Retrospective and prospective consideration of Marxism, as ideobgy and Marxism as critique; Comparative this formation and critical analysis of bureaucracy.

Diamond conference

Raya on notes for

The two new points of this year's international conferences have special significance because it is the centenary of Marx and it coincides with both the Third World and women's liberation as a movement of the more amazing, than the wrong accusation of Eurocentrism and complete disregard of the writings of Marx on what calle today the 3rd world, work since that arose with the knowledge of the <u>Grundrisse</u> and really not fully till the <u>EN.</u> is the disregard of the concept of woman which Marx had singled out from the very start of the discovery of his form

Umir. Coll., Dublin

6/5/89

I believe that the contrast between someone as profound and creative as H Marcuse, an independent Marxist, and S de Beauvoir an Existentialist, will illuminate a problem that faces us today.....

AN/// 1

In 14 1950, 12 ) When the process of the village commune development of the second after the <u>Grundrisse</u> was found, when the the question of the AMP did become a centerpoint of discussion and yet that wass very much limited to the question of feudalism, instead of that Promethean vision which lead Mx to the dig deeply into the full question of <u>Pre</u>-capitalist societies, not only in no way limited to feudalism, but seeing the features of the village community as resistant to the encroachment of capitalism and to such new appreciation of artisans 15709

you starter, not with ress, What hoffer IT all away, havin he put alue bit with the produce our other patho as real artists, as one of the forms of the breakdown between mental and manual labor, and finally and above all, humanity's more flegd development as g "Absolute movement of becoming".

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Let us stop here also in order to grapple with the actual fact that the Grundrisse to which Mx referred in his letter to in his ney coure po Lassalle as de having taken up 15 years, the best years of his life. What we have to keep in mind in grappling with that fact me now that we know what follows -- Gapital and the EN-- is that the Grundrisse is the /mediation between the early Mx, the matter "middle" MX, the truly mature Mx, as well as the very last decade of his life. "Philosophic mediation,) as we all know, has nothing whatever in commmon with the administrative mentality, much less with bureaucratic image of a mediator. By being both objective and subjective, self-development in both ideas and in persons, Mit it compel/s us to view those 27 yearswhen Mx produced all his menters greatest works, so that even the last few years of his great life points a trail to the 1980s, as to what precisely the Hegelian concept of return//is. Far from being anything as very nearly simplistic as Hegel's comparing saying one's prayers as a child and as an old man, the Marx's return, to his concept of woman when one can concretize it both on what it meant at the beginning and what it means - anter the after Marx lives through two revolutions, in the greatest of which, PC, "Women Inceniaaries", while the 🗃 International WA that he headed both had a woman as one of its leaders and he was for establishing

an autonomous women's organization.

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The various drafts of Capital, whether or not you accept the <u>Grundrisse</u> as the very first draft, shows that the minute Marx broke with the concept of theroy as a discussion **between instablestation** with other theoreticians and assigned all those theories of surplus value to the end of the book, while that struggle of the working day was **measured** moved into the centerpoint of Capital, the question of the struggle for the shortening of the mostling day was and in that, the question of women and child labor becomes crucial

(Fairly recently, I find that the Univ College, Dublin is now publishing all the Blue Books that Marx worked with over 100 years ago. And please remember that so often that brilliant empiric and philosophic analysis was just dismissed as "sob-stories".)

By the time Marx advises Dimitizeva to go to Paris and organize a women's section of the 1st International and finds her so creative as the civil war in France erupts that she organizes the Union des Femmes...

Do not forget either that by then Mme. Harriet Law, who has become a memeber of the General Council of the 1st Int'l and is the one who provides a platform for Marx after the defeat of the PC, to develop his views of "lower and deeper". It becomes in fact such solid ground not only both of a single revolutionary force becoming Reason, but that which will lead to all those terrific new moments of his last decade, that will take us through economics, politics, Aorganization and nothing short of revolution itself coming in "backward"countries first.

Nows let's take that last decade year by year.

1873: while he is at work on the French edition of Capital, in which that most exciting extension over which we are still arguing to this day, that is, fetishimm of commodities-- Marx at one writing and the same time, returns to a **matrix** of his before he broke with capitalist socieity, his 1841-42 Ph. D. thesis, where his preference for the philosophy of Epicurus to that of Democritus **gene** becomes integral to the way he **matrix** relegates mercantilism to the interstices ...

And he is also busy.... Danielson?

1875: He not only had completed that French edition, which to this very day we still do not have a full English translation, but have it as edited by FE, so that the very paragraph which would show us that the so-called primitive accumulation is neither a separate part, but is in fact integral to the whole movement of accumulation as worked out in Part 7, and in which the expansion into imperialism...

Now, he has no sooner completed these two **remultigation** same time new points-- the definitive edition of this greatest theoretical work and the new work on organization, which is inseparable from his philosophy of revolution-- than he **inform** faces those magnificent militant; new railread strikes in America that inspize him to think that a new form of organization will arise in the USA that will be superior to the lat Internation that has interdeclared itself dead.

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In proceeeding to 1880s as he **sempletion** both finishes his works on anthropology and the East as well as taking the trip to Algiers, we have to turn to Engels, who published the year after Marx died, his <u>Origin</u> as if it were a bequest of Marx's. While it is true that Marx begged him to read <u>Ancient Society</u> and it is also true that he didn't bother to read it then, saying afterward that he was to busy with somehing else, what most certainly is totally wrong is to consider his work as any sort of bequest after he discovered Marx's notes on <u>AS</u>, from which he quoted **Considered** what he considered was the essence. But **constituent** what he considered page notes, **setting** judgement is very different.

