

See  
10/2/83  
10/1/83  
TK  
rest  
Cmel  
3/4  
At the  
same time  
gong

PHIL./ORG. ORG./PHIL. AS PATH TO REVOLUTION

active

Introd. - Marx Change in title because of Misused even of  
REVOLUTION, as will be seen in moment re  
Rossana Rossanda as giving that preoccupation  
of Marx with REV. being reason for no th. of org.

I/Facts vs. Theory; Marx's new Universal: Breakup of Theory  
MARX AS ORGANIZER

FACTS: 1) 1841-8-50 Peoples Paper  
2) Even in Br Museum: look at 1855 / 1857

On the other hand, despite Greatness of Grundriss Preface of CPE  
the greatness out of that period was ~~xxxxxxxx~~ inadequacies  
of th. when masses are not in motion.

3) 1860s-- JOHN BROWN & WORLD  
Party in eminent his.

1864-1867 FIRST INT.  
1871 WHY STOP THERE instead  
1875 Cr. of Gothat Program & 1875 as FE saw it in 1891 which is  
why we start CHALLENGE TO POST-MARX MARXISTS with FE.

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II. KM Centenary & Trilogy of Rev. + Challenge to post-Marxists and Other  
Alternatives to Marx's Marxism

Lat decade & 1st & 2nd in Soc. Review, or History Wkshop  
wish to fragment Marx's Marxism + WANT

NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY ORG. THAT WOULD RESULT FROM REV. IN  
PERMANENCE

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III. VUL. ... RL, GRAMSCI ... Divergences in JFT & 1949-50 General Strike

YP2 + WH.p. attached

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IV

HISTORIC RIGHT TO EXIST

PROJECTION & ELICITATION KEY FOR ORGANIZATIONAL  
GROWTH ONLY PROOF OF TRILOGY OF REVOLUTION GIVING US  
HISTORIC RIGHT TO EXIST, and TRUTH OF PHIL. OF REV. IN  
PERMANENCE AS GROUND FOR ORGANIZATION INSTEAD OF ANY ELITISM.

CLRJ, imitating Mao, is now interpreting his 1948 Notes on  
Dial. as if it gave all to spontaneity like Mao & LIKE MAO,  
however, ALL DEPENDED ON "THE CORRECT THOUGHT" OF THE LEADER.

A THEORY OF ORGANIZATION IS CLOSELY LINKED TO THE CONCEPT OF  
REV. & CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM IT, not just "in general" or  
dependent on Leader's "correct thought," BUT ON PHILOSOPHY,  
A MARXIAN PHILOPHY OF REV. "IN PERMANENCE"

Limitations of a th. work, even Marx's,  
isolated from mass revolt. C.S.E. & merely follows H.

① Elec  
to  
Com: 11/83

FE Marx sense, <sup>remind his sense</sup>  
Kulczynski REV. & Challen LP  
to talk to Len

New  
@  
you  
note  
@  
above  
all  
New  
type  
Marx

Draft PHILOSOPHY/ORGANIZATION, ORGANIZATION/PHILOSOPHY

What the Marx centenary and National Tour taught us about ourselves. The year 1891 vs. 1875. A very great part of the opposition to us will come in the form of a defense of FE; it may even be within our own organization, and, while we must definitely stress that FE didn't betray, that FE was most faithful and above all, did some very important popularizations as well as editing Volumes II and III.

Nevertheless, 1891 is a very treacherous year, both as it concerns when he finally got them to publish the Critique of the Gotha Programme, as well as when he published the 4th edition of his own Origin. And I believe it's the very same year, or surely the period, when he began claiming that Anti-Duhring was the total view of Marxian dialectic that Marx accepted. And, of course it was the year of Erfurt Program.

Worst of all, so far as I'm concerned, is that not only had he not known the Grundrisse, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and the EN, and not only had he left a bunch of ~~XXXXXX~~ -- and I'm not only referring to the GSD (Kautsky and Bernstein) but also PLEkhanov-- but the truth is that he had never seen the 1844 Essays. He had a discussion with Marx -- his very first serious discussion, the one which cemented their friendship for the rest of their lives, Aug. 1844 -- and his very first letter to Marx immediately pressures Marx to hurry up and bring it to light, just on the basis of the discussion, but he then, again, very correctly, credits Marx with having all his basic philosophy developed that far back very nearly as clearly as FE was now telling it -- the 2 dates are 1844 and 1884. And yet, and yet, and yet he really did not know that new continent of thought or bothered ever to find it in written out form and study it. And that is very obvious when he publishes the Theses of Feuerbach as appendix to his Notes on Feuerbach.

VIL, RL, and Gramsci

When philosophy of revolution was taken for granted and merely thrown a bone, i.e. <sup>see the text</sup> VIL in What is to be Done "Without theory of revolution, revolution will not succeed." Or by embracing spontaneity so uncritically that philosophy is left by the wayside, as RL did.

