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MIKE

REPORT FOR EXPANDED REB, DECEMBER 29, 1985

NEW BEGINNINGS THAT DETERMINE THE END

The annual time ( Labor Day) of our Plenum this year coincided with the time ~~XX~~ when the Black majority's continuous revolts in South Africa succeeded in so shaking up South Africa's apartheid ruling regime that it plunged savagely into an undeclared Civil War against the unarmed majority. This, in turn, succeeded only in making internationally translucent the dauntless courage of the Black masses in this confrontation which had an international impact. The solidarity of the world masses with the Freedom Fighters was not only with their bravery but with their philosophy of revolution. The ramification of this type of solidarity was the recognition that the visage of Hitler was by no means limited to South Africa, but is the visage of present regimes, particularly Reagan's USA with its apologetics for Botha, which Reagan had the gall to call "active constructive engagement."

3 by N&L

It was this concept of Hitler's visage in the present state-capitalist rulers of the world that was the center-point of the Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 1985-86. It determined the Lead for the October issue of N&L, and led to the proposal to make N&L a bi-weekly, as inseparable from our philosophic challenge to all post-Marx Marxists to grasp Marx's Humanism The "new moments" in his last decade

Hitler's visage  
in PC rulers  
bi-weekly  
philosophic challenge  
to PMM

17274

made clear the following: Just as Marx's 1844 projection would be of a "new Humanism" indicated what Marx's Marxism/as a totality -- the newness and vision of paths to revolution-- so the 1880s left a trail for the 1980s, including what we now call the Third World and its relationship to the developed West. It is the task of Marxists to concretize and develop that for our age. These beginnings that determine the end were central to the 1985-86 Perspectives as we analyzed the following:

Marx's last decade to be worked out by our age

1985-86 Persp.

30 yrs

Archives

1980s Marxism in 30 yrs

The 30 year Retrospective/Perspective means the inseparability of Perspectives out of retrospective, from the very birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. It will influence our supplemental contribution to the Archives at the beginning of 1986. In re-examining what is still missing from the 30 year Retrospective/Perspective that I haven't yet finished, I became newly conscious of all the new this half-decade has signalled for Marxist-Humanist development, from the revelations that Marx's Ethnological Notebooks had introduced into today's world, to the July 1980 Draft Perspectives whose title was "Tomorrow is Now."

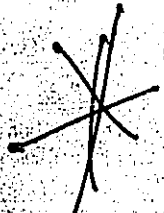
AB

Indeed, the January-February 1980 issue on Rosa Luxemburg was actually the 2nd of the draft chapters published which analyzed the new of Marx's moments which none of the post-Marx Marxists knew about, or did anything about when they did know. For Marxist-Humanism, however, the fundamental changes could be seen in the very new masthead, Theory/Practice, which also replaced the Two Worlds column title. That same

T/P

first year of the 1980s was when N&L had been so thorough in recognizing the new in the Black Miami uprising that we centered our whole analysis of the new stage of the Black revolt on what was called the "little shorties." It is the present activity of South Africa's children's revolution that has both illuminated further our analysis of the Miami shorties and showed how deep was Marxist-Humanism's relationship to Azania and to the second United States. By the end of that year, 1980, N&L carried the essay summary of a decade of Women's Liberation we called "The WLM in Search of a Theory" and we began serializing the 25 Year History. In a word, the conclusion of the 30 Year Retrospective/Perspective discloses the new of that decade in all fields of Marxist-Humanist analysis that definitely both parallels and projects further the essence of the dialectic, the relationship of the objective situation to XMM subjectivity as philosophy of revolutions

YOUTH  
little shorties  
SAFT  
Africa today



FRANTZ  
TRIP  
ARCHIVES  
BI-WKLY  
FINANCES

XMMX The new Introduction to the Frantz Fanon pamphlet, as well as the new collectivities for the trips to Appalachia, Mexico and Spain and perhaps to India, as well as supplements to the Archives and that most important road to a bi-weekly are what we will discuss today when we hear more on finances from Olga, on Organization and the Archives from Mike, on the bi-weekly from Eugene, and the Frantz Fanon pam-

\*It contained no less than three analyses -- i.e., Danby's "Fires of Miami Exposes Truth"; a Black/Red column on "Black Rage"; as well as being included in the Frantz Fanon pamphlet.

phlet from Lou. What I cannot evade here is a fairly detailed report on what is, in a sense, the most pivotal this year because it is the concrete for the whole organization, as well as for what I hope will be new friends -- and that is the Workshop/Classes.

