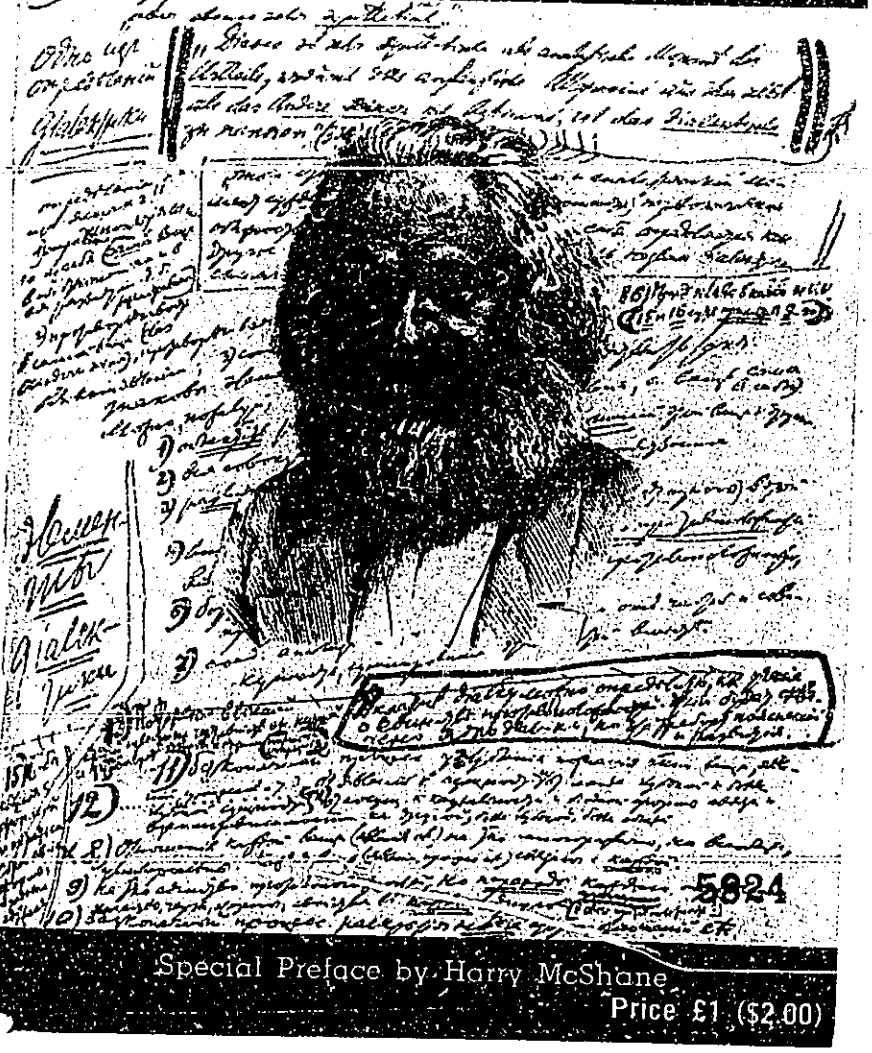
MARX'S *CAPITAL* and TODAY'S GLOBAL CRISIS

by raya dunayevskaya



Special Preface by Harry McShane

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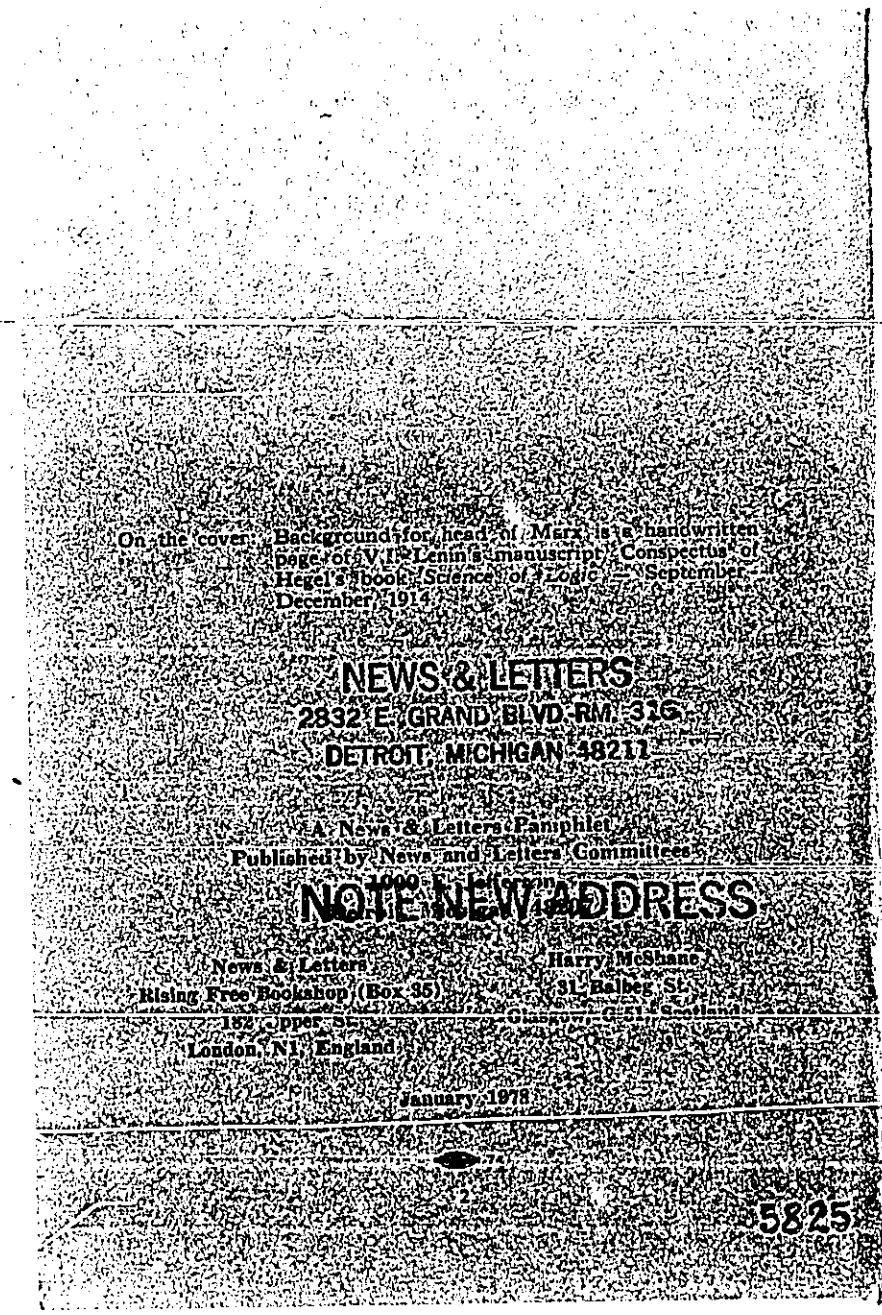

On the cover: Background for head of Marx is a handwritten page of V.I. Lenin's manuscript "Conspectus of Hegel's Book 'Science of Logic'" — September - December, 1914

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

by Harry McShane

IT IS CERTAINLY a compliment to be asked to write a Preface to another work by the tireless, sincere and scholarly author, Raya Dunayevskaya. She never lets up in her efforts to unearth and make use of what is basic in Marxist theory and to tie that up with the practical tasks that must be undertaken in order to extricate mankind from the prison of capitalism that stands in the way of human development. This work comes at a time when too many of our fellow human beings have become deplorably indifferent about the future of humanity. The only school of thought that points to a future for mankind is that of Marxism. It must, however, be Marxism resurrected from the bog of futility and obscurity into which it was put by leaders who used it as nothing more than a label.

Retrogression is visible in industry, politics, and without a doubt, in the field of theory. The more often our political guides use the word "strategy," the clearer it becomes that they are dazed by the problems that they find insoluble. Retrogression gets deeper in modern society. That is why Raya Dunayevskaya calls for urgency; a call directed to the masses, the only force that can bring retrogression to an end and open up the way to human emancipation. The choice is between the downhill road of human degradation, on the one hand, and human development on the other. The future rests with the masses.

The thought of the transformation of society coming from the masses is an indispensable element of Marxist theory fully expressed in the writings of both Marx and Lenin. Those who dispute it have shut their eyes to the facts of history. Raya Dunayevskaya refers to the Paris Commune and how it affected Marx. The new kind of order initiated by the people of Paris won the admiration of Marx. What Marx said about this exciting historical episode should be read by all who would like to probe the depth of Marx's revolutionary thinking. It was in the Commune that the act of self-government by the masses was initiated in such a way as to influence Marx, and, some years later, Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution. Bringing to life the admiration expressed by Marx, the author says, "The armed people smashed parliamentarianism. The people's assembly was not to be a parliamentary talking shop but a *working* body."

One is tempted to devote more space to the Paris Commune than is permissible here, but the question must be put: Who, before reading the points made by Raya Dunayevskaya, suspected that the Paris Commune had any bearing on Marx's *Capital*? Labour, as she says, was released from the confines of value production "which robs the workers of all

individuality and reduces them merely to a component of labour in general." The author points out that new additions were introduced into the French edition of *Capital*. Marx makes the point himself. Before leaving this reference to the Paris Commune, it seems appropriate here to recall that Lenin, writing in 1919, accused leading socialists in Germany of failing "to understand the significance of Soviet, or proletarian democracy, in relation to the Paris Commune, its place in history, its necessity as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Lenin, of course, said much more than that on the Paris Commune, and attached great importance to it.

When Raya Dunayevskaya writes of change coming from below she thinks not only of the world in which Marx lived; she relates the basic philosophy of Marx to the world of conflict in which we live and sees there the choice facing humanity. The dangers that confront us are so serious that unless some force exists that is capable of transforming society we may as well throw our hands up in despair. The force produced by the history and economics of capitalism is the proletariat on which rests the realization of the universal desire for freedom innate in the make-up of every member of the human race. This concept of movement confirms what the author attributes to Hegel and Marx. There is little fear of her meeting with serious opposition in that. When connecting Marx with Hegel on dialectical movement, as she does in all her works, she has the support of Marx himself.

There is something else that connects Marx with Hegel; it is something that Marx took from Hegel, but found it a reality in capitalist production. The word "alienation" has found its way into the vocabulary of many Marxists, but, too often, is passed over lightly and often forgotten. It is important that the process of exploitation under capitalism be understood by all, but there is much more than that in *Capital* if we look for it. Raya Dunayevskaya renders a service by re-producing the chapters on all three volumes of Marx's *Capital* that formed part of her book, *Marxism and Freedom*. These chapters had an enlightening effect on the writer of this Preface. It became clear that there is more in Marx's *Capital* than economics. It would be marvelous if rank and file members of the labour movement could all be persuaded to read these chapters.

The process of exploitation on which capitalism rests is shown in the early chapters of *Capital*, but too many readers of that work thought that sufficient, not knowing that the philosophy that drove him along finds expression there. There is the picture of how the worker is dominated by the products of his labour plus the picture of the road to freedom. Freedom, above all else, is what Marx is concerned about. Raya Dunayevskaya gives emphasis to what Marx meant when referring to the division of labour, the domination of the worker by the machine and "the fragmentation of man."

