

Aug. 1981

NOTES FOR CHANGES ON THE BOOK, CHAPTER BY CHAPTER, EVEN THOUGH ALL I'M INTERESTED IN IS A NEW CHAPTER 12. Nevertheless:

p. ii of the Preface: Add to line 2: "both to consciousness and"

p. vi. Add to end of top para. "as Marx dug into the history of the remains of the Russian peasant commune, he did not think it out of the question that, if it worked out a union with Western technologically advanced society, a revolution could actually come first in backward Russia. This in 1882!"

* * *

Chapter 2, p. 25.

Add to Subheading A: "Spontaneity and Consciousness."

p. 26; first para (I want to add here that her expression that spontaneity was not just instinctive action nevertheless left the direction of action to that spontaneity and, in p. 28, that did not even include soviet. Furthermore, cognition as well as leadership, it is important to note, is not exhausted either in spontaneity or organization, be it soviets, party, much less trade unions.)

Chapter 3, p. 55/ Add a sentence something like this: ~~RL~~ Once RL falsely counterposed reality to theory, she failed to see that what she was describing as reality was but the ~~XXXX~~ phenomenological manifestation of capital as it invaded underdeveloped lands, while Marx had dived deep into accumulation of capital, as it came out of the ever-expanding transformation of ~~ve~~ (living labor) into ~~cc~~ (dead labor). This is why he called Smith's underestimation of that constant form of capital "an incredible aberration" while RL simply considered ~~cc~~ as no more than the capitalist "language" for something characteristic of all societies. Though she was under no great illusion that the entire surplus value (profit) would be "dissolved" back into wages, as did Smith, there was no place for her to go...

Far from being only a phenomenological analysis, of his age, Marx's theory was so profound a dialectic of accumulation as, at one and the same time, to see the different forms of revolt and how they disclosed its logical development to the point where there is no kind of exchange or distribution that would fundamentally change anything, not even if (quote Volume I).

*Actually, ~~cc~~ was one of only three original categories Marx took credit for, instead of holding that he was merely developing what flowed logically from the discoveries of classical political economy.

2

Erase last sentence and instead
(Chapter 3 cont'd) p. 70/ Add: "Not only that. Although the women were the core of her fight against militarism, and all her magnificent anti-militarism battles were central to the concept and actuality of revolution, she persisted with the false alternatives -- spontaneity/consciousness, as if consciousness was exhausted in class struggle instead of self-developing into so total a philosophy of revolution as to be its actuality. The proletariat did always remain force of revolution, but she failed to see other forces of revolution, whether that related to the 'National Question' or new forms of organization, except at the very end of her life when she headed the Spartacists and called for all power to the councils and became head of the newborn Communist Party of Germany.

uprising in 1919

~~XXXXXX~~

Chapter 4: Add to title:

From the National Question and Imperialism ...

~~XXXXXXXX~~ Change first subheading A to read: "The Half-way Dialectic: the Polish Question and ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Internationalism "

p. 95/ Add sentence to top para.: "Was spontaneity/consciousness the equivalent of philosophy and revolution in the full Marxian sense, or did it stop at Lassalleian sense of spontaneity/organization? "

Chapter 5: p. 119 Add new last para. "By the time the Russian Revolution and its workers state likewise got transformed into its opposite -- state-capitalism -- and Depression put an end to 'pure' private capitalism only to end at the monstrosity of Nazism, Luxemburg's theory of the breakdown of capitalism -- Socialism or Barbarism -- came alive again. Indeed, she comes alive every time we are in a deep new crisis. Nowhere was this more true than with the birth of a Third World, a new generation of Western revolutionaries, thoroughly disgusted with vanguardism, and a totally new WLM, busily digging out the true history of womankind. Philosophy may still have been lacking, but history has original ways of illuminating the thought of its time."

Chapter 7: p. 146 Add new last sentence: "Though many new starts have begun in the 1930s and more in the 1940s, and at no time more strongly than in the immediate post-WWII world, Women's Liberation as movement would not re-emerge until the mid-1960s."

