

2nd Lecture

Per 1905, 1917 (1920-1921) FF  
Feb 1919 New York  
"PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION"

Nov. 12, 1985

Broadway Presbyterian Church/Columbia University

Because revolution is ~~the~~ a subject -- men and women  
bursting forth spontaneously against some aspect of what is --  
let's turn the subject of this talk around, from P & R to  
Rev. and Phil. I'm not capitulating to the empiricists, ~~at~~ *new*

*Search with* *more*  
~~category of~~ *breakup of* "movement from practice" is what I saw  
in/Hegel's Absolute Idea, as being the unity of practice  
as well as theory. And that philosophy of revolution, ~~which~~  
Marx had singled out from both the Hegelian dialectic and  
the action of the weavers in 1843-44 when he broke with  
capitalist society and transformed.....

What is new in our age is that the category of movement  
from practice was created on the eve of the 1st ~~great~~ ever  
revolt against Russian totalitarianism in East Germany.  
In a ~~short~~ word, there is a before and a after to the rela-  
tion of philosophy and revolution.

Yes, the revolution bursts out spontaneously, and no  
philosopher can possibly tell you ahead of time. But some-  
thing is "in the air"; it comes from philosophy's anticipation  
of what the masses are working out on their own, and when it  
bursts out, they know, if they're revolutionaries, that they  
become part of better ~~what~~/what did arise spontaneously, and do so critically.  
If that critically is only stupidly factional, watch for the  
fall-out. And philosophically, they really cannot work out the  
whole of it until after--and sometimes long after.

Historically, let us look at 1905:

with Hegel's definition of the relationship of thought to reality:

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"The Idea is rather absolutely active as well as actual. And, on the other hand, actuality is not so bad and irrational as it is supposed to be by the practical men, who are either without thought altogether or have quarrelled with thought and been worsted in the contest."

Paragraph 142 Science of Logic p. 258

1905 saw the textile = New printers

The actuality of 1905, whether you begin with January and the Bloody Sunday which resulted from Fr. Gapon's march to the "Little Father", the Czar, or consider the turning point to be not before the creation of the soviets in Fall, ~~the~~ no one ever questioned the spontaneity of the eruption. When the Marxists were still arguing whether or how to participate, of all things, in something the ~~the~~ priests started, and even the most active who at once got into it, recognizing it as the greatest action against czarism, no one really had a philosophy of revolution. What they were arguing about was whether ~~the~~ what happened would be a competitor to the "party", no matter which faction you were in.

Take the month of May, when this first totally new form, the soviet, resulted in a great textile strike. It still simply meant council, as a trade union council, which all "proved" how backward the workers were who had no unions yet while western Europe did. By the time that strike spread into a general strike, with the printers' demand for shorter working hours, it became too clear that this was no ordinary trade union

council, that they were making political demands, and of all things they were taking decisions ~~to~~ to have their own paper, IZVESTIA. And it was demanding constitutional and personal freedom.

The czarist empire itself was shaken; the Czar was considering fleeing (M&F, p.157. ~~These~~ details as to how serious was the power of those 50 printing shops, whose deputies represented 200,000 workers. NO LESS THAN 50% OF ALL WORKERS IN THE CAPITAL HAD TAKEN PART IN THE ELECTIONS.) The Soviet of Workers' Deputies was something never before seen in history. By then, Tretsky was its head. Did he then create the theory of "permanent revolution"?

He was certainly describing what was occurring in those heady days of the Soviet, in what he called 1905, but it was pure description of what the workers were really doing, and the inclusion of the attack on the czar's manifesto was naturally prominently quoted, but no such phrase appeared or ~~was~~ thought of, though the phrase "skipping over capitalism" ~~was~~ was in there, the date when someone used the expression "permanent revolution" was 1907. The person was a Menshevik, and though LT immediately accepted the phrase, he voted against Lenin's demand to have a discussion of the "nature of the present moment of revolution" at the 1907 RSDWP congress. ~~In voting with the Mensheviks to have no discussion.~~ To further emphasize his vote with the Mensheviks

50 July 11 1905

1907  
RL 1907  
Lenin

The greatest new dimension of 1905 was enunciated by Luxemburg when she contrasted ~~the~~ 1905, as distinct from 1848-49, as the first of a new series of revolutions which were not confined to first needing to breakaway from the bourgeois democratic front. It led her to create so strong a category of spontaneity that she was wrongly characterized as the advocate of spontaneity, as if that mean forget the openly Marxist organization, of which she was a leader. What was great about her singling out spontaneity, was the demolishing of the concept of the backwardness of the proletariat, it supposed political immaturity "in the East" as contrasted to the organized trade union/ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>ists of advanced</sup> Germany.