Now that a new interest is developing, here in Britain, in Marxist education, one would hope that use will be made of this particular section of Raya Dunayevskaya's work. It is well to recall the fact that, for many years, Marxist economics featured strongly as part of the curriculum in classes of the Labour movement. John Maclean was said to have the largest class in Europe on Marxist economics — when he was not in prison for his political activities.

We are no longer justified in regarding Marx as just a brilliant economist. The philosophy that runs through *Capital* was deep-rooted in Marx and actuated him through his life. It dates from the days when he called himself a Humanist — before he wrote the *Communist Manifesto* along with Engels. The author pulls the writings of Marx together and views the world situation from the Marxist-Humanist viewpoint. With Marx she sees Communism as only the beginning; as a stage mediating the higher development of man as a result of his own creative activities. This viewpoint necessitates a look at Russia where, in 1917, the greatest stride towards the goal of Communism was taken.

Before anyone else, Raya Dunayevskaya, who had been in the revolutionary movement for years, boldly declared that Russia had marched in the opposite direction to that set by Lenin and his fellow Bolsheviks. She made an original analysis of the economy of Russia in support of her contention that Russia had been completely transformed into a state-capitalist society. She led a minority to the Trotskyist movement on this issue. The regime in Russia has nothing in common with the Marxist aim of human liberation or the call of Marx for "the development of human power which is its own end." State-capitalism is a rapidly growing trend throughout the world, with the result that the democratic pretence of the rulers is becoming more apparent. The banner of liberation must be raised by the people below. It is this aim that gives purpose to this work by Raya Dunayevskaya.

It seems remarkable that it is the elements of Marxist thought ignored for many years by Marxist theorists that the author sees as important if we are to understand either Marx or Lenin. Why Marxist writers tried to minimize the significance of Marx's acknowledgement to Hegel is difficult to understand. Revolutionaries may not know it, but through Marx we all owe a debt to Hegel. We are enriched by his discovery of dialectics even if Hegel confined it to the world of thought. It is just as puzzling why so little has been said by the same writers about Lenin making a study of Hegel after the collapse of the Second International in 1914. In his *Philosophic Notebooks*, Lenin saw that thought in the mind of the human being can be creative. As against the old type of materialism expounded by many Marxist writers, to Lenin dialectics was the proof of working people changing society. The reluctance of Marxists to give sufficient attention to the *Humanist Essays* that Marx produced in 1844 is likewise puzzling. This abundance of

material is presented by the author to give fresh meaning to Marxism.

Just as Marx and Lenin would, the author repudiates any suggestion that theory and practice can be separated. They are related dialectically. The present situation should bring about their higher unity; this is the author's purpose. She has identified herself with the concrete struggles for freedom in East Europe, in Africa and in America. She has thrown herself into the Women's Liberation movement now gathering strength, just as she has participated actively in the Black movement for more than a quarter of a century.

In this new work, as in all she writes, she makes visible the banner of freedom. What is basic for her is the curtailment of freedom under the present social order. The how and why of it is explained in the chapters on Marx's *Capital*. It is important that these chapters be read by all interested in the industrial disputes and the problem of unemployment. Why is it that in Britain while the balance of payments is improved by the flow of North Sea oil, the number of unemployed has jumped to a record figure? What produces the problem of investment? What events caused Marx to make changes in the structure of *Capital*?

The recent virulent racialism and openly Nazi National Front activity in Britain are today compelling even the bureaucratic Labour leaders to take a second look at Marx's famous statement: "Labour in the white skin cannot be free so long as labour in the Black skin is branded." This was neither beautiful rhetoric, nor intended only for the U.S. audience. It is so relevant to our day and age on both sides of the Atlantic that ours is the generation that can fully understand Marx's restructuring of *Capital* under the impact of the Civil War in the U.S. and the consequent struggles for the shortening of the working day both in Great Britain and in the U.S.

The top politicians who have been tinkering with the economic problems plaguing this society have long since given up hope of getting any solution from the writings of the late Lord Keynes or anyone else. They would do well to read Raya Dunayevskaya on Karl Marx.

There is nothing dull in her writing. The reader feels that he or she is being allowed to see the picture. The road — the only road to freedom and human emancipation — is there for all to see, even if it is hard and up-hill.

Glasgow, Scotland
October 31, 1977

Introductory Note

There is now available to the English-speaking public, in a new Pelican edition, a more accurate and beautiful translation of Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I, by Ben Fowkes. The relevance of Marx's work to an analysis of today's global crisis, and the need to answer the vulgarization of Marx's *Capital* contained in the Introduction by the Trotskyist-Marxist, Ernest Mandel, makes the publication of this pamphlet especially urgent. The British and United States Marxist-Humanists therefore asked me to write a special Introduction to the republication of the four chapters on the three volumes of *Capital* that first appeared in *Marxism and Freedom*, herein reproduced exactly as originally written in 1957, except, in the case of footnotes, (1) page references to the Kerr edition of *Capital*, Vol. I, will also include the corresponding pagination of the new Pelican edition; (2) the expansion with new material of several footnotes; and (3) a new postscriptum added directly to p. 80, Chapter VI, on the Paris Commune. The reproduced chapters follow the pagination of this pamphlet. I have also appended a critique of Tony Cliff. — R.D.

AUTHOR'S SPECIAL INTRODUCTION

Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's *Capital*[1]

by Raya Dunayevskaya, author of
Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao and *Marxism and Freedom, From 1776 Until Today*

> *Accumulate, accumulate! That is the Moses and the prophets! . . . Accumulation for the sake of accumulation, production for the sake of production: this was the formula in which classical economics expressed the historical mission of the bourgeoisie in the period of its domination. Not for one instant did it deceive itself over the nature of wealth's birth-pangs.*
>
> Marx, *Capital*

> *If Marx did not leave behind him a* "Logic" *(with a capital letter), he did leave the* logic *of* Capital *. . . the history of capitalism and the analysis of the* concepts *summing it up.*
>
> Lenin

> *It has often been claimed — and not without a certain justification—that the famous chapter in Hegel's* Logic *treating of Being, Non-Being, and Becoming contains the whole of his philosophy. It might be claimed with perhaps equal justification that the chapter dealing with the fetish character of the commodity contains within itself the whole of historical materialism . . .*[2]
>
> Lukacs

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1 The Pelican Marx Library edition of Vol. I of Marx's *Capital* (Penguin Books, London, 1976) includes as "Appendix" the first English translation of the famous "Sixth Chapter" of *Capital* from the Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. II (VII).

2 *History and Class Consciousness*, p. 170. See my article "Lukacs' Philosophic Dimension" in *News & Letters*, Feb. and March, 1973. See also Lucien Goldmann's speech, "The Dialectic Today," given at the 1970 Korcula, Yugoslavia Summer School (published posthumously in the collection of essays *Cultural Creation in Modern Society*, Telos Press, 1976). The speech acknowledges the correct chronological as well as philosophic "recovery" of Hegelian categories in Marxism and their actualization in the period 1917-23, by correctly stating that first came Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, second came Lukacs' *History and Class Consciousness*, third was Gramsci. All others — from Plekhanov to Kautsky, from Mehring to even Lenin *prior* to 1914 — were simply acting as positivists whose "academic science" was materialism. Goldmann adds that it was not accidental, because 1917 actualized the dialectic, and 1923, with the defeat of the German revolution, signalled the end of the dialectical renaissance.

MARX'S GREATEST theoretical work, *Capital*, has once again marched onto the present historic stage even among bourgeois ideologues, since there is no other way to understand today's global economic crisis. Thus, *Business Week* (6-23-75) suddenly started quoting what Marx was saying on the decline in the rate of profit as endemic to capitalism. It even produced official graphs from the Federal Reserve Board, the Department of Commerce, Data Resources, Inc., as well as its own data, all of which goes to show that the post-World War II boom has ended in a slump in the rate of profit. They have stopped laughing long enough at Marx's alleged "false economic theories" to show that, not just in theory, but in fact, Marx's analysis of "the law of motion of capitalism" to its collapse, "insofar as a decline in the rate of profit" is concerned, is reality.

While, with the "economic upturn" in 1975, the authors hoped it was only a "passing phenomenon," by the end of 1976 (12-27-76), *Business Week* didn't sound quite so optimistic. Thus, while it still gloated over the 30 percent increase in net profits, it could not skip over the following determinates:

(1) the low *rate* of growth; (2) the hardly moveable high rate of unemployment of 7 percent officially, which does not change the truth that this is "average," but among Black youth it is at the fantastic rate of 34.1 percent; (3) the volatile undercurrent of dissatisfaction in the relationship between the underdeveloped countries and the industrialized lands to whom they are indebted at an impossible-to-meet $60 billion; (4) hard-core inflation of 6 percent as against the 1-2 percent inflation characteristic of most of the 1960s. Moreover, this "hardcore inflation" is actually *not* what it is, but what it is hoped it will be brought down to; and (5) the unevenness of growth within the country, which shows that so basic an industry as steel has undergone a 17 percent drop in growth. At the same time, so bleak is the international outlook that *Business Week*, in summing up the outlook, cannot exclude even depression: "If Washington fails, fears of new world depression will intensify."

The capitalists may not be ready to "agree" with Marx, that *the* supreme commodity, labor-power, is the only source of all value and surplus value, but they do see that there is such a decline in the *rate* of profit compared to what *they* consider necessary to keep investing for expanded production, that they are holding off — so much so that now their ideologists are saying low investment is by no means a temporary factor that the capitalists would "overcome" with the next boom. *There is to be no next boom.* It is this which makes them look both at the actual structural changes — overwhelming preponderance of constant capital (machinery) over variable capital (living labor employed) — as well as the *world* production and its interrelations.

Thus, the "miracle" of post-World War II West Germany has stopped, as has the "miracle" of Japan. The *Financial Post*[3] ran a special piece on "West Germany: The Troubled Giant" pointing to the fact that there is a visible crack in the "social peace" (though the government got organized labor not to demand "extraordinary" wage increases). Not only that, but the nuclear issue, besides encountering U.S. opposition to West Germany's nuclear reactor sales to Brazil, produced at home such massive anti-nuclear demonstrations that even the German courts had to ban further nuclear power stations "until the issue of waste disposal had been resolved." Meanwhile, actual capital investment in real, rather than inflated, prices has fallen for three years in a row -- and unemployment keeps increasing.

As for Great Britain and Italy, no significant recovery has yet begun. With oil revenue expectations, prospects may not be as grim for Britain as for Italy, but unemployment there has now officially reached 1.4 million — highest since the Depression. Prime Minister Callaghan immediately admitted that he could see only more unemployment in the immediate future, as public spending cuts demanded by the International Monetary Fund take effect. In Italy, inflation is currently running at 20 percent, and oil price increases have so devastated the economy, that no growth at all is forecast for 1977. Other forecasts — in Europe, and in the underdeveloped world — are either only marginally better, or worse.

