

Milano, Sun. Sept. 27, 1959

Introduction

First I wish to bring you greetings from the American movement, The N&L Committees, which, as you know, both publish N&L and initiated M&F not alone for itself but ~~for~~ as a contribution to regroupment of ~~the~~ Marxists and have now followed it-up with Afro-Asian revolutions.

It is a great privilege to talk to Italian movement both because of the great cultural history and those of mass movements. ~~xxxxxxx~~ A people that gave birth to a Dante and the Renaissance when other countries were still in the darkness of the Middle Ages; a working people that occupied the factories in 1920 when America had not yet had its EIO, a Partisan Movement that wiped off 20 years of fascism and would not let America compromise with a Badoglio but carried on a civil war till Mussolini was strung up has much to teach American movement. I am mindful also of the individual spirit of those founders of genuine Communism that carry on the continuity of Marxism in their own living persons, as OD and Fortichiari. It is no small thing for a movement to say we carry on the traditions and have that not be an abstraction but to be able to point to living persons.

We start with great advantages, ~~But~~ no one has to be told the greatest disadvantage when one looks at the few in this room ~~and~~ and know that the CP has 2 mln.

FOR WHAT WE HAVE TO FACE TO DAY IS THAT NO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION HAS ARISEN TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE THIRD.

The attempts of Trotsky to create a Fourth Int. has come to nought for the very good and sufficient reason that he was proven wrong on every single fundamental prediction, ~~the~~ prediction of the inevitable betrayal of the CPs to each country's national bourgeoisie as if we had not reached on a world scale the phenomenon of STATE CAPITALISM. ~~The~~ Or the famous theory of permanent revolution which said that, without proletarian leadership, the peasantry could even achieve national revolutions.

1949-50 which saw the victory of Mao's China, on the one hand, the break of Yugoslavia from Russian domination, on the other hand, as well as the unleashing of the Korean war by both titans of world capital--Russia and the US--fighting for world domination--saw COLLAPSE OF TROTSKYISM AS AN INDEPENDENT REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST TENDENCY.

That same year initiated a NEW movement from practice to theory: (1) In America 1949-50 saw MINERS' STRIKE in which entirely new questions raised by workers who never heard of Marxism and yet who came very close to the whole ~~the~~ nation of a new social order which finally puts an end to division of manual and mental labor: WHAT KIND OF LABOR SHOULD MAN PERFORM. (2) 1953 saw the death of Stalin and, more importantly the East German Revolt which did not separate the slogan of Freedom from the Struggle for freedom. Cimaxed by 1956 Hungarian Revolution which raised banner of HUMANISM.

At same time rise of DeGaulle to power in 1958 shows time of revolutionaries to regroup is not without very powerful limits. The whole decade of 1949-59 has seen attempts of various groups, such as in Milan last year, to attempt. No one has raised the full banner of Marxism as it developed over past 100 years in a comprehensive manner that could serve as

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It is this which M&F attempts to do--lay the fundamer principles down in a comprehensive way and it is this today before publication of book that every ~~xxxx~~ one will be able to study for himself, that we will briefly spell out.

II. 3 Main Aims of M&F:

(1) To re-establish Marxism in its original form of Humanism, and not leave it in an abstract philosophic state, but see where it has reached IN PRACTICE, including the Hungarian Revolution and Afro-Asian struggles. So that we will consider Marx, 1844, Marx, 1883, CAPITAL; today.

(2) Secondly, M&F, analyzes the division in Marxism which occurred with the outbreak of W.W-I and collapse of 2nd Int. Rise of Leninism, not just as a Russian phenomenon which it was with the birth of Bolshevik tendency in 1902-03, but as a world phenomenon which it became with Russian Revolution as well as the philosophic return to Hegel. In this case, the ~~xxxx~~ clearest development is seen in his CONCEPT AND PRACTICE OF PARTY, 1903-23.

