

clearly derives both its position and its income from direct reliance on the political means and, while its influence in policy-making is often exaggerated, it does play an active and important role in articulating the policy options available to the ruling class. Although, over time, bureaucracies begin to acquire considerable autonomy and are eventually able to exercise substantial discretion in shaping the form, and occasionally even the substance, of specific policies¹³¹, it is only rarely that the government bureaucracy will succeed in actually affecting the parameters of decision-making.

One particular branch of the government bureaucracy deserves special attention: the military. As virtually a state within a state, the military has emerged in the post-World War II period as a key intermediary between the state apparatus and the "private" sector. The sprawling military-industrial complex encompasses a broad range of corporations, and even entire industries, which retain their formal identity as "private" but which in fact are critically dependent on government subsidies and contracts for their continued existence. The influence of the military on ruling class policy-making has often been greatly exaggerated by the Left. While civilian control over the military remains effective, the military resembles any other bureaucracy which seeks to expand its position and it has developed powerful vested interests which it seeks to protect in the policy-making process. Thus, while the military has never successfully challenged the parameters of decision-making elaborated by the ruling class, the military has acquired an influential role in the formulation of specific policies designed to achieve the objectives of the national security paradigm of the ruling class.

To a somewhat lesser degree, the same conclusion regarding measure of influence applies to another sub-group in the political class: the politicians and the individuals who comprise the broad support structure for the politicians within the political parties. The prevailing pluralistic ideology insists that the elected politicians, within the broad constraints imposed by a democratic electorate and the Constitution, have considerable freedom in the formulation of government policy¹³². While

there is an element of truth in this myth, it neglects the critical role of funding of both the political parties and specific political campaigns in determining who will get the various nominations and between whom the electorate is then permitted to choose.

While elected politicians have greater leverage in policy formation than the members of the bureaucracy, their success in the electoral arena is usually directly related to their ability to demonstrate at least a close similarity between their own ideology and the ideology of those who are funding their campaigns. Moreover, most politicians draw their policy ideas from the "establishment" policy research associations and universities, and their staffs are populated largely by those who have been trained in these various "think tanks" and who have proven their reliability in the past.

Another sub-group of the political class includes the owners and management of "private" corporations which derive a significant portion of income through reliance on the political means¹³³. This reliance may occur in a variety of forms: either through government contracts or subsidies, state-enforced restrictions on competitive practices (tariffs, C.A.B., FTC and ICC regulation, etc.) or through the socialization of costs (government financed R & D, underwriting bankrupt corporations and banks, etc.)

One useful standard which may be employed in isolating and identifying this sub-group is the Calhoun criterion, i.e. determining which corporations are net tax payers and which are net tax consumers¹³⁴. However, total reliance on this quantitative standard can be both inadequate and misleading. The criteria should be qualitative as well as quantitative so that instances of marginal assistance from the state may be identified which, although relatively minor in comparison with overall income, nevertheless permit the firm in question to preserve or increase its competitive position on the market¹³⁵. Since the criteria are necessarily qualitative as well as quantitative, the unique position of each corporation must be analyzed in detail to ascertain its precise position vis-à-vis the political means.

A further political class sub-group is that of organized labor. These unions critically depend

The Marxisthumanist Theory Of Statecapitalism

John H. McClendon



The Marxisthumanist Theory Of Statecapitalism:

The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-capitalism Raya Dunayevskaya, 1992-01-01 *Raya Dunayevskaya: Philosopher of Marxist-Humanism* Eugene Gogol, 2004-07-28 This study of the origins and development of Marxist Humanism probes the philosophic organizational labors of Raya Dunayevskaya Beginning with her work as secretary to Leon Trotsky in exile in Mexico in 1937-38 the book explores her development of state capitalist theory in the 1940s and her thought dive into Hegel's Absolutes in the 1950s Each of Dunayevskaya's major works *Marxism and Freedom* 1958 *Philosophy and Revolution* 1973 and *Rosa Luxemburg Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* 1983 is examined inseparable from the objective world events and revolutionary subjectivity that unfolded from the 1940s into the 1980s The U S Russia super power rivalry the Sino Soviet Conflict the rise of the Afro Asian Latin American and East European revolts and revolutions together with the Black Dimension Women's Liberation anti war youth and rank and file labor struggles in the United States all in fusion with the re-creation of the Hegelian and Marxian dialectic in the later half of the twentieth century formed the contours of Dunayevskaya's labors traced within this new work Her final unfinished and unpublished studies on *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy* are examined in the concluding part **The Concept of Other in Latin American**

Liberation Eugene Walker Gogol, 2002-01-01 In this exciting new study Eugene Gogol interweaves three strands that form the intellectual bedrock for the concept of the Other in the Latin American context Hegel's dialectic of negativity Marx's humanism and autochthonal emancipatory thought From this foundation the book explores the relation of liberatory philosophic thought to today's social and class movements Gogol considers the logic of capitalism on Latin American soil the ecological crisis in Latin America and the concept and practice of self liberation Still one of the most contested terrains of Latin American thought the Other has been of central concern for many luminary thinkers including Leopoldo Zea Octavio Paz and José Carlos Mariátegui While these writers may not garner much publicity in the world press the highly public and ongoing struggles of the Zapatistas and Brazil's Landless Workers Movement demonstrate the continuing need to theorize the volatile nature of Latin American social reality **The Philosophical Roots of Anti-Capitalism** David

Black, 2013-12-11 Alfred Sohn-Rethel located the origin of philosophical abstraction in the false consciousness brought about by the new money economy of Greek Antiquity In the Enlightenment the conceptual barrier Kant put between phenomenal reality and the thing in itself expressed in Sohn-Rethel's view the reified consciousness stemming from commodity exchange and the division of mental and manual labor Because Sohn-Rethel saw the entire history of philosophy as branded by a timeless universal logic he dismissed Hegel's concept of totality as idealist and Hegel's critique of Kantian dualism as irrelevant to Marx's critique of political economy David Black in the title essay of *The Philosophical Roots of Anti Capitalism* suggests contra Sohn-Rethel that Marx's exposition of the fetishism of commodities is historically specific to capitalist production and therefore cannot explain the origins of philosophy which Black shows to have involved various historical