The whole phrase, "philosophically" correct but factually wrong -- "1905 was the dress rehearsal for 1917" -- was not said then, nor even thought about. It was 1st said when 1917 came. But what I referred to as "being in the air" was in the air <sup>before</sup> not only in Russia, 1905, but in ramifications in distant lands, <sup>Iran</sup> from Iran whose revolution produced women's soviets, to the Zulu Rebellion that had fought ~~the~~ British imperialism with spears long before any Marxist even sensed the new development of capitalism into imperialism. is concerned Insofar as RL, who had raised the dialectics of revolution as related to different historic periods and how distinct 1905 was from the 1848-49 revolutions that Marx had participated in and analyzed--and she certainly had the instinct of genius on the question of imperialism, from 1910 on--the point was a barrier remained by having spontaneity set free her from the concept of the Party, and disregard of philosophy, as if ~~the~~ political theory were in itself sufficient.

*Handwritten notes:*  
 1917  
 Iran  
 Zulu  
 1910  
 1906

*Handwritten notes:*  
 1917  
 Iran  
 before  
 1906

II. ?

1919

By 1911/15- George W. Hegel displayed

RL, the great revolutionary activist and theorist, ~~was~~ displayed before 1905, the sense of genius in perceiving which she will much later develop as Accumulation of Capital, ie, really meaning imperialism. MARTINIQUE, 1902, far from being having experienced a volcano as if it were only a natural but deadly event, was ~~known~~ <sup>used</sup> by her for the attack against the opportunism against Kautsky and Bebel and the GSD in general. Indeed, this would become, by 1910 during the so-called Morocco incident, as the break with the Second Internatl. and indeed ~~the~~ 1910 was the high point of ~~making~~ making historic conclusions against opportunism. You then also saw in a new light all the disputes with Kautsky on so-called "2 strategies", that of overthrow vs. attrition. So that what sounded as if it were only a phrase to the GSD: "To know revolution you have to learn to speak Russian" was in fact the dialectics of revolution in 1917.

The critique of that revolution, far from being what the right wing has made of it, as if it were a rejection, was in fact the perception of what comes after and how crucial proletarian democracy was in proletarian and socialist societies.

D.F. 1911 Before A.T. 1919 1920

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION HAS BEGUN

The proof, of course, of her identification with revolution, with 1917, was the 1919 revolution, with its workers and soldiers councils, with her speech at the founding congress

APR 25-6-19 AFTER 1919

of the German Communist Party.

~~It is fantastic and disgusting to see how slenderous were Communists for the 1919 Revolution. Keep in mind that she was imprisoned long before the 1914 imperialist war and it took the actual outbreak of the revolution, November 1919, for the masses to open the prison gates of Breslau, and free RL. And she went straight from prison to an outdoor mass meeting, to declare that with the 1st mutiny ~~xxxxxx~~ in August which was repeated in October 1918 at the Keil naval base, to hail the German Revolution and never stop for a second until she was ~~not~~ brutally murdered.~~

right before which these were her last words: Here is what

Socialist Society means Human

Q P 25-6-19

let's turn both to Stalinists  
Q & P's concept

When I referred to the slanderous campaign of the Communists, I really meant Stalinists long after the 1919 Revolution and long after Lenin's death. He himself not only hailed her as the eagle she was, all differences notwithstanding, but also refused to consider the defeat, the beheading of the German revolution, as the end of the development of the Russian Revolution into a world revolution. Instead, his expression was: "IF NOT THROUGH BERLIN, THEN PERHAPS THROUGH PEKING"

not only process take a look at P 11

Theses on & Colonial  
1920 is when the National Question spelled out ~~xxxxxx~~ national revolutions not only as the bacillus for revolution, as he did with the Irish uprising that preceded 1917, but



8-  
What Fanon did in calling his philosophy a "new Humanism" was the projection of, no matter how we must leave white civilization to its own devices, and start anew, we really do not mean to leave it alone. We all must work out new human relations, and Marx's philosophy of revolution was exactly what this world needs. The proof of how the Universal he thus expounded ~~was~~<sup>is</sup> as the Idea of freedom for our age. If we turn to the latest undeclared

civil war in South Africa, we will see the indispensibility of that.

Start with 1976, Steve Biko, just before he was brutally murdered, defining what he meant by Black Consciousness, as the affinity ~~of~~ of FF, Soweto and American Black thought.

NAL, Oct. 1985 - QQQ

End with WLDOR-p.15

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