By 1977, it was not only an academic — the serious bourgeois economist, Simon Kuznets — who, ever since the end of World War II, maintained that the "emergence of the violent Nazi regime in one of the most economically developed countries of the world raises grave questions about the institutional basis of modern economic growth — if it is susceptible to such a barbaric deformation as a result of transient difficulties."[4] It was a high Western government leader, none less than the President of France, Giscard d'Estaing, in 1977 who questioned the survival of the capitalistic system. Solzhenitsyn-inspired, retrogressionist intellectuals complain that capitalism has seen the emergence of a "strange siren whose body is capital and whose head is Marxist."[5]

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3 *Financial Post*, Special Report: "West Germany: The Troubled Giant," by Peter Foster (Toronto, 9-17-77).

4 Simon Kuznets, *Postwar Economic Growth*. See also his *Capital in the American Economy*.

5 The *Barbarism with a Human Face* calling itself "The New Philosophy" by its guru, Bernard-Henri Levy, hails from the same famous university that produced Althusser in the early 1960s, and in the mid-1970s had produced this Solzhenitsyn-inspired elitism with the ex-Althusserite, André Glucksman, who now calls Solzhenitsyn "the Shakespeare of our time." Their works have not yet appeared in English, but a preview of them can be read in *The Manchester Guardian* (6-26-77), "Despairing Voice of France's Lost Generation," by Walter Schwarz. As against this critique, the "Le Monde" section of *The Manchester Guardian* (7-10-77) published a panegyric by Philippe Sollers.

But U.S. governmental statistics show good cause for those capitalistic headaches: the biggest increase in poverty since 1959 occurred in 1975 and has persisted. No less than a rise of 10 percent in the number of poor, totaling now 25.9 millions, are below poverty level. That means that no less than 12 percent of all Americans had an income of less than $5,500 annually for a family of four.

That this — the fifth post-World War II recession — is so hard to come out of, has brought the capitalists themselves face-to-face with the reality that the overriding fact of present-day capitalist economy is the decline in the rate of profit as well as poverty, unemployment *and* stagnation.

IT IS THE AGE of state-capitalism as a *world phenomenon*. This development has no more solved its deep economic crisis than when full state-capitalism came to a single nation, Russia, China, etc. As for inflation, it is true that the deep recession, which was triggered by the quadrupled oil prices after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, was by no means the only reason for the double-digit inflation, any more than that "sickness in the economy" could be ascribed, as Big Capital wishes to ascribe it, to workers' wages. The overwhelming reality is this: Just as monopoly growth inhibited national economic growth, so the oil cartel has actually lowered world economic growth.

As opposed to the 1950s and early 1960s, when Western Europe held attractions for capitalism with its cheaper labor and latest technology, in the 1970s U.S. capital has added a new incentive for world capital: a safe haven for its investments, now that European capital has decided the U.S. proletariat is not as revolutionary as the European workers. As against the oil monopolists who are spending their billions on buying Western technology and military hardware, and whose actual investments in the U.S. are not directed to the capital goods market, West German, French and British capital *is*. However, so deep is the economic crisis in the U.S. and in the world that such European investment in the U.S. is likewise only a palliative, even as the massive superprofitable investments upholding apartheid South Africa[6] cannot sub-

6 A single glance at U.S. investments in South Africa shows them to be both massive and growing. Where, a decade ago, U.S. companies had $600 million invested in that apartheid land, it has skyrocketed to no less than $1.46 billion in 1974 (the last year for which data is available). Further projects are being built by Kennecott Copper and Caltex Petroleum (owned jointly by Standard Oil of California and Texaco, Inc.). Moreover, some Canadian-sounding names are mainly American-owned, as witness Quebec Iron & Titanium, two-thirds owned by Kennecott and one-third by Gulf and Western Industries, which has a 39 percent interest in a proposed $290 million mining and smelting complex. As one State Department official explained, "the large and growing role" (no less than 15 percent of total foreign investment in South Africa is U.S.!) of U.S. investments is because "businessmen don't have to fear their operations in South Africa are going to be nationalized . . ."

5835

stitute for the insufficient investment capital and plant expansion in the U.S.

Thus, Lawrence A. Veit, International Economist and Deputy Manager at Brown Brothers, Harriman & Co. (not to mention his previous position as economist at the State and Treasury Departments), openly speaks of a "premature cyclical downturn"[7] rather than what Ernest Mandel calls "the generalized economic recession coming to an end in 1975."[8] Further, Veit points not only to the economic problems, but "the changing attitudes to work itself among the younger generation." Here it can already be seen that *serious* bourgeois analysts do see that the question of Alienated Labor is not "just theory." It is concrete. It is urgent. It affects the "premature cyclical downturn."

The deep recession, in the U.S. and globally, is by no means over, though some who consider themselves Marxists like Mandel think that it has come "to an end in 1975." The false consciousness that has permeated even economists who are revolutionaries emanates from the fact that capitalism has, in the post-World War II period, come up with ways of keeping the economy going, stopping short of the type of Great Depression, 1929-32 (actually until 1939), that led to World War II. Since this time it would lead to World War III, it is "unthinkable," because it would, of necessity, be a nuclear war that would end civilization as we have known it.[9]

Under these circumstances, consider the irony of a famous Trotskyist economist, Ernest Mandel, who holds that the present deep recession "has come to an end."[10] Under the guise of praising "the validity of parts of Marx's *Capital* [which] extend also into the future," Mandel hangs upon Marx's shoulders his (*Mandel's*) analysis of state-capitalist monstrosities as "not yet fully-fledged classless, that is socialist, societies: the USSR and the People's Republics of Eastern Europe, China, North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba."[11]

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7 *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1977, "A Troubled World Economy."

8 Ernest Mandel, "A Hesitant, Uneven and Inflationary Upturn," *Intercontinental Press*, 11-29-76.

9 Even that "unthinkable" war is now flirted with by the U.S. rulers with the latest horrifying approval by the Carter Administration of the neutron bomb. As I wrote in the 1977-78 Perspectives Thesis: Nothing in Hitler's Germany, from the "secret weapon" with which Hitler threatened world destruction, to the actual genocide he practiced within his domain, is any match for the *actual* military technology now in the hands of the superpowers, U.S. especially. What dehumanized creature could compete with the super-scientist-military-industrial complex of State Planners which dares describe a bomb as "clean" because, though this neutron bomb can mass kill by radiation, it leaves property intact! (See "Time Is Running Out," *News & Letters*, Aug.-Sept. 1977.)

10 *Intercontinental Press*, 11-29-76.

11 Ernest Mandel's Introduction to the Pelican Marx Library edition of Vol. I of Marx's *Capital*, p. 16. All other references to the Introduction and to Vol. I will include the pagination directly in my text.

That this can pass muster with Penguin Books "in association with *New Left Review*" which is the editor of their Pelican Marx Library speaks volumes for the sad state of today's scholarship. Whether, in this case, the choice of Mandel has come about by virtue of his name as author of *Marxist Economic Theory*, or otherwise, is their problem, not ours. Elsewhere I had already criticized that work. There [12] I have shown that, while bourgeois ideologues were enamored with Mandel's statement that he had "strictly abstained from quoting the sacred texts," it was not true, as *The Economist* claimed, that it was because Mandel replaced "Marx's Victorian facts and statistics by contemporary empirical material." Rather, it was because Mandel tailended the Keynesian *theory* of "effective demand." Here what concerns us is not so much Mandel's "Marxist analysis of contemporary material" as Mandel's utter perversion of nothing short of Marx's monumental work, *Capital*.

Capitalism's ways of containing its economic crises within recession level, rather than uncontrollable Depression, is judged by Mandel to be a "stabilizer," even though it is precisely that type of concept that led to the collapse of the established Marxist (Second) International with the outbreak of the First World War. Where that shocking event had Lenin return to Marx's origins in Hegel, and the dialectic of transformation into opposite, today's Marxists plunge not only into the latest series of economic "facts" sans any dialectical rudder, but also to a violation of the dialectical structure of Marx's *Capital* itself. That, too, is not "just theory," but that which gives, *or could give when not violated*, action its direction.

It becomes necessary, therefore, not to limit oneself to the economic-political data of the year, but have that data be a new beginning for the battle of ideas which refuses to be shifted back and forth empirically between the theoretical and the practical and vice versa, *both* reduced to the immediate level. Bereft of Hegelian-Marxist[13] dialectics, not to mention the *strict relationship* of workers' revolt against the "Accumulate, accumulate!" exploitative relationship, one can hardly escape trying to hem in the analysis of today's crises within the bounds of bourgeois — private and state — ideology, and thus inflict structuralism and the latest twist in pragmatism on Marx's greatest *original* work, *Capital*.

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12 See "'True Rebirth' or Wholesale Revision of Marxism?", *News & Letters*, May and June-July, 1970.

13 I hyphenate Hegelian-Marxian, not to state my own view and thus taunt the vulgar materialist-scientists like Althusser and Mandel, but because in the very section of Marx's own Postface to the second edition of *Capital*, to which Mandel refers to "prove" that Marx was a materialist, not "idealist," dialectician, Marx writes: "The mystification which the dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general forms of motion in a comprehensive and conscious manner" (p. 103). And within the text itself, as we know, Marx further stresses that Hegelian dialectics is the "source of *all* dialectics."

IN OUR DAY, we have the situation where a new French translation of *Capital* is introduced by that official Communist-structuralist, Louis Althusser, who stooped to pseudo-psychoanalysis to express his venom against Marx's *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic* as "the prodigious 'abreaction' indispensable to the liquidation of his [Marx's] 'disordered' consciousness"[14] And, for the English world, the beautiful new translation of *Capital* is, as we saw, burdened with an introduction by the Trotskyist epigone, Ernest Mandel, who spreads himself over some 75 pages of "Introduction."

From the very beginning — in the first section Mandel dares entitle "The Purpose of *Capital*" — he does not merely peddle his view of Russia as "socialist," and does not only seek to disjoint the "scientific" from its revolutionary content, but unashamedly hooks these views to "the distinction" Marx drew between "utopian and scientific socialism," as if Marx would not have stopped short of tolerating forced labor camps!

That the two — the new edition of Marx's *Capital,* and analyses of today's global crises — do not hang apart, but are integrally related, is clear enough. What is clearer still is that Mandel is presenting, not Marx's views, but his own. No wonder he also sees "stabilizers" in private capitalism's development, though, as revolutionary, he wishes that overthrown. Vulgarization of Marxism has its own dialectic. It is necessary, therefore, to disentangle Marx from Mandel, to remain rooted in Marx's philosophy of liberation *as a totality,* and to face with sober senses the alienated world reality that must be uprooted if we are to release the revolutions-to-be from the crisis-ridden state-capitalist age.

It is not a question of needing "to know" Marx's *Capital* "in order correctly" to be able to analyze today's global crises. Rather, it is that today's economic crises *compel* one not to separate economics from politics, and not only as the capitalists naturally do from their class point of view, but objectively as the antagonistic relationships *at the point of production* are seen to produce market crises created in production.

