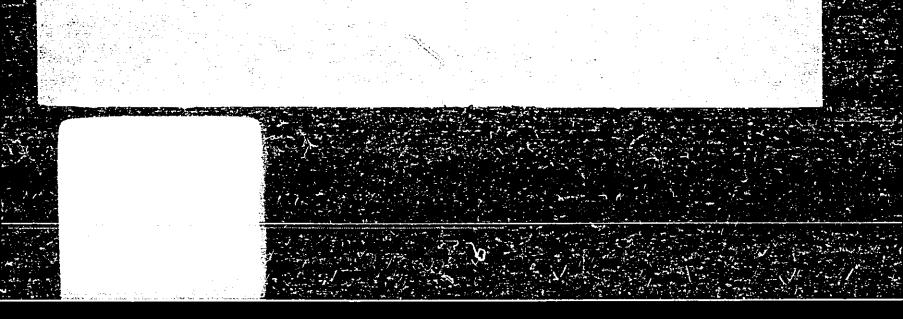
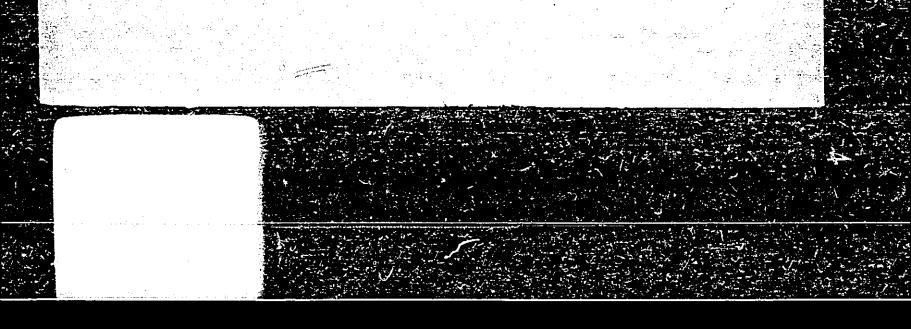
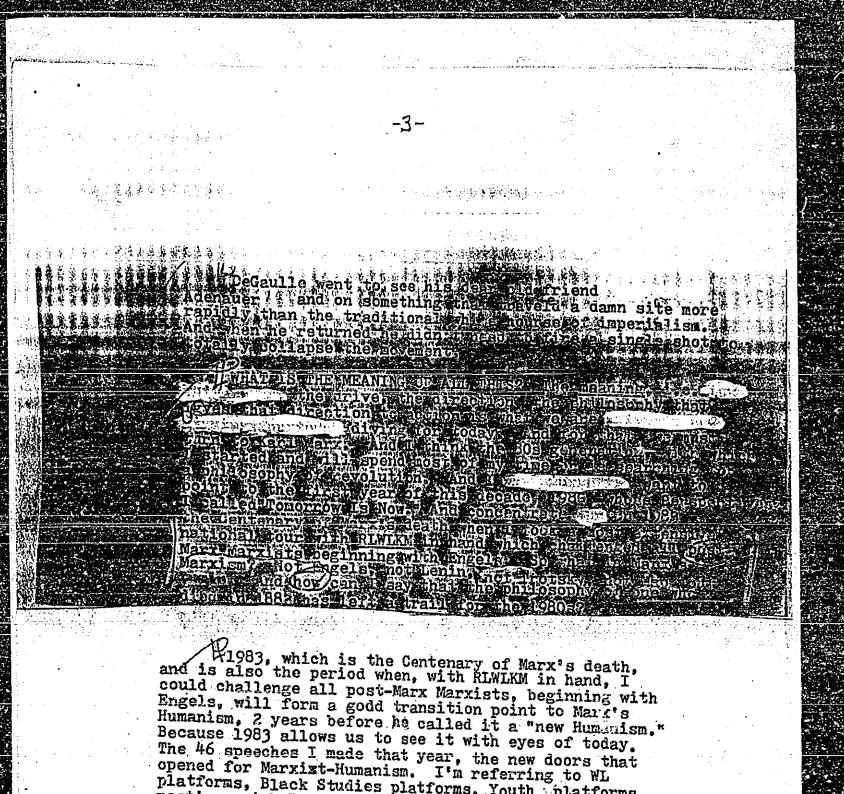
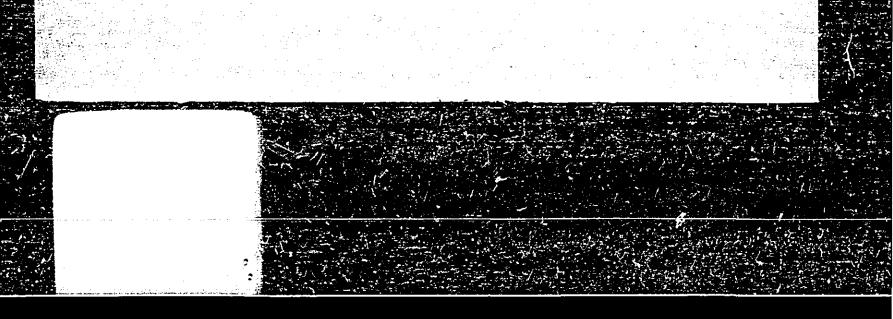
Marting S- 4/10/8 Borrey 19 2-31 Gold Ending with Meaning for 10/30/86 Acti Mis Humanian 199 4-5 UIC THE YOUTH OF THE 805 / 805 IN A CHANGED WORLD da's Intrate Hello. Our topic today is not to contrast the 80s to the 60s as if to say we are the silent ones compared to those turbulent 60s. On the contrary Let's not follow the adult world that has a way of talking down to rebellious youth -- and they are always (rebellious) even if at first it is only against parents. whether they are rebels with a cause or rebels without a cause, it makes it easy for adults to just take the for granted as if being young is just a question for having a lot of energy but no thought Plan if thought Mas a "private reserve" for the adults. (I know I should be much more understanding of ts is ince by no stretch of the imagination could I for alyouth is indeed. I couldn't have nassed for in wouth even in the mid 1950s, when Marxist-Humanism first created a category of Youth as a revolutionary force inwhether for not the Youth came from the proletariat or the middle class, and despise the fact that they were called the "Beat Generation." To Marxist-Humanista the designation "Beat Generation" meant nothing; but Youth saving 10 to a world they did not make meant the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries of what Hege have mould neve designated to a bought fine of have IThe decade of the 1980s may seem not as exciting as the decade of the turbulent 1960s, but I will show that, in fact, though it is a period of myriad orises -collapse of the summit (-- the Youth of the '80s and the seemingly mild disinvestment movement discloses what Hegel had called "a birthtime of history." Let's Witchender Hicore Jus miceret Steened In 1985 6 Front on other hand From From From Schurpeter/Fri And A Promyter lock at this year. 11193