developments in Greek society and culture as well as monetization Just as Hegel's critique of Kantian formalism informs Marx's critique of capital Hegel's writings on how the proper organization of labor might abolish the barrier Aristotle put between production and the Realm of Freedom prefigure Marx's efforts to formulate of an alternative to capitalism Part Two Critique of the Situationist Dialectic Art Class Consciousness and Reification begins with Surrealism whose disappearance as a revolutionary artistic and social force Guy Debord and the Situationists sought to make up for by superseding the poetry of Art with the poetry of Life As well highlighting Debord's achievements in both theory and practice Black points to his philosophical shortcomings and relates these to Debord's later pessimistic assessment of the possibility of revolutionary class consciousness within globalizing capitalism The four essays in Part Three cover the Aristotelian anarchism the ambivalent legacy of Lukács theory of reification Raya Dunayevskaya's Hegelian Marxist concept of absolute negativity as revolution in permanence and Gillian Rose's philosophical challenge to both postmodernism and traditional Marxism *China, Russia, USA - State Capitalism and Marx's Humanism Or Philosophy and Revolution* Raya Dunayevskaya, 1967 [Russia: From Proletarian Revolution to State-Capitalist Counter-Revolution](#) Raya Dunayevskaya, 2017-07-10 Russia From Proletarian Revolution to State Capitalist Counter Revolution is a selection of writings by the Marxist Humanist philosopher Raya Dunayevskaya which begins with an examination of Lenin's Hegel Notebooks his philosophic preparation for proletarian revolution followed by a section on What Happens After the revolution the first years post 1917 Analyses of Trotsky Stalin Bukharin and Luxemburg are presented A key section is Russia's Transformation into Opposite The Theory of State Capitalism Opposition to Russian state capitalism such as the 1953 East Germany Revolt and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution are described Mao's China as another form of state capitalism as well as the Sino Soviet conflict is discussed The study ends with a battle of ideas with other analyses of the Revolution and its aftermath [The Dunayevskaya-Marcuse-Fromm Correspondence, 1954-1978](#) Kevin Anderson, Russell Rockwell, 2012-01-01 This volume contains the correspondence during the years 1954 to 1978 between Marxist Humanist and feminist philosopher Raya Dunayevskaya 1910-87 and the Hegelian Marxist philosopher and social theorist Herbert Marcuse 1898-1979 and the psychologist and social critic Erich Fromm 1900-80 The exchanges show the deeply Marxist and humanist concerns of these theorists while also highlighting their significant differences on key issues in philosophy politics and psychology during the turbulent decades of the 1950s 1960s and 1970s *The Rise of Neoliberalism in Advanced Capitalist Economies* M. Howard, J.E. King, 2008-06-24 In this unique and dramatic account of the rise of neoliberalism Howard and King consider the major features of historical materialism the factors which resulted in 19th and 20th century thinkers incorrectly predicting the long term decline of the market and the prospects for a reversal of neoliberalism in the 21st century **Raya Dunayevskaya's Intersectional Marxism** Kevin B. Anderson, Kieran Durkin, Heather A. Brown, 2020-12-10 Raya Dunayevskaya is one of the twentieth century's great but underappreciated Marxist and feminist thinkers Her unique philosophy and practice of Marxist Humanism as well as her grasp of Hegelian

dialectics and the deep humanism that informs Marx's thought has much to teach us today. From her account of state capitalism, part of her socio-economic critique of Stalinism, fascism, and the welfare state, to her writings on Rosa Luxemburg, Black and women's liberation, and labor, we are offered indispensable resources for navigating the perils of sexism, racism, capitalism, and authoritarianism. This collection of essays from a diverse group of writers brings to life Dunayevskaya's important contributions. Revisiting her rich legacy, the contributors to this volume engage with her resolute Marxist Humanist focus and her penetrating dialectics of liberation that is connected to Black labor and women's liberation and to struggles over alienation and exploitation. The world over, Dunayevskaya's Marxist Humanism is recovered for the twenty-first century and turned, as it was with Dunayevskaya herself, to face the multiple alienations and dehumanizations of social life.

Theory and Praxis Murzban Jal, Jyoti Bawane, 2020-01-15. This book proposes a New Enlightenment, a new way of looking at the non-Western world. Breaking new ground, the essays chart a course beyond Eurocentric discourses which completely ignore the contributions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and forms of nativism which are usually ethnocentric discourses. The volume focuses on the historical aspects of knowledge production and its colonization. Examines the genre of multilinear histories that displaces hegemonic Eurocentric discourses. Enlarges the scope of multilinear historicism whereby Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Americas are drawn in a new humanistic knowledge system. Studies how colonization is resisted in both the non-Western and Western world. Lucid and engaging, this book will be of great interest to scholars and researchers of social theory, education, politics, and public policy. *C.L.R. James's Notes on Dialectics* John H. McClendon, 2005-01-01. John H. McClendon III's CLR James's *Notes on Dialectics: Left Hegelianism or Marxism-Leninism* is the first ever book devoted exclusively to James's magnum opus, *Notes on Dialectics: Hegel, Marx, Lenin*. The seed for this study was planted over thirty years ago when James handed the author his personal copy of *Notes*. James's contribution to dialectical philosophy and his vast intellectual and scholarly output is rivalled only by the seemingly bottomless depths of McClendon's own analysis and erudition. McClendon provides a thoroughgoing critique of James's exploration into the dialectic of Hegel, Marx, and Lenin while challenging all the seminal texts on James's *Notes*. A book of this magnitude is rare. This is ever more the truth when it is focused on a giant like James who stands at the nexus of so many disciplines: philosophy, history, sociology, Caribbean studies, cultural studies, African and African American studies. CLR James's *Notes on Dialectics: Left Hegelianism or Marxism-Leninism* is a must-read for anyone concerned with how revolutionary theory is a guide to contemporary struggles. *The Power of Negativity* Raya Dunayevskaya, 2002-01-01. Raya Dunayevskaya is hailed as the founder of Marxist Humanism in the United States. In this new collection of her essays, co-editors Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson have crafted a work in which the true power and originality of Dunayevskaya's ideas are displayed. This extensive collection of writings on Hegel, Marx, and dialectics captures Dunayevskaya's central dictum that, contrary to the established views of Hegelians and Marxists, Hegel was of signal importance to the theory and practice of Marxism. *The Power of*