Thus, it is not just that the "investment drought" is a great deal more than just "hesitant." What is interesting in the *Foreign Affairs* analysis of "The Troubled World Economy" is that it recognizes that inseparable from that pivotal "investment drought," even when there is some growth, is the rise in energy cost which means that, along with the rising cost of automated equipment, too much value is invested, com-

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14 *For Marx*, p. 35. Althusser's new Preface to the French edition of *Capital*, Vol. I., is reproduced in the British edition of *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, pp. 69-101. See also my "Critique of Althusser's Anti-Hegelianism," *News & Letters*, Oct. 1969.

pared to labor productivity, when so little living labor is being used in production. Therefore it is telling "the West" not to be overly happy with their "petro-recyclers," that is to say, Big Capital's way of getting those oil billions from the four-fold increase of prices back from the Middle East potentates, and into its own hands by selling machinery and military hardware.

The point is that the recession is so deep, so internal, as well as so linked with the *world* market, that the highly industrialized countries are not programming great expenditures for new plants and equipment. This is at a time when profits are high, and so shaky are European economies and so great the fear of revolutions (or at least "Communists in government"), that the U.S. has become a magnet for foreign capital investment even as Europe was that magnet for U.S. Big-Capital's investment going abroad in the 1950s.

Finally, even bourgeois economists understand that the centerpiece, the nerve, the muscle as well as the soul of all capitalist production is labor — the extraction from living labor of all the unpaid hours of labor that is the surplus value, the profits — and that, therefore, neither the market, nor political manipulation by the state, nor control of that crucial commodity *at this moment* — oil — can go on endlessly without its relationship to the life-and-death commodity: labor power. *Foreign Affairs* concludes: "cartels don't have infinite lives . . . and thus will one day narrow the conditions between prices of energy and cost of production."

One would think that so erudite an economist as Mandel knows the relationship of value to price, and I do not doubt that *abstractly* he does. But watch what he does as he hits out at Marxists who have criticized him for attaching too much importance to the market. He lectures them thusly:

> ". . . the capitalist mode is the production of commodities . . . this *production* in no way implies the automatic *sale* of the commodities produced . . . the sale of commodities at prices yielding the average rate of profit . . . in the final analysis."[15]

As if this vulgarization of Marx's analysis of the dialectical relationship between production and its reflection in the market crisis were not far enough a distance from Marxian "economics," Mandel reaches for Marx's most crucial analysis of the unemployed army as *"the absolute general law"* of capitalist production. Here is how he strips the "absolute general law" to fit, in answer to the monetarist Prof. Brunner's bourgeois defense of the need to lower inflation, even though its "price is unemployment":

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15 *Intercontinental Press*, 11-29-76.

> "There can be no better confirmation of the analysis of Karl Marx made in *Capital*, more than a century ago: in the long run capitalism cannot survive without an industrial reserve army . . ."

Though one acquainted with Mandel's economist specialization should be accustomed to the many ways he has of turning Marx upside down, this is enough to make one's hair stand on end. Far from saying that capitalism "cannot survive without an industrial reserve army," Marx says "*the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation*" — the unemployed army "and the dead weight of pauperism" — would bring capitalism down. The antagonistic character of capitalist accumulation sounds "the knell of capitalist private property. The expropriators are expropriated" (p. 929).

Now it isn't that Mandel doesn't "know" such ABCs of Marxism. It is that a pragmatist's ideology is as blinding as the "science" of today's myriad market transactions, and one extra moment's look at the market, away from irreconcilable class contradiction at the point of production, and the inescapable turns out to be the violation of the Marxism of Marx! It is high time to turn to Marx's methodology in his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*. It was no accident, whatever, why, *precisely why*, Marx refused to deal with the market until after — some 850 pages after — he dealt dialectically and from every possible angle with the process of production. It is time we took a deeper look at Mandel, away from the market, as "pure" theoretician and revolutionary.

As we showed before, Mandel, from the very first section of his Introduction to *Capital* — "The Purpose of *Capital*" — tries to hang on Marx a 20th-century epigone's contention that Russia is "socialist." By the end of that section, Mandel has separated Marx's "scientific . . . cornerstone" by still another restatement about capitalism creating "the economic, material and social preconditions for a society of associated producers" (p. 17). Such "rock-like foundation of scientific truth" left out but a single word — "*freely*" (my emphasis). Freely is the *specific* word, concept, living reality that was *the* determinate of Marx's "objective and strictly scientific way" not only of distinguishing his analyses from all others, but characterizing his *whole life*. Marx's own words read:

> "Let us finally imagine, for a change, an association of free men, working with the means of production held in common . . . The veil is not removed from the countenance of the social life-process, i.e., the process of material production, until it becomes production by freely associated men, and stands under their conscious and planned control." (p. 171, p. 173)

Marx's sentence is from that greatest and most concise of all sections in *Capital*, on the dialectical method. Though dialectics is not only method, but the dialectics of liberation, the last section of Chapter 1 of

Capital — "The Fetishism of Commodities" — makes no entrance in Mandel's section entitled "The Method of *Capital*." In my text that follows from *Marxism and Freedom*, I have gone into great detail on the relationship of the historic experience of the Paris Commune to Marx's dialectical concept of the "fetishism" of the commodity-form. Here it is sufficient to point to the fact that neither friends nor enemies, no matter how "new" and "independent" they thought their own philosophy to be, (as, for instance, Sartre's Existentialism[16]), has denied the pivotal role of that section to any comprehension of Marx's *Capital*, especially its dialectics.

Fetishism contained Marx's very original dialectic, which, though rooted, as is all dialectics, in the Hegelian, has a live, concrete, revolutionary subject — the proletariat. This is not "a political conclusion" tacked onto economics. Rather, it is the "variable capital" in its live form of the wage worker who, *at the point of production*, is so infuriated at the attempt to transform him into "an appendage" to a machine, that he rises up — from strikes to outright revolutions — to uproot the old society and create totally new, truly human relations as *freely* associated men. Mandel, however, as we saw not only makes no mention of the section on Fetishism,[17] but perverts the whole concept of freedom by reducing "*freely* associated men" to just "a society of associated producers." And so proud is he of his interpretation that that phrase becomes, literally, the final word of the whole Introduction (p. 86).

Marx, on the other hand, after devoting a lifetime to completing Vol. I of *Capital* in 1867, did not feel satisfied with his concretization of "the fetishism" of the commodity-*form*. It was only after the Paris Commune, as he worked out the French edition of *Capital*, 1872-75, that he reworked the section yet once again, *and* called attention to it and other changes by asking all to read that edition as "it possesses a scientific value independent of the original and should be consulted even by readers familiar with the German" (p. 105).

AS FOR LENIN, it took nothing short of the outbreak of the First World War and the collapse of the Second International, *and* his own restudy of Hegel's *Science of Logic* in that cataclysmic period, to write:

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16 See Sartre's *Search For A Method* and *Critique de la Raison Dialectique*. See also my critique "Jean-Paul Sartre: Outsider Looking In," Chapter 6, *Philosophy and Revolution*, pp. 188-210.

17 By no accident whatever, Mandel's half-sentence reference (p. 74) to the existence of the section on "Fetishism of Commodities" is in what could be called the sales section of his Introduction, "Marx's Theory of Money."

> "It is impossible completely to understand Marx's *Capital*, and especially its first chapter, without having thoroughly studied and understood the *whole* of Hegel's *Logic*. Consequently, half a century later none of the Marxists understood Marx!!"[18]

Evidently, Mandel thinks he has done Lenin one better when, in explaining dialectical method, he points to the fact that Marx's dialectical method helps "pierce through new layers of mystery" not alone by contrasting appearance to essence, but in showing "why a given 'essence' appears in given concrete forms and not in others" (p. 20). Too bad it made Mandel think that he has pierced through that mystery, not by sticking with the *specificity of the commodity-form*, but by plunging into "sales," to which he adds "real history." What he fails to cite is that the *real history* of that first chapter, as well as its dialectics, is exactly what, in 1943, Stalin ordered excised in the "teaching" of *Capital*.[19]

On the contrary, Mandel skips over both the fact *and the why* of Stalin's "academic" order in the midst of the holocaust and, instead, hails as a "rebirth of true Marxism" the 1954 codification of that very revision of the law of value in the *Textbook of Political Economy*. The Russians labored 10 years before they could write as if that had always been the interpretation of Marxian economics. Mandel begins there straightaway.

This is not because Mandel is the brilliant one. The Russians have a 20-year priority in that field. But the Communist state-capitalists *had to*, first — upon the direct orders of Stalin — make the admission that they were changing "the teaching" of Marxian political economy. They then *had to* make sure that the texts prior to 1943 did a "disappearing act" in order, from then on, to begin writing without further ado about the "orthodox" interpretation of the law of value. Above all, they had to work out the consequences of the break with the structure of *Capital* which reveals not only the exploitative nature but also the perversity of capitalism: The machine is master of man, which gives rise to the fetishistic appearance of commodities and presents the relations between men as if they were mere exchange of things.

Then, and only then, could the Russian theoreticians, Stalinized and "deStalinized," write as if the startling 1943 revision was "Marx-

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18 Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 180.

19 This was first revealed in the article in *Pod Znamenem Marxizma* (*Under The Banner of Marxism*), No. 7-8, 1943. However, the magazine did not reach this country until 1944, at which time I translated it into English and it was published in the *American Economic Review*, No. 3, 1944, under the title, "Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union." See also Will Lissner in the *New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1944. The controversy in this country, on the startling reversal in Marxian teachings, continued in the pages of the *American Economic Review* for an entire year. See especially Paul Baran's "New Trends in Russian Economic Thinking," December, 1944. My rebuttal, "Revision or Reaffirmation of Marxism," *American Economic Review*, No. 3, appeared in September, 1945.

ism." It isn't that the erudite Mandel hadn't "read" the controversies. Rather, the loss of memory was planned for purposes of presenting a "true rebirth": "After Stalin's death, and especially after the effects of Khrushchev's reforms had been exhausted, Soviet economic thought underwent a true rebirth."[20]

Mandel's "real history" turns out to be a complete jumble — "presuppositions," plus mixing up dead and living labor: "Commodity production as a basic and dominant feature of economic life *presupposes* capitalism, that is a society in which labor-power and instruments of labor have themselves become commodities" (p. 21, my emphasis). Turning Marx so far upside down that "instruments of labor" are on the same level as the *differentia specifica* of capitalism — labor power as a commodity — cannot but lead to his climactic separation of logic and history: "In that sense it is true that the analysis of Vol. I of *Capital* is logical (based upon dialectical logic) and not historical" (p. 21).