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tutionalized Marxism, which to me is state-dapitalism calling itself communism, but that new-old anthropology. Placing it on the historical scene of today has hardly assured its bedoming the ground either for anthropologists or others as

Is the philosophy of revolution. The fact that Marx hadn't lived to work it out into a thesis of his own, instead of just marginal notes in opposition to the ideology of the day, any excuse for us not to do it for our day, theing full advantage of all his profound insights? How does it happen that "Marginal Notes", even when kept unpublished studied seriously for 16 years and really not the ground for the only successful proletarian revolution in the world? The shole answer also gives you the greatness and the contradictions in that find.

The simple answer is the revolution knocking down all attempts at compromise with what is, just because "what is" has thrown over Czarist autocracy and presented itself as that Feb. 1917 revolution. The same objective situation when not separated from philosophy of revolution-- Lenin had already broken with his philosophic **make** past and tackeled both the national revolutions as the bacillus for proletarian revolution **int** proceeded immediately to that second negativity when it came to smashing the state. Lenin's <u>S&R</u> **cons** combined and "rewrote" both the <u>CGP</u> and the <u>Civil War</u> <u>in France</u> as the State and Revolution, in theory and in actual November revolutionary practice. What hadn't he done?

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Actually, far from being a single paragraph, the whole of the CGP is a grelationship of the "party" to revolution through a vision of the new society. Actually, far from being just a critique of the Lassaleans and marking it was a sharper critique of the so-called 12.0 Marxists, the Eisenachists -- for and the capitulating to an abstract unity of organization for "mass party" while forgetting its principles. Actually, this program, which is supposedly limiting his critique of it, is in fact (the most concrete, the most profound, the most philosophic, the total me philosophy of not only the first negation of what is -- the revolution itself -but the second hagativity of that continuous revolution to follow afterwe have already succeeded in smashing the bourgeois state to smithereens and thus have 🦛 ground for the non-state form of a functioning collecta truly new woman, a truly new man, y on the way to a truly new society.

## 12 12 12

The point is that those 1870s in which he thought he would complete Vols. 2 and 3 of Capital and corresponded with Danielson, telling him not to wait for the completion of Vol. 2 before he completed the translation of Vol. 1, were the very ones that returned to the "Asiatic; not to mention semi-Asiatic (as in Russia), the African, and oh, yes, Native Americanestudies of pre-capitalist sociesty with such appreciation of that new force of revolution, be it from Mohammed's sons, the Arabs (Moors like him?), the Australian aborigines, the East Indies and in general that Asiatic mode of production which, when he first an independent epoch of human development in 1857 in the Grundrisse, had by now become so crucial and worldwide, not only of what is, but what it was going to become (the future) that he denied that the apex of his own greatest work, --"Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation - were the universal for " i development.

B-1 B-1 Ommitted points (Perhaps the analysis on bureaucracy should follow p.2, and instead of p.3, on the various drafts of <u>Capital</u>, p.3 becomes **(Problem 1997)** a) bureaucracy in education 1843 and the final paragraph in letter to Diamond; (b) hierarchy in the factory, pp. 92-94 in <u>M&F</u>, including PC vs. FE on the "dictator" ship of the proletariat (c) plus Asiatic mode of production -- incl. Kovalevsky notes (p.370).

Now as for mythology. At the end of (p. 3) and before p. It is very **dimensions** instructive to try to work out where and how it comes about that both in Marx and in RL even when they didn't acknowledge woman as having any relevance to the specific new "political" point they were developing, a reference to Greek mythology suddenly emerged. In the case of Marx, very heavily steeped in Ilterature in the original, there were not only these references throughout, whether he was speaking on art -- the reference to the childhood of mankind in the Intro. to Grundrisse -- though materially we couldn't (p.86 Carver). possibly duplicate it .... And in the case of many Greek goddesses, Marx related

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> it to the move to patriarchal society, by hearkening back to the era when women were freer (EN, p(xkx)).

As for RL, whatever made her call on the Queen of the Amaxons, in her 1917 New Year's greeting to a Social-Democratic friend who dared come to the defense of those not actively involved in the anti-militarist

## B-\$ B-4

Marxists-- and more than once he had to call himself a "non-Marxistm" when confronted with not only Lasalleans, but Proudhonists and Bakunists in his his party that determinant of a revolution was the only manner. unchangeable characgeristic.

Let us now return to mediation as Absolute Method. in throwing The post-Marx Marxists have, out the mechanical word Absolute, reduced the question of method to a/tool And because they did so, as economic determinists, dialectical methodology hardly means anything more to them than something more than a **xexx** tactic, or at most a strategy, thus transforming philosophy amaze into an ideology, that is to say, so false a consciousness regarding the masses in motion and the philosophy of revolution that it is simply pposite side of the the elitist coin of bourgeios identity ideology, leadership ordering backward the/masses to follow the right line. Hegel, on the other hand, though he was concerned only with thought, a mystical developed Absolute Method, not, as any Absolute, but as a unity of theoy and practice that is constantly evol-manifesting itself ving a continuoust motion, waxzhatxitxania both as the "self-determination of the Idea" and the "self-bringing forth of liberty".



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