\$ \$ 5 C & K * 5 F The Uitenhage Massacre /Shantytowns at Dartmout LOn March 21, 1985 -- the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre -- apartheid South Africa continued its savage massacre. Sparked by the Uitenhage (Ootenhag) massacre, Berkeley held a demonstration on 4/10/85. Far from only students being involved, it was a coalition of Black, white, Asian and Latino, who met exactly where the FSM had met in 1964 -- Sproul Hall. Sxactly where the FSM had met in 1964 -- Sproul Hall. This time, however, they nung up a sign calling it Steve Biko Plaza. That Coaltion included Highschool students as well as Longshoremen and other workers. The person they invited "from the outside" was Mario Savio, the leader of the FSM profile Was Mario Savio, the Mario Marin Marin Marin Marin Marin Marin Dhow Relate moring DV: 21 a We have no time to go into all the events of the 1960s, which include the Black Revolution, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, but I do want to recount the very highest point when workers joined the students, so that ino less than 10 million walked in Paris under the leadership of Cohn-Bendit, whose motto was: Activism , activism, activism -- "theory can be caught eventroute", and anyone over 30 need not be listened to. What did that result in 11194







II. Marx's Humanism: 1841-42, 1843-44, 1883

Let's begin with Marx as a young man, a college student like you, working on his doctoral thesis, and already being the editorship of R-Z, being immediately embroiled with the Russian censorship, fighting for freedom of the press, rights of peasants and Jews, though he had not yet fully broken with capitalism. He was asked angrily, "What has made you into a radical? You've just graduated from the University and already you're an editor flou certainly aren't ppor, you're from the middle class." His answer was: "To be a radical means to grasp something at its root, and the root of mankind is man," Lest anyone read that with eyes 100 years after the event and think he means "man" only, that same year he wrote his first and greatest Humanist Essay which on a most fundamental human relationship -- Man/Woman, arguing that even if you didn't believe a word of all his economics and his break with capitalism, and you looked at that relationship and saw imbedded in that all the alienations in the existing society, you should want to uproct, it.

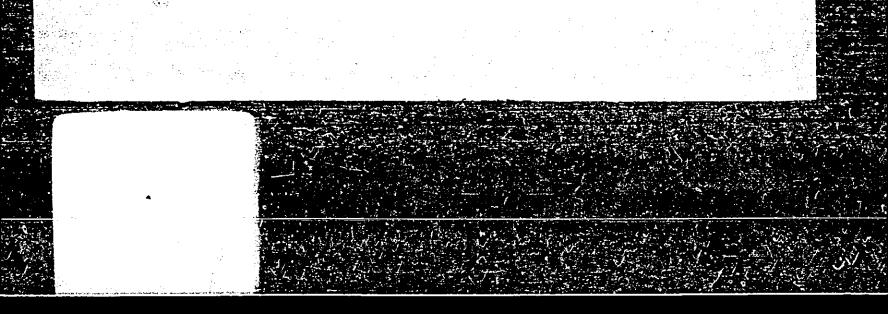
That Essay revealed a Promethean vision that never left Marx sellfeland thought, beginning with his break from the Left Hegelians, and with it the critique of Hegel himself. inclusion in the self second and with it the critique of Hegel himself.

He unchained the Hegelian Dialectic by transforming Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution. He accused Hegel of <u>de</u>-Humanizing the Idea by throwing the mystical shroud over it and italking only of stages of consciousness -- Consciousness. Self-Consciousness, Reason. What is the point of all this, wasked Marx. The brain is not outside of us. It is men and women who think. It is necessary torunite the material and the ideal, and to become really human W (which none of us are in a class society) the division between mental and manual labor must he abolished, as must that between city and country. The "new Humanism", therefore is the unity of the ideal and the real; the mental and the manual, of being not only against capitalism but what Marx called is vulgar communism", of being for totally new human relations.

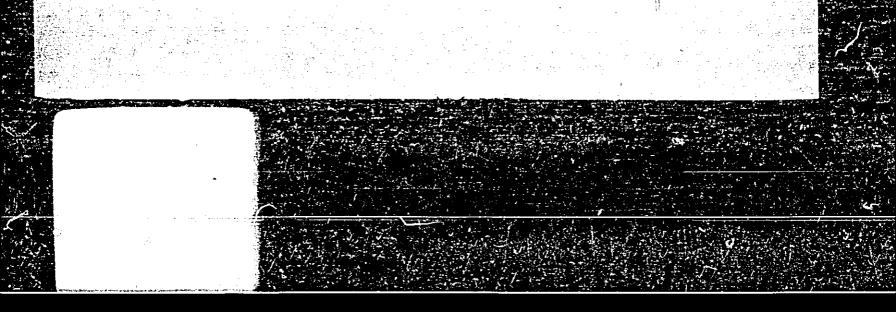
All of the ideas he developed for the next 40s years were, in embryo, present in that first Essay on the reasons why he broke and why he called his philosophy a "new Humanism." You have a right to ask how can that he, when