14979

PART THREE

New Chapter 12 to be entitled : New Grounds for the 1980s Emerge
on the 100th Anniversary of Marx's Last
Writings, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

begin with
It is to/a quotation by Melville.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
Unknown to RL, VII and LE, were ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the early (1844)
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Humanist Essays that had ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ initiated both a
event in the history of Marxist studies ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{and} actually reorganized
the whole concept of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Marx's
philosophic critique of political economy and its philosophic
foundation as a theory of revolution. The rich legacy of
Marx's philosophic critique of political economy in the Grundrisse
was likewise unknown, and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ it was only in
the 1970s that we got to know the whole of the EN. In a word,
it has taken a century before we could finally see the totality
of Marx's works. The fact that it took a series of revolutions
to dig out that rich heritage and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ insofar as the
EN are concerned we ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ faced both the emergence of a
whole new Third World along with a new force of revolution in
the Western world -- WIM -- makes it necessary to gather ^{both} all the
threads of Marx's life and thought and the objective situation
of our crisis-ridden world, which has cast a new illumination also
on RL, both as an original character in her personal life and as
a great revolutionary ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ whose views on the re-
lationship of spontaneity/organization and spontaneity/consciousness.
gains a special relevance in our day. What therefore we wish to
do in the summation is to see what it is that post-Marx Marxists
have made out of Marx at the various historic periods when they
were confronted with revolutions in their own country. First,

14980

-however, it is necessary to clear out the fallacious that has

4

accumulated on the question of his last writings.

[Here include pp. 255 - 260]

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
MARX'S AND ENGELS' ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY

[Pp. 260 - 267]

THE UNKNOWN EN... COMMUNIST MANIFESTO including first quotation (p. 255)

[P. 267 from "Marx died" to p. 274]

NEW MOMENTS CREATED BY MARX DURING THE LAST DECADE

Include pp 274-2 "Each generation...
to 274-6

Add to p. 274-5 last para, to be rewritten something like this:

Marx's never-ending encounter with the Hegelian dialectic holds the key not only to mid 19th century but for the 20th century, ^{the decades} ~~the~~ ^{last three} ~~early~~ as well as the ~~19th~~ ^{decades}. Thus, what Lenin stood face to face with, ^{was state-} monopoly-capitalist-imperialism, and the betrayal of ~~established~~ Marxism. He felt that the return to genuine Marxism can come only with the return to Marx's origins in Hegel, the Hegelian dialectic giving him so new an appreciation of idealism that he concluded "Cognition not only..." Not only that. Historical materialism, as it became infused with ~~second~~ negativity, ^{Lenin now included} created all sorts of new moments for Lenin so that the dialectic of history

14981

5

analysis of the National Question as the "bacillus of the proletarian revolution". Though he stopped short of extending second negativity also into the party he did ~~understand~~ sense the tragedy of the Russian Revolution having some thinner layer of Bolsheviks and some thicker layers of bureaucratization. (p. 253 VII Vol. 9 on non-party workers.)

RL, who was not so attuned to the philosophy as to be conscious of any needed philosophic reorganization of herself.

8

When WWII brought about ^{the} world revolutions of the ~~scope~~ scope and depth of the Russian and German, the theoretical void ~~could not but~~ could not but send the world into a new quagmire. It was only with the rise of the new type of revolutions in the mid-1950s against Russian totalitarianism on the one hand and the African revolutions against Western imperialism on the other hand, that we witnessed for the first time a movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. And finally there were new beginnings also in the movement from theory that demanded new probings into Marx's legacy in Hegel's dialectic. The 1956 Hungarian Revolution with its workers' councils at the point of production had not exhausted itself with that great turning point in history, but was at the same time a rediscovery of Marx's Humanism. In the 1960s, we finally saw some new theory also on the part of intellectuals...

14982

(Cut out top of p.274-6, and combine last para. with new addition, as a reference both to my HSA lecture and to Maurer, on both the question of Absolute Ide as New Beginning and the three final syllogisms of Hegel's Encyclopedia. ^{The crucial importance of} The AI as NE was that there was no separation between theory and practice especially as it related to actual forces of revolution that were Reason as well, whether that be WL, youth, rank-and-file labor. and thus with the eyes of 1980 it is first possible to see in full what Marx's "revolution in permanence" meant in the deep, continuous diving that was required...

What is at stake in the negation of the negation is much more than ^{the} ^a vision of ~~the~~ future society. Dialectic negation defines the methods and goals of the revolution at each new stage. ^{Without} ever new impulses of living revolutionary Subjects, dialectic spends itself in mere anti-capitalism and comes to stagnate in state-capitalism. (See Louis Duprés review of ~~EMXX~~ ~~EMXX~~ PAR where he raises the question also that Lenin finally realized that the human subject invents its revolutionary dialectic ~~EMX~~ forever anew...

"One of the ironies revealed by Miss Dunayevskaya's study is that those who preach ^{ed} permanent revolution were precisely the ones who never completed the dialectic."