A. THE DIALECTIC METHOD AND  
A. THE WORKSHOP/CLASSES ON CURRENT EVENTS

So new are our Workshop/Classes, not just for ourselves but because of the kind of workshops Marxist-Humanism has in mind, that philosophically as well as concretely they are totally new. You will become practicing dialecticians as we probe the objective developments and see that while the media gives you what happened, it doesn't give you the meaning objectively and subjectively -- and that is true both of the reporters and the so-called analytical commentaries.

To grasp the meaning, objectively and subjectively, <sup>Dialectically</sup> you need to have internalized what Marx meant by history-in-the-making -- history not just as past, but as present, and at the same time to realize that each generation has the responsibility for shaping and reshaping history for its own age though not out of the whole cloth. Dialectics means that you will probe the process of development both objectively and subjectively.

The meaning of the event is grounded in the event itself, your method of examining it is not just as a single <sup>or one</sup> event/which you judge in a quantitative way only, but in its totality, in its class relationships, where each class has an aim of its own. Rulers make headlines because of their power to exploit and destroy, and it is that military might that seeks to terrorize people with the knowledge that our fate...

Take the nothingness of accomplishment at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit. It was made to appear as a great achievement, but in truth the global crises that have brought the world to the edge reveal that the two Behemoths were simply not yet ready to launch a nuclear holocaust at this moment. So they smiled.

*Being + Nothing at summit*

Methodology had us probe the process of a concretely developing situation which led us to the philosophic principles of being and nothing. This has nothing to do with the Sartrean expression of Being and Nothingness. Hegel's dialectic principle of being and nothing does not end with that announcement of those two opposites. His dialectic was that being and nothing were inseparable from a synthesis of becoming. What Marx did with "becoming" was to develop the relation of actual class struggles which led to new unities of opposites across different national boundaries. Our age concretized the split in the Absolute as the new relationship of practice to theory. This is what we want to work out in the six projected Workshop Classes.

*30 mins*

*15 mins*

It is important that the primary reporter in each of the six classes/(with the sole exception of the first, because that one needs also to ) makes the report no more than half an hour. The other reporter in each session makes his/her report in only 15 minutes -- but does not speak directly after the first reporter, but during the discussion. The audience must have an opportunity to participate in response to the first report.

Both reports must be on a topic of the day --na and that day should be no later than within the week preceding the class.

SOURCE & PRINCIPLES

Each workshop will need to study the daily press inseparable from the source and principles. It is the source and principles that set the direction of the approach to the news. It is true that we approach a current event not in an abstract manner but concretely. Concrete, however, is not just immediacy or appearance, but essence which flows from Concept -- what to Hegel and Marx was comprehensive/concrete. Precisely because the meaning of the event is seen to be imbedded in the event itself, it draws the audience into participation. To comprehend a meaning in the concrete event, a meaning the audience may not have seen when it was just a headline in the newspaper, can "transform" listeners into participants. This is the purpose of the classes as workshops. The main reporter is to bring to the session one or two pages on what has been happening.

Purpose of classes  
transform listeners into participants

The source and principles are what give meaning to the event as well as understanding of Marx's concept of history-in-the-making and your own practice as dialectician to develop it for our age. It is for this reason that I want to consider as required reading a 10-year sum-up of Perspectives that Eugene wrote -- "Methodology of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives", the sections of which encompass "State-Capitalism, Marxist-Humanism, Absolute Idea as New Beginning! Third World and the Black Dimension."



Finally, I'd like to say that we want to pay a good deal of attention to the expression, "in the air." That is to say, what is "in the air" when an objective event compels a philosopher to so-called "anticipate" an event that hasn't yet happened. That is what we hope to achieve with these Workshop/Classes, as we are preoccupied with the concrete, the concrete, the concrete. Hold tight to Method as we further develop the first concrete Workshop/Class and related to it.