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Were, in empryo, present in that ifrst issay on the reason why he broke and why he called his philosophy a "new Humanism." You have a right to ask how can that be, when many intellectuals in our age do refer to Marx's "new moments" as if he got them in his final decade and overthrew all his earlier ideas. And even then, you might ask, how coult I claim that the 1880s have left us a trail to the 1980s.



he answer is น พิ presence of the actual Third World that has finally made us see what Marx saw and what his Promethean vision of 1843, expressed as "revolution in permanence." But when this age (1970s) finally saw Marr's Ethnological Notebooks Itils we who finally realized that seeing Marx as a totality could make us finally see that it was the new moments of Marx that were an actual return to the new Humanian" herfirst propounded . What he had called pre-Capitalist forms of society is what we call the Third World. MThat he had first learned about it when he read Hery Lewis Morgan's Ancient Society in the 1870s -- and they can prove it by his excitement over that and his stressing that the Ircquois women had more freedoms than the women of the Western world of the 19th century. In fact, we could see that before those new writings on anthropology, <u>before</u> even his greatest theoretical work, <u>Capital</u> (1867-1873), in the <u>Grundrisse</u> (1853), the first draft of what was to become <u>Capital</u>, he had a whole section on pre-capitalist forms and his great appreciation of craftsmanship, the peasantry, and primitive communal forms. And indeed, in <u>Capital</u> itself in the whole magnificent is section on the fetishism of commodities he practically repeats; word for word, what he had writter in his doctoral thesis on the critique of the Hegelian Dialectic insofar as ancient Greek philosophy is concenred. That, too, did not mean a departure from, but a retention of the source of the Hegelian Dialectic, by including the most Hegelian of all phrases in the Grundrisse as ABSOLUTE MOEMENT OF BECOMING



III. <u>1985-86</u>

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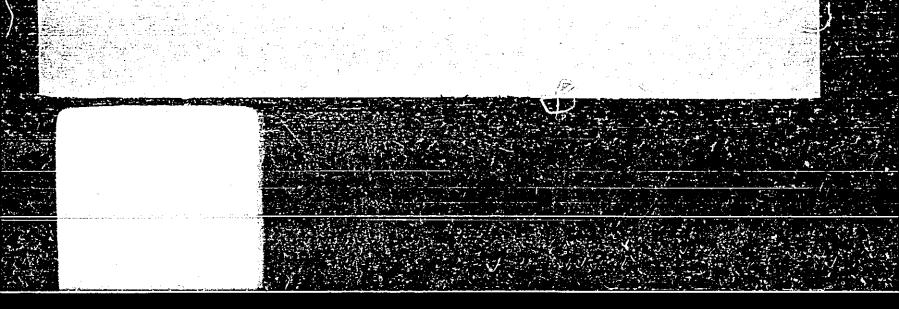
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Now then, as I said at the beginning, 1985-86 was/a good year, a very good year. I mean that it manifested the Absolute opposites -- on the one hand a devastating year with the two nuclear behemoths on the threshold of a new arms race that would bring on the nuclear holocaust, but on the other hand a year of revolts both in outright revolutions like the Philippines and Haiti, and the continuous revolt of the Black South Africans against the armnal of apartheid South Africa's rulers. And even the compara tively mild and peaceful divestment movements here have many more revolutionary aspects to them, when you look at them as a totality, rather than individually, sandwiched between ruler politics, and when you search for the meaning, the philosophic drive. Take antelitist college like Dartmouth:

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XIII was at Dartmouth College that on November 15 students z set va stanty towns on their campus to symbolize the Crossroads shanty town in South Africa. This started a whole wave of students' building shanty towns at other campuses. It was also at Dartmouth that students first faced the College Republican vigilantes Attacking their shatnies with sledgehammers on Jan. 21, 1986, binnediately after Martin Luther King Day ApAn attack which since then Reaganite vigilantes have continued on other campuses. The latest protest of the Dartmouth students was is a joint picketline with United Steel Workers in front of the Phelps Dodge Corporation, calling for the resignation of its head who is the head of the Dartmouth Board of Trustees. They also have participated in anti-nuclear demonstrations, joining with others to blockade the Seabrooke Nuclear Power Plant, making it clear that it is not only antinuke but the whole question of anti-war that is the issue,

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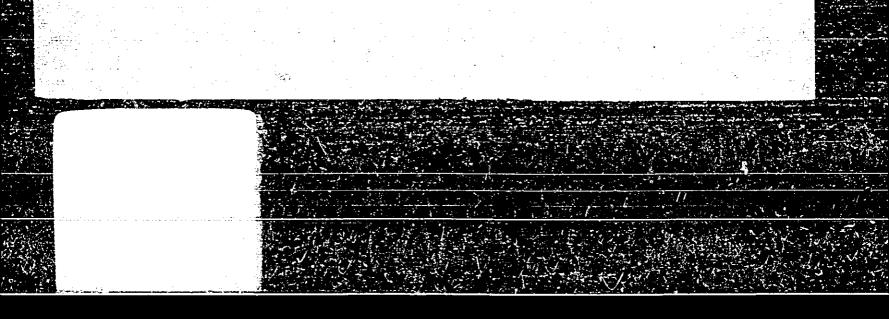
/ VAlso Los Angeles saw a shanty-town, set up at the University of California. The students there renamed a plaza "Nelson Mandela City" and camped out for several weeks to draw attention to the college's links to apartheid. Nor are all the anti-apartheid actions in Los Angeles limited to the campuses. The Free South Africa M'vement there has organized large demonstrations that attracted both campus youth and Blacks, and some of these demonstrations were held in the Black community.

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The Administration may have thought it won because when it threatened to dismiss the students who were demonstrating, the occupation was called off. In fact, they simply yurned around and with <u>high school</u> youth, with Blacks, and with hospital workers as well as neighborhood people, they proceeded to march all through Harlem.

"I cannot go into all, but just a listing of all the states you wouldn't expect -- like Austin, Texas; University of Wyoming at Laramee, Utah State University; Bryn Mawr and Smith Colleges -- will give you an idea of how widespread the activities were and they have by no means ended. Nor is it limited to disinvestment.

At the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, the anti-apartheid demonstrations focused particularly on the fact that they sat-in for divestment at the President's Office. These were the same students who proested CIA recruitment and Star Wars research that is being done on the campus, especially when they protested a speach by George Bush.



As I move toward the end, we are back to what I started with, Berkeley. Indeed, if you have money and time, you can get there still. The date is November 13. The Berkeley faculty against apartheid are sponsoring a teach-in and festival, with live music <u>and</u> a phone hock-up with Winnie Mandela.

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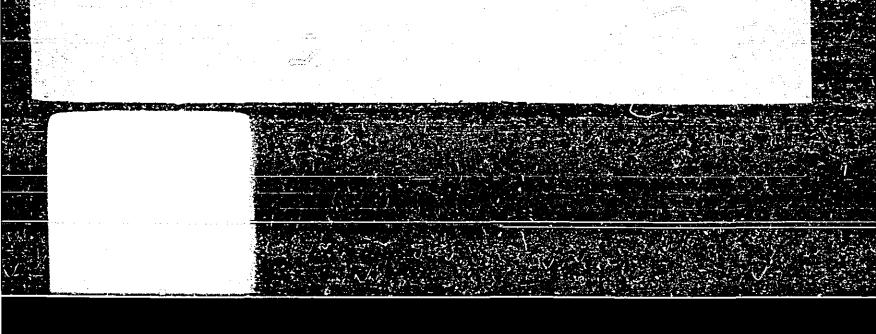
Dialectics of Revolution. Though it seems to have its point of departure, indeed, its title as well as its concentration, on Women's Liberation, the fact is that all forces of revolution -- not only Women's Liberation but Youth, not only Black but Labor, not only voices from below but in the battle of ideas above as well is below -- are present. And they show their presence through 35 years. Let me give you just 2 references to intellectuals who are by no means Marxist-Humanists, but do in their own way reflect the Promethean vision of Marx -- the great economist Joseph Schumpeter, who credits a max with having greatly influenced all developments of the business cycle, hated philosophy so much that when he attacked Marx on bring philosophy into economics, ne had a most cogent phrase to express it. Marx; he said sturned whistoric marrative into historic reason?