Of Gramsci, who was best of all in philosophy, and especially on practice, and yet ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ granted intellectuals <sup>hegemony</sup> hegemony

Why class consciousness towered above Marxian philosophy is expressed most poetically (which doesn't mean correctly) by RL: "Like Thalassa, the eternal sea, always harbors within itself every latent possibility; the mass is always what it must be by the force of circumstances and is always quick to become entirely different from what it

Concrete & totality simultaneously that Peter summed up AI with actually tells the divergences bet. CLRJ & RL

1st glimmer of which came in 1948 right within my excitement over his Notes on Dialectic which was being contrasted to VIL's Notebooks on Sc. of Logic & my going for VIL, & CLRJ's rhetoric.

2) ACTIVITY of NOTION, for th., pr. & org., without yet incl. org. within my correspondence has me off to that great 1949-50 General Miners' Strike & CLRJ staying put with SWP bur. in NY & indeed at 1st are not talking at all.

3) Yet as we prepare to leave SWP for good, my view of type of paper tells all. 1950 letter

(Excitement that comes with ~~XXXXXX~~ suddenly a new world both in life & Cognition.)

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2

BDivergences in What is to be Done

General Miners Strike

Intellect

appears to be

appears to be

1949-50

1949-50

Connecticut

1950 letter

AFTER

~~Because we did have the~~ <sup>74"</sup> experience of 30 years before the arrival of the Marx centenary and began with the new: movement from practice as the opponent of s-c, it did give us a ground, a structure -- ground is the key word we need for the Constitutional Convention -- to which we'll return; (1) M&F being grounded in that new allowed us to look not only at our age but at 200 years of revolutions. (But now M&F will have to be studied together with the AA pamphlet as well as Lenin's ~~AA~~ Abstract of Hegel.

(2) The different structure of P&R, by being grounded in the movement from theory, is new in a different way, i.e. not merely because it is grounded in a movement from theory, but because there was no way for us to find the Marxists who covered the ground of Philosophy of *Mix*

*Return to*  
*Philosophy*  
*Mix*



Idea as End, or as subj. Idea, (so the negation of the

world which is presupposed as being in itself is 1st negation.

(VII then writes: "i.e., the 1st stage, moment, beginning, approach of cognition is its finitude (Endlichkeit) & sub-jectivity, the negation of the world-in-itself-- the end of cognition is at subj."

"both phenomenon and essence, both moment and relation"

Human concept are subj. in their abstractness, but obj. as a whole"

Analytic cognition... apprehension of what is.

Synthetic endeavors to form a Notion of what is .. grasp multiplicity... Its goal is therefore necessity in general..

Explanation & proof of the concrete element which is brought into Proposition is partly a tautology & partly a confusion... confusion served to disguise the trick of Cognition which takes up the data of experience one-sidedly.

concrete being thus subordinated to the presupposed... the foundation of theory is obscured & is exhibited only from the side which is in conformity with the theory."

Man's consciousness as creatin world heds next short section on "Idea of Good" & will bring us to AI, on the threshold of which calls attention to fact that Hegel suddenly, in talking of notion uses, instead Subject in the very # H talks of non-actuality of world & actuality of subject.

3rd Absolute / Knowledge / Idea / Absolute Method

The Archimedean Dial. for Obj./Subj. Ana von

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A SUMMARY OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF  
NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES, SEPT. 3-4, 1983

An Executive Session of News and Letters Committees was held at 7 PM Sunday. The Executive Session was devoted entirely to presentation of and discussion around "Philosophy/Organization; Organization/Philosophy: as path to Revolution," a presentation by Raya. Throughout the talk, Raya focused on Marx as organization man. The three main parts covered three different historic periods. The first concerned the time of Marx. The second covered the early 20th century, including both Lenin's "What is to be Done?" (as well as RL's critique of it) and his philosophic break with his own past in 1914.

The third is our age, which on the one hand, sees the Italian break-off from Communism, the Maoist Il Manifesto, in the person of Rosanna Rosanda, claiming that Marx's preoccupation with revolution was the "reason" he had not created a theory of the party. As against this nonsensical claim, there is the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., which not only paralleled the movement from practice which is itself a form of theory since the 1950s, but extended theory to philosophy, and with RLWLKM, demanded a return to Marx's "philosophy of revolution" as ground for organization. It is this which is our preoccupation this Marx centenary year at our Constitutional Convention.

Raya then went through Marx's whole life to show him an organizer -- from the creation of the very first International Communist Correspondence Committees, through the organization of the first Workingmen's International, up to his Critique of the Gotha Program, where he opposed the unification of the Lassalleans and the Eisenachists and laid the ground for organization as "revolution in permanence". It is this, she showed, which Lenin failed to confront in his State and Revolution, though insofar as the question of the state was concerned, it was the CGP's demand for the destruction of the state that was so brilliantly worked out by Lenin. It is no accident whatever that Rosanna Rosanda stops the analysis of Marx in 1871 and never even mentions CGP, where philosophy of revolution is not separated from philosophy of organization. It is at that point that Raya points to our whole history, both in theory and in practice, which is climaxed this centenary year with its challenge to post-Marx Marxists on Marx's new moments.