #11535)

• The Year of Only 8 Months. Bulletin includes an exchange of correspondence between two non-Marxist Hegel scholars, George Armstrong Kelly and Louis Dugier, on the “Ideas of Cognition” and “Third Attitude to Objective Value” in Hegel’s work. (Microfilm #10960)

Why Phenomenology? Hegel’s Absolute: A Summary/Lecture Notes of a Presentation given by Raya Dunayevskaya as found in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development

Guide To The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection

Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of Its World Development

The full collection (12,000 pages) is available on microfilm from Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan 48202.


Sit-in at Univ. of Texas

Austin, Texas—On Oct. 7, a group of 50 people organized by A Luta Continua/The Struggle Continues a multi-issue, progressive student organization at the University of Texas (UT), staged a sit-in at the UT President’s office. They were demanding: 1) an end to repressive policies of the university against Blackland, 3) the right of the homeless to occupy the boarded-up homes of the East Side of rigidly segregated Austin. UT has been attempting to acquire a new campus on the East Side of Austin. UT President’s office.

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Government complicity in Sudan famine

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Hundreds of thousands of people in the Southern Sudan, an 18,000-square mile area, are in a famine situation. Nearly 10,000 people have died since June. On Oct. 10, the Sudan government ordered the discharge of all military personnel dictating that food not be delivered in the south, officials said, because with the exception of trade unions, the south is not controlled by the rebels.

Finally, on Oct. 12, the Sudanese government allowed a small barge carrying food to enter into the south. Up until then, "relief" had been limited to provisioning government-controlled regions. This has led to a situation in which the government still controls. The government has also given heavy arms to Muslim ethnic groups in the region, in addition to the obvious law enforcement needed to prevent murder, torture and enslavement.

One reason for the government's lack of action is the Muslim North have moved to re-impose Islamic (Sharia) law on the entire country, despite the fact that the South is mainly non-Muslim. President Sadiq al-Mahdi came to power on a platform of secularizing Sudanese law with the Southern-based Sudanic Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) led by John Garang. Those negotiations failed because Sadiq al-Mahdi could not keep his end of the bargain, and today he is running headlong into the relationship with the reactionary Islamic Front.

Also, in October, new Sharia-based "law" was promulgated, imposing a $250 a week fine for those who actually receive their weekly subsistence allowance. The SPLA/V (Sudan People's Liberation Army/Popular Front) is led by John Garang, and is the only instrument with which to fight the Sudanese government.

In response to the Sudanese government, the SPLA/V has embarked on the largest missile attack in its history. In addition, the SPLA/V has begun a massive military buildup, including the purchase of tanks and other heavy arms from the Chinese. This has led to the government's decision to re-impose Islamic law on all of Sudan.

Despite the government's efforts, the SPLA/V continues to carry out a successful guerrilla war against the government. In the last six months, the SPLA/V has launched a series of operations against the government forces, including the seizure of several government towns. These operations have forced the government to retreat and have led to a significant reduction in the government's control over the southern region.

In response, the government has launched a massive counter-offensive, including the deployment of additional troops and the initiation of air strikes. However, these efforts have not been sufficient to stop the SPLA/V's advance, and the government continues to lose territory.

The government's decision to re-impose Islamic law on all of Sudan has been met with widespread opposition from the southern population. The SPLA/V has vowed to continue its struggle against the government, and has called on international allies to provide support.

The situation in Sudan is extremely serious, and there is a need for immediate international intervention to prevent further violence and bloodshed. The international community must provide support to the SPLA/V to enable it to continue its struggle against the government, and to provide assistance to the southern population who are suffering from the government's policies.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, imperialism, and all forms of oppression. We support the rights of workers, women, and other oppressed groups in their struggle for freedom and equality. We believe in the power of the people to change their own destinies, and we support movements that work towards this goal.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the founding of the Muselet, a student newspaper at the University of California, Berkeley. It has published articles in the original form as a "new humanism" and in its re-conceptualization of the "humanist" philosophy.


The Humanist Projects, a collection of essays on the growth of Marxism-Humanism, is the result of a series of seminars held at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1965. The seminars were attended by a number of prominent figures in the field of Marxism-Humanism, including Frantz Fanon, Raya Dunayevskaya, and others. The seminars were sponsored by the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees.

The collection contains over 10,000 pages of correspondence, documents, and other materials relating to the development of the Dunayevskaya Collection-Marxist-Humanism. The collection is an important resource for scholars and students interested in the growth of Marxism-Humanism.