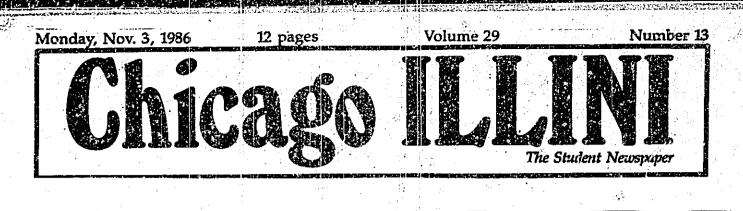
A-Sir RaymontiFirth, the great anthropologist, said that Marx's greatest theoretical work; <u>Capital</u>, was not just econmics but <u>a dramatic history designed to involve</u> its readers in the events described."

Now then, here is how I ended my 1983 tour when 11ke questions were asked of me: 3(p. 271)

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News

Marxist-Humanist reflects on student activism in 1980s

By Joan E. McGrath

Don't try to tell Raya Dunayevskaya that the youth of the '80s aren't as revolutionary as the youth of the '60s. "On the contrary. Today's youth are saying no to a world they did not make. They want to change that world -- and that is revolutionary."

Dunayevskaya, a petite woman in her late seventies, spoke to an audience of 70 people gathered in Room 509, CCC, Thursday afternoon. She compared the free speech and antiwar movements of the '60s to the divestment movement of '85-'86, and she cautioned that unless today's movements have a philosophy to propel them forward, they will disappear like those of two decades ago.

"It is not enough to know what you are against. You need to know what you are for," said Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

Dunayevskaya's family fled the Ukraine and settled in Chicago when she was twelve. She was active in the black movement of the 1920s and, in 1937, worked as Trotsky's secretary for a year of his Mexican exilc. She and C.L.R. James, a Trinidadian Marxist, broke with Trotsky after they declared that Stalinist Russia was counterrevolutionary.

According to Dunayevskaya, when Karl Marx was a middleclass Prussian college student, he became bothered by the fact that there were more laws dealing with peasant theft of firewood than any other offense. "His friends asked, "What, are you bellyaching about?" to which Marx replied, 'To be a radical means to grasp something at its root, and the root of mankind is man."" It was then that Marx broke with the Hegelians and capitalism and developed his philosophy of "new humanism."

Marxist-Humanism derives from "new humanism," which says that every human being desires to be free. Freedom, according to Marx, is "the ability to develop yourself to full potential." It was Marx's historical analysis that societies construct impediments to this desire to be free, and that we should look at the most fundemental relationship — the relationship between man and woman — to judge how free any society is. "Realize the alienations in this fundamental relationship — who does the dishes — and you can see all," said Dunayevskaya. "You can't get rid of the alienation by eliminating private property, because that doesn't change human relationships." Dunayevskaya views the empathy of U.S. students with the struggle against apartheid in South Airica as an indication of a shared view of human development. She points out that while the Dartmouth "elitist" college students who built shartytowns have little in common with black South Africans, they are moved

Chicago ILLINI

Monday, November 3, 1986

by the existence of human suffering and indignity to join the struggle.

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Likewise, she sees the revolutionary movements all over the world as revolts against impediments to freedom — whether constructed by Reagan or Gorbachev.