Negativity sheds light not only on Marxist Humanism and the rooting of Dunayevskaya's Marxist Humanist theories in Hegel but also on the life of one of America's most penetrating and provocative critical thinkers *Democracy, Dialectics, and Difference* Brian C. Lovato, 2015-12-07 It has been nearly two centuries since Marx famously turned Hegel on his head in order to repurpose dialectics as a revolutionary way of thinking about the internal contradictions of our social relations. Despite critiques from post-structuralists, post-colonialists and others, there has been a resurgence of dialectical thought among political theorists as of late. This resurgence has coincided with a rise in the mention of words like class warfare, socialism and communism among the general public on the streets of Seattle in 1999, in Cairo's Tahrir Square in the actions of the Greek anarchists and the Spanish indignados and in the rallying cry of 'we are the 99%' of the Occupy Movement and in academia. This book explores how it is that dialectical thought might respond to the critiques brought forth by those on the left who are critical of Marxism's universalizing and authoritarian legacy. Brian C. Lovato singles out Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe as the key interlocutors in this ongoing conversation between Marxism and post-structuralism. Laclau and Mouffe argue that Marxist theory is inherently authoritarian, cannot escape a class reductionist theory of revolutionary subjectivity and is bound by a closed Hegelian ontology. Lovato argues the opposite by turning to two heterodox Marxist thinkers, Raya Dunayevskaya and C. L. R. James, in order to construct a radically democratic dynamic and open conceptualization of dialectical thought. In doing so, he advances a vision of Marxist theory that might serve as a resource to scholars and activists committed not only to combatting capitalism but also to fighting against colonialism, patriarchy, white supremacy and heteronormativity. The writings of Dunayevskaya and James allow for Marxism to become relevant again in these tumultuous early years of the 21st century. **World Revolution, 1917-1936** C. L. R. James, 2017-07-27 Originally published in 1937, C. L. R. James's *World Revolution* is a pioneering Marxist analysis of the history of revolutions during the interwar period and of the fundamental conflict between Trotsky and Stalin. James, who was a leading Trotskyist activist in Britain, outlines Russia's transition from Communist revolution to a Stalinist totalitarian state bureaucracy. He also provides an account of the ideological contestations within the Communist International while examining its influence on the development of the Soviet Union and its changing role in revolutions in Spain, China, Germany and Central Europe. Published to commemorate the centenary of the Russian Revolution, this definitive edition of *World Revolution* features a new introduction by Christian H. Gsbjerg and includes rare archival material, selected contemporary reviews and extracts from James's 1939 interview with Trotsky. **Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism** Kevin B. Anderson, 2021-12-20 Still the only full-length study of the achievements and limitations of Lenin's extensive writings on Hegel, *Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism* has become a minor classic. In a full critical account, Anderson's book connects Lenin's dialectics to his renowned writings on imperialism, anti-colonial movements and the state. It takes up as well the debate over Lenin's writings on Hegel among Marxists such as Georg Lukács, Henri Lefebvre, C. L. R. James, Raya Dunayevskaya, Lucio Colletti and Louis Althusser.

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