Now Marx *methodologically* left the genuine historic origins of capitalism to the end of the volume, so that its *tendency* — *law* of motion, not, as Mandel would have it, laws of motion — should not become a matter of diverting us from what is the result of strict, commodity-production capitalism, no matter how that "first dollar," so to speak, was obtained. Just as trying to take Chapter 1 out of its structural order (as Stalin felt compelled to do in 1943 *as he prepared to make sure that the workers in post-World War II Russia would work hard and harder*) was a total violation of the dialectical structure of Marx's *Capital*, so, too, is Mandel's mixing up the "real history" of the rise of capitalism instead of presenting it dialectically. Marx moved it to the end, *not* because there is a division between history and dialectics, but because dialectics contains both, and, *therefore*, the discernment of the law of motion of capitalist production, strict commodity production, could be grasped best when one limited oneself to capitalist production and capitalist production alone.

Marx never tired of repeating that his original contribution was the split in the category of labor — abstract and concrete labor; labor as activity and labor-power as commodity; labor as not only the source of all value which includes surplus value, but the subject who would uproot it. So "single purpose" a revolutionary theoretician was Marx in all his multitudinous and basic discoveries that, though he devoted some 850 pages (it is over 1,000 pages in the Pelican edition which includes the famous heretofore unpublished "Chapter 6" of the Archives) in Vol. I to that question, he no sooner started Vol. II than he repeated: "The peculiar characteristic is not that the commodity labor-power is saleable, but that labor-power appears in the shape of a commodity."[21]

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20 Ernest Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory*, p. 726.
21 *Capital*, Vol. II, p. 37.

Mandel, however, is convinced that — once he has "explained" what he calls "historic dimension"[22] as being the opposite of the eternal; and contrasted appearance to essence where nevertheless appearance is significant; and then separated logical from historical where nevertheless "the logical analysis does reflect some basic trends of historical development after all" (p. 22) — he has thereby been faithful to Marx, as against those "from Bernstein to Popper" who called for the "removal of the dialectical scaffolding" as "mystical." Mandel thereupon plunges into "The Plan of *Capital*," as if that were only a matter of dates and pages, instead of the actual restructuring of *Capital* on the basis of what did come not only historically, but *from below*.

What Marx did, in restructuring *Capital*, was based on these struggles from below — the workers' struggle for the 8-hour day and the Civil War in France where the Paris Communards had "stormed the heavens." There was no State Plan, no State Property, no Party. The Commune's greatest achievement, he concluded, was "*its own working existence*" (my emphasis).

But what does Mandel choose to illustrate what a commodity is? Here is his definition: "If a pound of opium, a box of dum-dum bullets or a portrait of Hitler find customers on the market, the labor which has been spent on their output is socially necessary labor" (p. 43-44). Nothing could possibly be a more total absolute opposite of what Marx analyzed in socially necessary labor *time* which, in the case of capitalism, is "dead labor dominating living labor" and, in the case of socialism, is the "place for human self-development."

Mandel is oblivious to all this. Instead, he writes of "Marx's key discovery: theory of surplus value," as if that too involved mostly market, sales, money — the whole distributive sphere which Marx held would blind us not only to the primacy of relations of production, but make us, indeed, fall victim to the fetishism of commodities, which freely — *and only freely* — associated men can possibly strip off.

Marx, however, was so determined to stress the freedom that he warned the Paris Communards that unless control is totally in their own hands, even cooperative labor can become a "sham and a snare." He returned to the subject in Vol. II of *Capital*:

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[22] "The historical principle" is exactly what the Russians used as the reason for cutting out Chapter 1 of *Capital*. As I wrote in my commentary then (1944): The ideas and methodology of the article are not accidental. They are the methodology of an "intelligentsia" concerned with the acquisition of "surplus products." What is important is that this departure from "past teaching of political economy" actually mirrors economic reality. The Soviet Union has entered the period of "applied economics." Instead of theory, the article presents an administrative formula for minimum costs and maximum production. It is the constitution of Russia's post-war economy.

> ". . . we must not follow the manner copied by Proudhon from bourgeois economics, which looks upon this matter as though a society with a capitalist mode of production would lose its specific historical and economic characteristics by being taken as a unit. Not at all. We have in that case to deal with the aggregate capitalist."[23]

TODAY'S GLOBAL CRISES elicited from Mandel what is not obvious in his Introduction to Marx's *Capital*, but in fact underlies his total *misconception*, and that is the concept of an existing equilibrium — and in our crisis-ridden age, at that. Thus, as he got to the "Deeper Causes" in his analysis of "A Hesitant, Uneven, Inflationary Upturn," he cited what in fact characterizes all his books and articles, and that is Kondratiev's "long wave theory."

The fact that the editor — *New Left Review* — of this new edition of Marx's *Capital* can, in two succeeding issues of *New Left Review*, both praise Mandel's *Late Capitalism* and also catch the revisionism[24] both of Marxism *and* Trotskyism inherent in Mandel's adherence to Kondratiev's "long wave theory," shows the confusion prevalent in all modern-day Marxist theoreticians who try to keep away from the theory of state-capitalism, leaving all their "newness" contained in the time-abstraction of "Late Capitalism" — not to mention academicians à la Daniel Bell who call it "post-industrial." As if the transformation into opposite of Lenin's into Stalin's Russia were a mere *passing* "historical detour," from which "dark interlude" it "slowly began to emerge in the 1950s" (p. 85), Mandel shows further how very "au courant" he really is by referring not only to James Burnham's *Managerial Revolution* of the early 1940s but also Galbraith's "technostructure" *New Industrial State* of the 1960s (p. 81), not to mention Paul Samuelson's concept of "mixed economy" — every thesis except the real issue which tore Trotskyism apart before World War II, and wreaked havoc within Stalinism in the post-World War II period and is continuing to this day in Eastern Europe.

What did split Trotskyism and what is at issue at this very moment, whether we look at the global crisis of "the West" or the whole world and its "restructuring," especially the North-South dialogue, is the question of the class nature of Russia.[25] To treat the question seriously, we must

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23 *Capital*, Vol. II, p. 503.

24 *New Left Review*, #99, Sept.-Oct. 1976, "The Theory of Long Waves: Kondratiev, Trotsky, Mandel," by Richard T. Day: "No amount of subtlety can overcome the basic fact that, in Trotsky's view, long-waves — or long cycles — were incompatible with a Marxist periodization of the history of capitalism."

25 It isn't that Mandel doesn't know of the class nature of Russia that was designated as state-capitalism. Ernest Mandel happened to have been the person who debated me in 1947 when I presented the theory of state-capitalism, which I

neither stop at journalistic phrases, nor at Mao's late discovery *after* he broke with "deStalinized" Russia and first then began to designate Russia as "state-capitalist." No, we must begin at the beginning, when Marx first projected, in the crucial, famous, irreversible French edition, 1872-75, the idea that the law of concentration and centralization of capital would reach its ultimate when "the entire social capital was united in the hands of either a single capitalist or a single capitalist company" (p. 779).

Now, though Mandel does even less about this addition to *Capital* than he did with fetishism, which he mentioned in a single phrase, the fact is that this is not all Marx said of the ultimate development of concentration and centralization of capital. Nor is it only that his closest collaborator, Frederick Engels, who edited Vols. II and III of *Capital*, added some statements about Marx's prediction of monopoly. The additions to the 1872-75 French publication were, in turn, followed by *Anti-Dühring* upon which Marx collaborated with Engels. It reads:

> "The more productive forces it (the state) takes over, the more it becomes the collective body of capitalists, the more citizens it exploits . . . State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict . . ."

Far from "ownership" alone determining the class relationship, Marx, from his first break with bourgeois society in 1843, through his leadership in the Workingmen's (First) International Association in 1864, to his death in 1883, never varied from "dead labor dominating living labor" as *the* determinant of capitalism.

As always, however, it is only when a concrete objective crisis makes philosophy a matter of concrete urgency for revolutionaries, that theory becomes "practical." It was not only when the Second International collapsed along with private, competitive capitalism, that Lenin saw the dialectical transformation into opposite, the counter-revolution *within* revolution. He saw it in the workers' state itself. He worried about its *revolutionary* leadership — its main "theoretician," Bukharin, and *his* mechanical materialism. Lenin suddenly feared that his co-leader was not "fully a Marxist" since he "did not fully understand the dialectic."

It wasn't a question of the word, "state-capitalism." Bukharin had used the expression "state-capitalism." So did Leon Trotsky who, in 1919,

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was the first to work out from original Russian sources on the basis of the first three Five Year Plans, when the Russians were still denying the operation of the law of value in their "socialist land." (See "Analysis of the Russian Economy," *New International*, December, 1942, January, 1943, February, 1943; and again in December, 1946 and January, 1947. After World War II, I analyzed the fourth Five Year Plan, "New Developments in Stalin's Russia," in *Labor Action*, October, 1946.) Following that conference of the Fourth International, the French Trotskyist theoretical journal, of which Mandel was an editor, published my article on the Varga controversy (see *Quatrieme Internationale*, Jan.-Feb. 1948.)

in the *First Manifesto of the Third International*, wrote:

> "The state control of social life for which capitalism so strived, is become reality. There is no turning back either to free competition or to the domination of trusts . . . The question consists solely in this: who shall control state production in the future — the imperialist state, or the state of the victorious proletariat?"

Now it is true that Trotsky recognized this only theoretically, and, in fact, did not accept state-capitalism as the designation for Stalinist Russia, though he fought Stalinism and held that "The Revolution [Was] Betrayed." It is not true that Lenin didn't see both state-capitalism and its absolute opposite — the revolutionary, self-determining subject, the proletariat that was the whole, without which there was no new society. Which is why his *Will* was almost as adamant against the "administrative mentality" (Trotsky and Bukharin) as against the one whose removal he demanded — Stalin.

In any case, once World War II ended, and capitalism had also learned "to plan" and "to nationalize," Varga saw no signs of a general economic crisis coming any earlier than a decade hence, whereupon Stalin had the whole Institute of World Economics turn against him. Varga was made to repudiate his written view of the post-war economy as any new stage of world economy. Maria Natovna-Smit was left standing alone, defending the position that the stage of world economy was "state-capitalism" and quoting Lenin, who had seen its element in World War I:

> "During the war, world capitalism took a step forward not only toward concentration in general, but also toward state-capitalism in even a greater degree than formerly."[26]

Just as Stalin buried Lenin's first grappling with elements of state-capitalism, so the Trotskyist epigones evaded the whole theoretical question of state-capitalism in Russia, which had led to such deep splits in the Fourth International, that Mandel now (and not only in his journalistic writings but in his new book *Late Capitalism*) has "rehabilitated" Kondratiev and his long-term equilibrium analysis!

In Stalinist Russia, with its Draconian laws against labor, and dehumanized forced-labor camps, the 1943 revision in the law of value was followed by Zhdanov's 1947 revision in philosophy, which invented nothing short of "a new dialectical law" — "Criticism and Self-Criticism" — in place of the objectivity of the contradiction of class struggle and "negation of negation," that is to say, proletarian revolution. De-Stalin-

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26 Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXX, p. 300 (Russian edition). The Stenographic Report of that debate was published in English by Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1948.

ized Russia did nothing to change this wholesale revision of Marx's Historical-Dialectical Materialism.