(3) OUR OWN AGE, first (a) PHENOMENON OF STATE CAPITALISM--in Russia especially through the 5 Year Plans to the sputnik; 2ndly (b) in America where state capitalism without its full development reached a higher stage than Russia because of its AUTOMATION, and 3rdly (c) The New Humanism which arises in the world today, and must become our perspective, and which brings us back as to the very first aim of the book about the re-establishment of the Humanism of Marxism.

(A)

Now then why did Marx call his philosophy Humanist? It certainly wasn't because of any nonsense of abstract would-be liberals who use it to evade class responsibilities. No it was when he broke with bourgeois state that he found he also had to break from vulgar communists who thought all problems would be solved when you abolish private property. Marx said, no, the most degrading is labor and until that alienation is abolished, we would have a repetition of CAPITALISE EXPLOITATION UNDER ANOTHER NAME.

When he developed his economic theories--and Marx never was separately, a philosopher or economist, or politician, but always all for, more precisely put, A NEW WORLD OUTLOOK CALLED MARXIST HUMAN OR A NEW SOCIAL ORDER. That means, first of all, his relationship to the class struggles of his day: Thus HEGELIANISM AS SELF*DEVELOPMENT APPLIED HISTORICALLY TO 1848 REVOLUTIONS MADE IT POSSIBLE TO HEAR CIVIL WAR IN U.S. & IN PARIS.

The 2 chapters on CAPITAL show this movement, the SHORTENING OF THE WORKING AS AXIS OF CAPITAL, the prediction of STATE CAPITALISM as logical conclusion of laws of value which pay worker at minimum and pay at maximum--and, ON THE OTHER HAND, the new passions and new forces for reconstruction of society.

I think best way, since I cannot go into detail of books, is to shift over to our day. At outbreak of WWII it was clear Russia was no longer a workers state--and helped unleash an imperialist war. Break with Trotskyism came then--and study of 5 year plans--1943 attack of Marxist law of value proved correct.

No question of humanism except as abstract. However, 1949-50 miners strike, these questions were raised. WHAT KIND OF LABOR SHOULD MAN PERFORM? WHY HIS INTELLECTUAL LABOR DEVELOPED SO OUTSIDE OF MAN THAT SCIENTISTS CAN SEND A MAN TO THE MOON BUT CANNOT GIVE EMPLOYMENT. WHY SHOULD ALL BRAIN GO INTO MACHINE WHICH HAS NONE, AND TAKEN OUT OF MAN'S HEAD WHICH IS BLESSED WITH ONE?

Automation means not progress for worker but his degradation. It means, not the elimination of labor, but elimination of laborer. If capitalists hope that the speed of line would cut off all your thoughts, he doesn't know you have your own thoughts while on the line. You plan to reconstitute the wholeness of yourself as a human being, with a body, a brain, a hear, a soul, if you wish. Your own thoughts are as different from the capitalist and labor bureaucrat and scientific bureaucrat as it the place you occupy in production from theirs.

The remaking of M&F, from a purely scholarly analysis of what is in Russia, to one of Humanism begins then, with miners, auto workers, student youth helping. Method of book is as different as class method of struggle. 1953 East German revolt help "write" "Beginning of End of Totalitarianism".

1955-56 are critical years: (1) Just as in 1943 they break with Marxian law of value, so in 1955 because of Imre Nagy and Afro-Asiatics who ask must you go through capitalism, they start attack on EARLY PHILOSOPHIC ESSAYS. They are not however, fighting "abstractly", but have definite enemies in mind. (2) Imre Nagy is followed both by Dory and Tador who write: "The party is ourselves, those...who fight for the ideas and principles of HUMANISM and whose aims reflect in ever increasing measure those of the people and of the country." (3) The Workers Councils interpret this HUMANISM as SELF*MOVEMENT, SELF*ACTIVITY, SELF*DETERMINATION IN FACTORY AGAINST TRADE UNION BUREAUCRACY, AGAINST STATE.

So we see that Hegel's Absolutes and international struggle for freedom were suddenly not as far apart as had appeared in the deliberately obscurantist article in Russian JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY.

It is this which we must build on--Where the Hungarian Revolution left off, a New Humanism will start both in theory as in M&F and in practice by the page the world workingclass is yet to write.

