

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

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 ~~xxxxxxx~~ inadequacies of th. when masses are not in motion.

3) 1860s -- JOHN BROWN & WORLD

B) Party in eminent his.

c) CAP AS BIGGEST BLOW TO

BOURGEOISIE & THEREWITH

1864-1867
FIRST INT.

1871 WHY NOT STOP THERE instead

1875 Cr. of Gotha Program & 1875 as FE saw it in 1891 which is a very treacherous year why we start CHALLENGE TO POST-MARX MARXISTS with FE.

II. KM Centenary & Trilogy of Rev. + Challenge to post-Marxists and Other

Alternatives to Marx's Marxism

Lat facade & 1st & Vitkin or Soc. Review, or History Wkshop wish to fragment Marx's Marxism + WANT

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

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

YP2 + WH.p. attached

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 PHILOSOPHY OF REV. "IN PERMANENCE"

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

17167

① Elec
Com: 1983

FE Marx Sense, ^{reminded his sense} New
fulgyp REV. & Challen LP
to talk to Len
Draft: PHILOSOPHY/ORGANIZATION, ORGANIZATION/PHILOSOPHY

was not
Challen
to 19
above
all New
type
Marx

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. ~~(The year 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.)~~

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 ~~11~~ Theses of ~~Auerbach~~ as appendix to his ~~work~~.

VIL, RL, and Gramsci

Divergences in
and ~~Braverman~~ 1949-50

When philosophy ~~of~~ revolution was taken for granted
and merely thrown a bone, ~~in~~ ^{see the text} VII 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 ~~wasn't~~ granted intellectuals

"hegemony" ^{Intellect}

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 ~~xxxxx~~
suddenly ~~xxxxx~~ world both in life & Cognition.)

appears to be:

AFTER

~~Before~~ ^{74"} ~~we did have the~~ 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 toge- ther with the AA pamphlet as well as Lenin's ~~XX~~ 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 Miz

that's the problem of these last 3 decades and the totality of the crises makes what we began with. ~~Lenin's return to Hegel~~ but leaving out the question of the party cannot be answered. ~~as if it were an abstraction~~ ~~say, phil. in place of party~~ THAT MUST BE CONCRETISED, and it is that TRILOGY OF REVOLUTION concretised in each decade, 1950s-1960s 1970s, ~~1980s~~ 1980s, beginning backward, i.e., from this year, this "Have thumb, will travel" which got us, int'lly and all-org'lly involved. ~~but...~~

Can't be altered

Finally, I spoke not one word of Leadership, not because I see no role for it = If anything proves to necessity, the Greene do - But without phil. = as ~~argued~~

nothing MEASURE & REPLACEMENT OF ~~PEOPLES~~ ~~AS GROUND~~ for both leadership & ranks, it means

And because day AFTER 6 by 8 AFTER

Projection of M-H as the totality it is with Trilogies of Rev. Elicitation way to Org. Growth

The Idea

on IMPULSE from Part III, Ch. 2. Idea of Cognition. The Idea of the True as from Hegel as Q'd by VIL, Vol. 38, p. 206

one last time

"At 1st the subjective Idea is impulse... Consequently the impulse has the determinateness of cancelling its own subj-ity, of making concrete its reality (which was abstract at 1st) & filling it, for content, with the world which is presupposed by its subj-ity...

(As) Cognition is the

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-ity, 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 Unchained Dial. for Obj./Subj.
Ana von
CONF. COM

17172

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.