Mandel's bringing in "history" now is indistinguishable from Stalinism's claim that the commodity-form and law of value have existed before capitalism and after, and are not "only" capitalistic. It is sad, indeed, to have to record also that Trotskyism, despite the fact that Trotsky had always fought Stalinism, thus not besmirching any concept of socialism, nowadays keeps its political battles so far afield from its economics and philosophy that its major leader, Mandel, can actually hail Russian post-war revisions as a "true rebirth" of Marxism.

The result is a violation of both Marxian theory and practice, not only "in general," but as it affects the view of the present global crises, not just on the question of analysis of any set of crises. The question goes far beyond any "rejiggering of the world's economic balance sheet" by playing around with the latest bag of tricks on bourgeois *and* developing countries, such as "indexing" the prices of raw materials.

The point is that, even if one didn't wish to accept our analysis of state-capitalism as *the* total contradiction, absolute antagonism in which is concentrated nothing short of revolution, *and counter-revolution*, one would have to admit that the totality of the contradictions compels a total philosophic outlook. Today's dialectics is not just philosophy, but dialectics of liberation, of self-emancipation by all forces of revolution — proletariat, Black, women, youth. The beginning and end of all revolves around labor. Therein is the genius of Marx, who, though he wrote during a "free enterprise, private property, competitive capitalistic era," saw that, instead of plan vs. market chaos being the absolute opposites, the chaos in the market was, in fact, the expression of the hierarchic, despotic plan of capital *at the point of production*. "Materialism" without dialectics is "idealism," *bourgeois* idealism of the state-capitalist age. As I pointed out in my critique of Mandel's *Marxist Economic Theory:*

> No wonder that the bourgeois reviewers were so pleased with Mandel's view of the market mechanisms acting as "stabilizers." Mandel wanted to synthesize the overproduction, underconsumption disproportionality theories of crises with Marx's, which is related strictly to the law of value and surplus value. But as Marx said of Proudhon, "He wishes to be a synthesis, he is a composite error."[27]

September 21, 1977
Detroit, Michigan

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27 *Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 228.

APPENDIX

Tony Cliff Reduces Lenin's Theory To "Uncanny Intuition"[1]

If Marx did not leave behind him a "Logic" *(with a capital letter), he did leave the* logic *of* Capital *. . . Intelligent idealism is closer to intelligent materialism than stupid materialism. Dialectical idealism instead of intelligent; metaphysical, undeveloped, dead, crude, rigid instead of stupid."*

Lenin, *Philosophic Notebooks*[2]

To grasp the meaning of Lenin's book [Imperialism], *unlike that of let us say, Rosa Luxemburg's* (The Accumulation of Capital) *or Hilferding's, one does not have to be familiar with Marxist economic writings.*

Tony Cliff, *Lenin, Vol. Two* (pp. 59-60)

MARX'S *CAPITAL* has gone on many adventures after the author's death, 1883. These became tortuous after the death of his lifelong collaborator, Engels, 1895. The first revolutionary to question Marx's theory of expanded reproduction was the very one — Rosa Luxemburg — who, with her brilliant pamphlet, *Reform or Revolution?*, had bested the revisionists who challenged Marx's "economic theories" and accused them of being weighted down by a "dialectical scaffolding." It wasn't that Luxemburg ever denied that battle of ideas,

1 Tony Cliff, *Lenin, Vol. Two, All Power to the Soviets* (Pluto Press, London, 1976), p. 378. Pagination references to this book will appear directly in the following text.

2 Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38 (Foreign Languages, Moscow, 1961), p. 319. The references to Lenin's works in my text which follows, as in my preceding Introduction, cite this volume. In the preceding chapters on *Capital*, however, the references were to my own translation of Lenin, which was published as "Appendix B" to the 1958 edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, as no "official" translation was then available. I was the first to translate into English Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic*." When Moscow finally published Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* in English, they not only left out Adoratsky's Introduction to the first Russian edition of 1930, but also the Lenin Institute's listing of what books Lenin called for, not just in Bern, 1914-16, but in Russia after taking power. It bears repeating Adoratsky: "Despite the fact . . . of the extreme situation and the necessity to give all attention and all energy to practical questions, Lenin continued to interest himself in questions of philosophy. This is evident from his readings . . . On June 24, 1921, he asked for a Russian translation of Hegel's *Logic* and *Phenomenology of Mind* . . . Lenin not only read but wrote on the question and philosophy. Nine-tenths of the remarks on Bukharin's *Economics of the Transition Period* concern the question of method."

but the horrid emergence of imperialism from the latest capitalist development led Luxemburg to question "what" *Engels* "made out of" the manuscripts Marx had left for Vols. II and III of *Capital*, especially Vol. II. In any case, the debates over her greatest theoretical work, *The Accumulation of Capital* (1913) — whether it was, as she claimed, a "supplement," or a revision — were still on when the greatest of all shockers befell Marxist revolutionaries: the betrayal of the German Social Democracy at the outbreak of World War I.

Under the circumstances, Lenin (who had made an outline of his critique of Luxemburg's work which he considered a new version of underconsumptionism not unlike the Narodniki[3]) changed his mind. Instead, he embarked on something totally new, and totally apart from what all other Marxist revolutionaries who had not betrayed were doing. Lenin, *at one and the same time*, along with taking the most extreme anti-war position, calling for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war, plunged into the study of Hegel's *Science of Logic*. Oh, yes, *Capital* was still the theoretic determinant, but Lenin was not arguing on the basis of what he or any other Marxist had written about it. Instead, Lenin proceeded to probe Marx's own roots in the Hegelian dialectic.

No doubt, his colleagues, had they known what he was doing in the Bern library when the world was, literally, going to pieces, would have thought it a strange sight to see him poring over Hegel's *Science of Logic* and concluding all Marxists (himself included, obviously) had not "completely" understood Marx's *Capital*, "especially its first chapter," since "it is impossible" to do so "without having thoroughly studied and understood the *whole* of Hegel's *Logic*" (p. 180). Later Lenin hit out especially hard against "the father of Marxism" in Russia, so recognized by all, especially Lenin, as *the* greatest Marxist philosopher:

> "Plekhanov wrote on philosophy (dialectics) probably about 1,000 pages . . . Among them, *about* the larger *Logic*, in connection *with* it, its thought (i.e., *dialectics proper*, as philosophical science) nil!!" (p. 277)

Long before Lenin had reached the end of the *Science of Logic*, he experienced a shock, *not* of betrayal, as with the German Social Democrats and with Plekhanov, *but of recognition*. Here is how Lenin first expressed his elation:

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3 *Leninski Sbornik*, Vol. 22 (Russian only) contains his outline of the article he intended to write. See following text, p. 105, for further detail. "The Theoretic Mistakes of the Narodniki" was, originally, Chapter 1 of Lenin's first major work, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. (Since that chapter had been left out of the English edition, I translated it during my debates on state-capitalism. See *New International*, October, November and December, 1943.)

> "Movement and '*self*-movement' (this NB!) . . . who would believe this is the core of 'Hegelianism,' of abstract and abstruse (ponderous, absurd?) Hegelianism?? . . . The idea of universal movement and change (1813 *Logic*) was conjectured before its application to life and society. In regard to society it was proclaimed earlier (1847) [*Communist Manifesto*] than it was demonstrated in application to man (1859) [*Origin of Species*]." (p. 141)

From then on, Lenin began to work out the integrality of philosophy and Marx's economic categories. Thus: "Hegel's analysis of syllogisms—U(niversal), P(articular), I(ndividual) — recalls Marx's imitation of Hegel in Chapter I [of *Capital*]" (p. 178). As we see, it was not just a question any longer of contrasting Essence vs. Appearance, which all Marxists had been ready to accept, along with "the materialist conception of history" as signifying economic structure as basic vs. ideological superstructure, or production as more fundamental than the market. No, by then Lenin was in the "idealist" Doctrine of the Notion.

Indeed, Lenin was to stop longest in the final chapter, "The Absolute Idea," precisely because he had worked out so new a relationship of ideal to real that he could write: "Alias: Man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but creates it" (p. 212). Which didn't mean that Lenin went up into the wild blue yonder. Quite the contrary. Every writing he then embarked on became the theoretic preparation for proletarian revolution. His philosophic break became the Great Divide in Marxism.

He no sooner finished reading the *Science of Logic* than on January 5, 1915, he addressed a letter to *Encyclopaedia Granat*, for which he had written the essay, "Karl Marx." He was trying to recall it in order to make "certain corrections in the section on dialectics . . . I have been studying this question of dialectics for the last month and a half and I could add something to it if there was time . . ." Evidently there was no time — or at least the bourgeois *Granat* found no time — to allow Lenin to make his correction. Lenin then decided that he no longer could accept any other Marxist's analysis of imperialism, although he had just a few months earlier favorably introduced Bukharin's study of imperialism and the world economy.

CONTRAST THIS history to Tony Cliff's listings. His chronology does list: "23 August/5 September: Lenin arrives in Berne (Switzerland)" — and then proceeds to mention that Lenin presented his thesis on war to a Bolshevik conference. But neither there, nor in the whole 411 pages of text, Notes and Index of his second volume of the three-volume study of Lenin does Tony Cliff utter a single word that

Lenin repaired to the library to study Hegel's *Science of Logic* and that Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's *Logic*" took from September to Dec. 17, 1914, to complete [4] — after which followed 1915 and more "On Dialectics," and everything from *Imperialism* to *Marxism and the State*, the first version of *State and Revolution*.

Tony Cliff's *Lenin* is a most curious compilation. Though subtitled "All Power to the Soviets," and although it follows the first volume which already had centered on "Building The Party" (and is so subtitled), it is that same vanguardist theme that permeates Vol. Two as well. Indeed, the Foreword explains that the reason for the book, when Trotsky's monumental *History of the Russian Revolution* had already covered that period so magnificently, is the latter's "serious defect": "The one thing noticeably missing is the Bolshevik Party: its rank and file, its cadres, its local committees, its Central Committee" (p. ix).

So weighted down is Tony Cliff with the concept of the vanguard party to lead and the "calibre of leadership," that he does not deign so much as to mention the philosophic break Lenin experienced at the shock of the simultaneity of the outbreak of World War I and the collapse of the Second International, and that all his political battles, not only with the Social Democrats who betrayed but with his Bolshevik co-leaders who didn't betray, were grounded in his new concept of dialectics.

A Marxist economist like Tony Cliff is so little concerned with Hegelian dialectics 62 years after Lenin's break that he fails to see the relevance of Lenin's study of Hegelian dialectics either to *Marx's* "economic" works or to Lenin's *Imperialism*. The miniscule Chapter 4, of five pages, Tony Cliff devotes to the question, with the excuse that he will deal with it in his third volume "which will deal with the Communist International." He will then develop *his* theory (his, not *Lenin's*, analysis of imperialism). He, of course, has a perfect right to his own views of imperialism. But that cannot be used as ground for not facing Lenin's theory at the time *when*, and the manner in which Lenin developed it. He only thereby proves that eclecticism, bereft of methodology, cannot appreciate methodology in others, in Lenin especially, *because* his own so totally deviates from that revolutionary vision which is in-

4 In Vol. One, (*Lenin: Building The Party*, 1975), Cliff does have one single reference (p. 291) to "dialectically terse and lively *Philosophic Notebooks*" at the point where he criticizes *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. One would have thought that, even if Cliff had no time for concretizing his terse single statement on the *Notebooks*, his preoccupation with the Party should have led him to see that, Stalinist detractors notwithstanding, Lenin himself had not a word on "partyness of philosophy." Instead, Cliff's point is that it was supposedly only "in the period of reaction after the revolution" that "Marxist philosophy inevitably came to the fore" (Vol. One, p. 289). No wonder he could not see the *Notebooks* as Lenin's philosophic preparation for revolution.

separable from the concept of revolutionary Subject (the proletariat) as both force and Reason.