19. The question is how? And some insist on saying: not without a vanguard party and point to Lenin. But it was not an unchangeable concept in Lenin, and it is best to follow that founder of concept of vanguard to see why and how it changed: (1) 1902-3--workers cannot gain socialist consciousness by themselves--only party can bring them that. That concept was changed in 1905 when Russian proletariat made revolution. (2) 1915 Relationship of ideal to material and says NONE, HIMSELF INCLUDED, UNDERSTOOD CAPITAL BECAUSE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO UNDERSTAND ITS FIRST CHAPTER EVEN WITHOUT THE WHOLE OF HEGEL'S LOGIC OF SELF*DEVELOPMENT. (3) 1920-3, He fights against Trotsky and Bukharin and concept of abolition of mental and manual labor PLUS CONCEPT WORKERS, NON*PARTY WORKERS MUST CHECK WORK OF PARTY or we will return to capitalism.

Again the best illumination for us is from our own day. Repetition of need of vanguard party has not produced polarizing force. THEORY WILL.

This concrete judgement I make of just as Stalin
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 workers in these cases they sent them to us as
 M. F. means we will translate. (2) The public
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FIRST* CONCEPT OF STATE CAPITALISM

1943-55.

Quote from M. F.

But it was not accidental that Johnsonites broke--Not only
 pull of REFORMISM. NOT ONLY PULL OF NEW AFRICAN STATE EUR.
 NOT ONLY WAR CLOUDS AND COWARDICE--although all these 3
 are no minor things, and each contributed its share. But
 we see, for example from England in England who is in L.P.,
 and from state-capitalists who are in Trotskyists, that
 WITHOUT A TOTAL PHILOSOPHIC CONCEPT, state capitalist theory,
 fundamental and correct it is, is used only to tell what is
 and not perspectives for what will be WHICH CAN COME ONLY
 FROM PROLETARIAT, THE MOST OPPRESSED AND DEEPEST AND LOWEST
 SECTIONS AS BOTH MARX IN HIS TIME AND LENIN IN HIS HAD TO
 EMPHASIZE OVER AND OVER AGAIN. And in our time it is the
 question: WHAT HAPPENS AFTER? Not only for Russia but SPAIN.
 WHY NOT START WITH THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL OF ALL: PRODUC-
 TION* THE KIND OF LABOR MAN MUST PERFORM?
 WHY NOT START WITH HISTORY, LIVING HISTORY, HUNGARY?

Conclusions: Based on the questions of what kind of labor
 the American Marxists chose Humanism as the quality for our
 era as Lenin had chosen "dialectic as unity of opposites for
 his age". That was, after all, what Marx himself chose for
 his name. ~~That's what~~ Lenin could keep his Philosophic
 NOTEBOOKS PRIVATE IN 1915, although STATE & REV. could
 not have been written without it. But our age will not
 permit a division between philosophy and politics and economics.
 The maturity of our age demands the whole of Marxism. As a
 basis for this philosophic foundation we present M&F. No book
 was ever "accepted" by an organization and we do not ask any
 such thing now.

What we do ask is that Humanism of Marxism
 be integral to the theory of state capitalism and thus be the
 foundation of an int. org., of international relations, of
 perspectives of the new society within the old striving to
 be born.

Italy's granting of missile bases to America has placed it
 within orbit of these 2 nuclear titans holding civilization's
 fate in their hands. But let us not forget that Khrushchev
 isn't coming to the US because all is well at home, but because
 all is not well at home. If the Russian workers would not be
 ingenious in their continuous revolts and produced "more", if
 the scientists made the missile operational, if he could challenge
 America today he wouldn't come to bargain, but to challenge.
 Let us transform it into a challenge to our own thinking and
 struggling to reconstitute the world on totally new foundations.

The greatest error for any new group to commit is to
 consider phil. province of intellectuals. If it does not
 come out of workers' aspiration it might as well not be
 Marxian. If the intellectuals go to meet the workers
 from a distance then together a new society can be
 born. The Hungarian revolution is a new page in the
 we must start from there.