The ground for this reductionist attitude to Lenin as theoretician was, in fact, laid in Tony Cliff's first volume, where Cliff writes: "It was hardly an exaggeration for the Bolshevik historian M. N. Pokrovsky to write, 'You will not find in Lenin a single purely theoretical work; each has a propaganda aspect.'"[5] Whatever it was the "Bolshevik"[6] meant by "purely theoretical," it is clear that what Tony Cliff thinks of as "pure theory" is "pure *economics*."

Thus, when he does deign to praise Lenin, he condescendingly stresses that Lenin's writing a "popular pamphlet does not mean that he did not work hard on it," and then points to the fact that, as against the "booklet" *Imperialism*, the *Notebooks on Imperialism* are "a massive 739 pages," stressing especially that Lenin "read and annotated 148 books and 232 articles" (p. 59). For Tony Cliff, the unfortunate part here is that, very obviously, he has *not*[7] read those 739 pages. Had he read them[8], he would have seen that, from the start, Lenin was by no means only out for data, though that is massive, but had read philosophic works, from Lange's *History of Materialism* to Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*.

Whether Lenin had made as copious notes of the *Phenomenology* as of the *Science of Logic* we cannot know, as the Moscow Institute did not bother to inform us whether Lenin made them and they were lost, or he never annotated it. But there is no doubt that he had read it, and there is no doubt that the "phenomenon" of imperialism, and the "attitude" to it, owes much to the work. (Incidentally, Lenin had also made careful note, in his "Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic*," of the references Hegel himself made to his *Phenomenology*, which Hegel originally conceived as the "Introduction" to *Logic*.)

Tony Cliff remains unmoved, deaf to the integrality of philosophy in Marx's or Lenin's economic works. He is so preoccupied with "the breadth of analysis of Luxemburg or Hilferding," not to mention Buk-

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5 Cliff, *Lenin, Vol. One*, p. 256.

6 Outside of the fact that, having belonged before World War I to Trotsky's Mezhrayontsy (Interdistrict) organization and afterward, becoming a complete Stalinist, Pokrovsky wasn't exactly an "Old Bolshevik" in the traditional sense, he does fit Lenin's reason for not attributing "significance to the desire to hold on to the word 'Bolshevism,' for I know *some* 'old Bolsheviks' from whom may God preserve me." ("The Nascent Tendency of 'Imperialist Economism'" was Lenin's reply to Bukharin. This thesis, along with Bukharin's, Trotsky's and all tendencies within the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, etc. is included in *The Bolsheviks and the World War*, by Olga Hess Gankin and H. H. Fisher (Stanford University, California, 1940), which remains the best compilation of documents for that period.

7 Cliff's reference is not to the *Notebooks on Imperialism*, but to a May, 1959 article by L. G. Churchwood in *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*.

8 *Notebooks on Imperialism* (Russian edition), Moscow, 1939, p. 3.

harin, that he brings out this further "proof" of Lenin's failure of a theoretical grasp — "the realization of surplus value, which for Rosa Luxemburg became so central, [is] not even mentioned in Lenin's booklet," and that, my dear readers, Tony Cliff assures us, "is not accidental" (p. 60).

Now it is hard to believe that the erudite Tony Cliff, who is penning a three-volume study of Lenin, has not bothered to acquaint himself with what Lenin thought of Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*. He has left himself the loophole of revealing all in the as-yet-unpublished Vol. Three of *Lenin*. But he would first then again violate the historic chronology. In any case, let me help him find it. In *Leninski Sbornik*, Vol. 22, pp. 343-348, Lenin commented on Luxemburg's work soon after it was published in 1913[9]. He outlines what he intends to write in his critique:

"ROSA LUXEMBURG'S UNSUCCESSFUL SUPPLEMENT TO MARXIST THEORY
For example:

I. 14 years ago. The Narodniks against the Marxists. Legal Marxists and Social Democrats.
II. R. Luxemburg's Perversion.
III. Posing of the theoretical problem.
IV. Rosa Luxemburg's ("supplement"). Criticism. Anti-criticism.
V. Rosa Luxemburg's "supplement." A failure.
VI. Dialectics and eclectics.
VII. Imperialism and realization of surplus value. (Rothstein, etc.)"

Lenin's *Essay on Karl Marx* is, of course, also a "popular pamphlet," so it may not have interested Tony Cliff, but there, too, Lenin lists Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital* in his bibliography of Marxist works as "an incorrect interpretation of Marxist theory." And if Tony Cliff insists on "purely theoretical" works, then do please let him read Lenin's "Theoretic Mistakes of the Narodniki," not to mention *Imperialism*. Yes, *Imperialism*.

Instead, Cliff leads up to Chapter 4 by telling us (in the chapter on the National Question) that "many of the leading comrades in Russia did not understand why Lenin was so vehement in his opposition to Bukharin" (p. 56 footnote), and in the very chapter on *Imperialism*, skips to Lenin's *Will* (12/23-24/1922) to quote Lenin on Bukharin as

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9 I have reproduced more of Lenin's Commentary from *Sbornik*, Vol. 22, in my debates on Luxemburg in *New International*, March, 1943. My 1944 critique of Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital* was reproduced on the 100th anniversary of the publication of Marx's *Capital*, as Appendix to my *State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism* (News & Letters, 1967).

the "biggest theoretician," without so much as mentioning that a "*but*" follows:

> "but his [Bukharin's] theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxian, for there is something scholastic in him. (He has never learned, and I think never fully understood, the dialectic.)"

WHAT IS THIS dialectic that made Lenin say — and not just in a polemical way, but in his *Will* — that his Bolshevik co-leader, Bukharin, who had never betrayed, who was always a revolutionary, who was, in fact, "the favorite of the whole party" and a "major theoretician," was "not fully a Marxist" because he had "never fully understood the dialectic"? The very work that Tony Cliff considers so theoretically superior to Lenin's popularization was the one that Lenin had first introduced favorably, but after grappling with Hegel's dialectic, found so non-dialectical that he undertook his own study. Lenin reiterated his departure from Bukharin's "economism" also after conquest of power, when Bukharin's *Economics of the Transition Period*[10] once again demonstrated a lack of "dialectics," that is to say, disregard of the proletariat as Reason, as Subject.

Secondly, and foremost, Lenin found Bukharin's opposition to self-determination not just bereft of the "dialectic of history," but so total an impediment to working with new national revolutionary forces, such as the Irish revolutionaries, that he designated Bukharin's position as nothing short of "imperialist economism"! Again Lenin had to repeat his opposition to Bukharin's stand against self-determination after conquest of power, both in his debates on the new Program of the Party, and on the International.

Tony Cliff's singular empiricism — like all empiricism, bereft of all methodology — is beyond comprehending Lenin's theory — theory, not just a "popular outline." By leaving out Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks,* Cliff not only skips over "philosophy," but the dialectics of liberation as self-developing Subject, that is to say, the actual masses in revolt. Thus, by no accident whatever, in the chapter on the "National Question," on which Cliff is supposed to agree with Lenin, not Bukharin, he has not a word to say about the Irish Revolution. Whether or not that, too, has been left by Tony Cliff for "Volume Three," it nevertheless was *the* concrete "topic" under discussion. What was decisive then were live revolutionaries. Their appearance on the historic stage had sharpened to a fever pitch all the tendencies fighting Lenin's *theoretic* position.

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10 The English translation of Bukharin's *Economics of the Transition Period* (Bergman Publishers, N.Y., 1971) includes Lenin's Critical Remarks of the work.

Tony Cliff chooses to begin the discussion on the National Question with the position of the Austrian Socialists in the 19th century, but it was not that debate, nor even Poland, 1912, when the National Question was still debated just as "principle," nor the Bund, that was at issue during World War I. Though Cliff still keeps away from referring to the Easter Rebellion, he is finally forced to quote Lenin:

> "The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an *independent* factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the *real* anti-imperialist force, the socialist proletariat, to make its appearance on the scene."

But meanwhile they hadn't; 1917 was still to be. And when it did come, it was preceded by Lenin's *State and Revolution* that was first begun in those same critical years, 1914-16, when Lenin was grappling with Hegelian dialectics as philosophy, as politics, as economics, as self-developing Subject. "The dialectics proper" — Lenin's phrase — had to be shown as "the living tree of living, fertile, genuine, powerful, omnipotent, objective, absolute human knowledge" (p. 363).

Having eliminated this from his study of Lenin, it is no wonder that Tony Cliff reached the climax of his comprehension — I mean *non*-comprehension — of Lenin by singling out Lenin's "uncanny intuition. In a period of great changes, the number of unknown factors, not only in the enemy camp, but also in our own, is so great that sober analysis alone will not suffice. An unsurpassed ability to detect the mood of the masses was Lenin's most important gift." This reductionism, we must remember, is not something said only in Chapter 4 devoted to "Imperialism," or on any other single subject, but in the very last chapter, "Lenin Calls Up the Insurrection," on the penultimate page.

Cliff doesn't get any less arrogant as he moves from Chapter 4 to attributing "uncanny intuition" to Lenin in Chapter 19, praising "strategy" on the ultimate page of his work, where he writes: "The crucible of October furnished the supreme test of his [Lenin's] strategy and of the calibre of his leadership of the party and the class" (p. 379).

IT IS OF LITTLE matter whether Tony Cliff ever frees himself from the unbridgeable gulf he has dug between theory and practice, economics and politics, philosophy and revolution, as well as between leadership and ranks, and whether he will finally (i.e., in the last volume) attribute "theory" to Lenin's new universal that the population "to a man, woman and child" either controls production and the state, or we return "back to capitalism." Lenin's admonition to the party, that socialism cannot, *can not*, "be introduced by a minority, a party," will stand:

> "Every citizen to a man must act as a judge and participate in the government of the country, and what is most important to us is to enlist all the toilers to a man in the government of the state. That is a tremendously difficult task but socialism cannot be introduced by a minority, a party."[11]

What does matter is that these points of departure in theory and practice have not become ground for working out what is urgent for our age, not only on the integrality of philosophy in economics, but in the relationship of spontaneity to organization. Elsewhere[12] I have shown that, though too many who consider themselves Marxists are forever clinging to the Party, Party, Party — as if Lenin had clung to the 1902 Social Democratic vanguard party concept unchanged — Lenin had actually changed his views many times. What is crucial here is what has happened in our age.

Lenin's break with his philosophic past began with Marx's *Capital* in hand, came to fruition the same way in the greatest proletarian revolution, and ended in the same way as he hit out against Bukharin's "economism" and lack of dialectics. Very obviously, Marx's *Capital's* adventures haven't ended yet, and no doubt will not end until we actually have achieved classless society on truly human foundations. But isn't it high time, 53 years after Lenin's death and all the aborted and incompleted revolutions since, that we at least rediscovered what Lenin had learned about the relationship of dialectics to economics, politics, revolution — in a word, dialectics of thought and dialectics of liberation? Irrespective of the correctness or "incorrectness" of what the position on any single issue was, or what later data occurred, shouldn't revolutionary Marxists instead be preoccupied with whether we are headed in the direction Marx thought was the goal — "the development of human power which is its own end, the true realm of freedom . . ."[13]

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11 Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 320. What is crucial also is Vol. IX, especially Lenin's debates with Bukharin and Trotsky on the Trade Unions.

12 For the period 1903-1923, see *Marxism and Freedom*, Ch. XI, "Forms of Organization: The Relationship of the Spontaneous Self-Organization of the Proletariat to the 'Vanguard Party'" and Ch. XII, "What Happens After." For the latest on the whole question of spontaneity and *apartidarismo* (anti-partyism), the Portuguese Revolution is most important. See *Portugal: Key Documents of the Revolutionary Process* which reproduces many documents and manifestoes of the Portuguese Revolution (People's Translation Service, 1735 Allston Way, Berkeley, Cal. 94703). See also my analysis "Will the Revolution in Portugal Advance?" (*News & Letters*, Jan.-Feb., 1976) and Perspectives 1977-78, "*It's Later, Always Later* — except when spontaneity upsurges and you realize *it* is here and now, and *you* aren't there and ready," published by News & Letters.

13 Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 954.

5858

'Battle of Ideas': a syllabus for study

APRIL, 1978

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION
and Marxism and Freedom

(Editor's Note: A series of classes around our new pamphlet, Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis, is currently being held in several cities across the country. We print below, for the interest and use of all our readers, excerpts from a special syllabus prepared for these classes by Raya Dunayevskaya.)

Introductory Note: Nothing is more crucial for the actual struggles of liberation than the way one prepares, theoretically, for revolution. Though the single word, dialectics, sums up both aspects and projects the needed self-reorganization in such historic dimensions as Lenin's in his encounter with Hegel's, Science of Logic at the simultaneous outbreak of World War I and collapse of the Second International, no word is less understood and more degraded. The latest twist is achieved by the erudite Roman Rosdolsky. His synonymous use of the word, dialectic, with the word, methodology, is only to reduce both to mere presupposition. And, while he supposedly follows Lenin's warning that, without understanding "the whole of Hegel's Logic . . . it is impossible completely to understand Marx's Capital," he—by no accident—leaves out the last three words of Lenin's generalization: "especially Chapter 1." Rosdolsky thus arrives at the absurd conclusion, now that he has Grundrisse at hand, that "one no longer has to bite into the sour apple (Hegel's Science of Logic) . . . One can arrive at the same end, directly by studying the Rough Draft," that is to say, the Grundrisse. (The Making of Marx's Capital, p. 570.)

Marx decided to put aside the Grundrisse, not just because of the economic laws he was tracing through to their culmination in the "law of motion" of capitalism's collapse, but because of the emergence of "new passions and new forces" for the reconstruction of society.

Rosdolsky hardly mentions a single objective event that happened in that decade between Grundrisse and Capital. One cannot get a whiff of what happened between the first edition (1867) and the second (1872-5) which followed the Paris Commune and which Marx asked the reader to read even if he had already read the first, as it contained new changes (especially in the Fetishism of Commodities and Accumulation of Capital) which contained "scientific value independent of the original."

Instead, Rosdolsky so clings to the Grundrisse that it is difficult to see why Marx changed the "Rough Draft," why, in a word, Capital alone is Marx's final statement on his new continent of thought—Historical Materialism, Dialectics of Liberation, Dialectic of Thought . . .

It is no accident whatever that Rosdolsky's ultimate chapter touts the Polish Stalinist, Oskar Lange, who is the very professor who led off the attacks on me in the mid-1940s for my revealing the Russian revision of Marx's analysis of the law of value and the break with the dialectic structure of Capital.

This is the breaking point with Marxism for our age. Stalin initiated it in 1943; up to then his transformation of the first workers' state into its opposite, a state-capitalist society, had not dared to lay hands directly on Marx's greatest theoretic work. By the mid-1950s, the totalitarian state-power saw no need to acknowledge that it had ever been "taught" otherwise. Whereupon, suddenly, both Trotskyists and Maoists followed suit. In a word, once labor was got the creative force of a new class-less society, there seemed no place for the "independent" Marxist theoreticians to go but to tailending Stalinist theoreticians, no matter how "politically" the non-Stalinists criticized "bureaucratism." All the more quintessential is it to trace through how, for Marxist-Humanists, dialectics allowed for no division between history and politics, economics and philosophy, methodology, process and result.

Thus, along with the first (1941) study of the Russian economy, came our first study of the then unknown Humanist Essays of Marx; and, along with the crises ending in World War II, came our concentration on dialectics as methodology.

Today, too, we turn, at one and the same time, to the study of Marx's Capital and the myriad economic crises, globally.

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SIX LECTURES

Note: Clearly, the supplementary readings* cannot be covered fully in a single series of six talks. The exception is for Lecture III, Then and Now, when the new (i.e. since publication of Marxism and Freedom) Women Incendiaries by Edith Thomas, and Chapter 9 of Philosophy and Revolution, "New Passions and New Forces", is included directly in the required readings.

I. MARX'S NEW CONTINENT OF THOUGHT AND DIALECTICS TODAY

Harry McShane's Prefaces to the British edition of Marxism and Freedom, to the current booklet, and to the Scottish Marxist-Humanist pamphlet, "Two Essays by Raya Dunayevskaya," are to be the framework for analyzing the birth of the state-capitalist tendency, 1941, to today. Along with the state of Marxist-studies today as they impinge on Marx's Capital, today's myriad crises show the inseparability of theory and practice.

Supplementary Readings: Lenin, Philosophic Notebooks; Dunayevskaya Collection of WSU Labor History Archives; Marxist-Humanism, its Origins and Development in U.S.

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II. ENCOUNTER WITH MARX'S CAPITAL

Chapter 7, of Marxism and Freedom, "The Humanism and Dialectic of Capital, Vol. I"; and
Marx's Capital, Vol. I.

Supplementary Readings: Roman Rosdolsky, The Making of Marx's Capital, Parts One and Seven; Dunayevskaya, "Marx's Humanism Today" (in Socialist Humanism, edited by Erich Fromm).

(Continued on Page 7)

*The extensive supplementary readings suggested are not listed here in full, but can be obtained together with the Complete Syllabus by writing to News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Det. MI. 48207.

5858

(Continued from Page 5)

III. THEN AND NOW:

The Objective Situation in Marx's day and Today in the Writing of and Commentary about Capital.

Chapters 5 and 6 of **Marxism and Freedom**: "The Impact of the Civil War in the U.S. on the Structure of Capital" and "The Paris Commune Illuminates and Deepens the Content of Capital."

New Introduction to Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crises. Chapter 9 of Philosophy and Revolution.

Edith Thomas, The Women Incendiaries.

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IV. A NEAR-CENTURY OF DEBATE AROUND VOL. II OF CAPITAL

Instead of dating the debates around Vol. II with Luxemburg's Accumulation of Capital, 1913, we'll here see that, in fact, the first emergence of Reformism appears with publication of Vol. II of Capital itself and the first signs of monopoly capital.

Chapter 8 of **Marxism and Freedom**: "The Logic and Scope of Capital, Volumes II and III," first two sections.

Marx's Capital, Vol. II.

Supplementary Readings: Rosa Luxemburg, **Reform or Revolution?; Accumulation of Capital; Anti-Critique;** F. Forest (RD) "Revolt of the Workers and the Plan of the Intellectuals, an answer to Wardle and Wright," **WSU Archives Library** Vol. V, Sec. III (2); also **Two Worlds**, N&L Dec. 1977, "State-plan fetishism and George Novack's philosophy".

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V. ECONOMIC CRISES AND BREAKDOWN OF CAPITALISM

Chapter 8, Section 3 of **Marxism and Freedom**.

Appendix to new booklet, "Tony Cliff Reduces Lenin's Theory to 'Uncanny Intuition'".

Marx's Capital, Vol. III, Chapters on General Contradiction only.

Marx's Grundrisse.

Supplementary Readings: Tony Cliff, Lenin, Vol. 2; Dunayevskaya, **Marxism and Freedom**, Part V: "Problems of our Age of State-Capitalism vs. Freedom";

Philosophy and Revolution, Part III: "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation".

* * *

VI. DIALECTIC METHODOLOGY

A summation of the whole, including Chapter 1 of **Philosophy and Revolution**, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," as well as Chapter 7, "The African Revolution and the Dialectics of Liberation."

Supplementary Readings: Ernest Mandel's introduction to the new Pelican edition of Marx's **Capital**; Dunayevskaya, "A Restatement of Some Fundamentals of Marxism: Against Carter's Vulgarization" (March 1964; in **WSU Archives Library**, Vol I, Sec. III (8). (Reprinted especially for this class.);

Karel Kosik, **Dialectic of the Concrete**, Chapter 3;

Theodor Adorno, **Negative Dialectics**, especially pp. 405-408, the very last three pages of the book, where he does try to return to the magnificence of dialectics.

* * *

This summation of **Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crises**, combines a study of Marx's economic categories, and their deep roots in his Humanism and Dialectics. The pivot is the concreteness of actual, living forces that spell out a social revolution—Labor, Black, Women, Youth . . . It is of the essence to regain the unity of the dialectics of the liberation struggles and of thought. Let us not forget that sexism became the more virulent when Women as Revolutionaries and as Reason began to demand proof of new human relations the day before, not the day after, revolution.

The fact that every tendency in the movement — from Luxemburg to Mandel, from Lukacs to Tony Cliff, and from Rosdolsky to Novack, not to mention all the myriad Maoist splinters — has turned out to tailend Stalin's revision of the content and form, the dialectic structure and vision of "new passions and new forces" of Marx's Capital, testifies to the bankruptcy of leadership-conscious Marxism, and makes it imperative to recapture the historic continuity with Marx's Marxism—his new continent of thought, of revolution, of vision of class-less society.

* * *

Postscript:

Because I felt that the new English translation of Marx's Capital by Ben Fowkes was a great improvement on the heretofore standard edition, I may have given the impression that it is without blemish. The Rosdolsky volume, which uses that translation, including the word "Valorisation" for Verwertung, makes it necessary to take exception to that mechanistic word. Not only was it not extant in Marx's day, but I doubt he would have used it had it been. The Hegelian feel in the word realisation to convey "self-expansion of value" is good enough reason for sticking to the old standard translation. I have no idea why Ben Fowkes chose so "price-fixing" a word; but it conveys nothing of Verwertung.