WORKSHOP/ Class Session I: THE REAGAN-GORBACHEV SUMMIT, THE THIRD WORLD THAT WASN'T INVITED (THE BLACK DIMENSION), AND DIALECTICS OF ANALYSIS

The first Workshop is not to take off only from the Editorial in the December issue of N&L (even though that was written as the summit was occurring). Though the Editorial did take into consideration the fact that the person who was not among those listed principal participants -- Weinberger -- was the one who really set the line through the Reagan-planned "leak", what is needed is to philosophically comprehend the objective situation, the masses making history, the undeclared civil war in faraway South Africa.

This is quintessential because it is important to not be diverted by seeing opposite nations talking, even when they are as far apart as the U.S. and Russia. The absolute opposite is within each country -- the masses against the establishment. It is the dissatisfaction of the masses

with their conditions of labor, with their lives in their respective countries, and it is the birth of the Third World in particular that are the real pivots. Even if we knew the secret, so-called unrecorded "personal" talks between Reagan and Gorbachev we would not know what motivated them, without Marx's dialectical analysis of history-in-the-making. For example, whether or not anything was mentioned by the two Behemoths about South Africa, the rulers' preoccupation was the dissatisfaction of their masses at home and of the Third World that doesn't want to tie its fate to either one of the two nuclear poles of capitalism.

Philosophy is needed to see this, so let's examine what is Method. Dialectic Methodology is primary to any subject. The point is that any so-called "simple" event has arisen out of something past as well as the present, and is "in the air" as some possible future we do not yet know.

Let me give you a concrete philosophic example. Take "Being and Nothingness." In the subject we are discussion -- Reagan and Gorbachev -- we have to consider both what was published of their talks and what was left absolutely blank, as well as what hadn't yet emerged fullblown even from the objective situation. That is what philosophy as anchor (or rather, as attitude) will have you probe -- first, by having it in the back of your mind when you write a brief two pages for the paper, then by expanding, working it out in full, after discussions with the class and later with yourself, as an essay for the future.

Summit

1) 2 pp.  
2) class disc.  
3) essay

rel. to  
FF as world  
revol. -10-

The co-existence of two different "systems" could be seen in their true state -- as merely different forms of world state-capitalism. What was pushing at them to smile was the concrete crisis in each one's country revealed by the dissatisfaction of the masses in their countries and the continuing unrest in all of the Third World, climaxed by what is happening in the most "stable" (militarized) country in the world -- South Africa. ~~XXXXX~~ The visage of Hitler is projected not only in apartheid South Africa but in all the countries. Just as we now see <sup>that</sup> the stage <sup>of automated and robotizes</sup> of capitalist production has produced a permanent army of the unemployed, so what is new since the 1958 is the emergence of a Third World as measure of the whole world -- and that means the masses of the globe. What the rulers will never understand is that it is not they but the masses in revolt who are the absolute opposite. Those masses have not had their final say and will not stop their revolt until their revolutionary struggle and passion for truly new human relations has become reality.

3rd world  
as measure  
of whole world

- READINGS:
1. 1954 Editorial on Guatamala (reprinted in Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak)
  2. Footnotes 17 and 165 in first (1957-58) edition of Marxism and Freedom. (See Sept. 1957 postscript at end of Introduction to first edition)
  3. Workers Battle Automation by Charles Denby (1960)
  4. 1984 edition of Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions.

Let me give you the other Workshop/Classes at least by titles as listed in the Prospectus:

Second Workshop will be on "State of the Union and Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program.

U.S.

Third will be "Latin America and the first new type of Peasant-Workers Revolution and the Third World"

FW

Fourth will be the political-philosophic new in the post-World War II world in East Europe, initiating a new epoch from under totalitarian Communism.

EE

Fifth will be What is New in our Marxist-Humanist Paper, N&L Journalism and the Absolute Method.

RS

Sixth will be The relationship of the New in the 1980s to Marx's New Moments (a sum-up of all the Workshop/Classes and a concretization of our Perspective to Labor Day.)

1980s  
MK  
MS

SECOND WORKSHOP/CLASS: "State of the Union and Marx's  
Critique of the Gotha Program."

We all know that in January the President has to deliver what is called the State of the Union address. All media pundits -- economists as well as politicians -- also sum up the year and try to see into the next. Statistics continue very nearly endlessly through January and into February.

We will consider them as we ponder the headlines of the week. But to really embark on one's task as a revolutionary worker-student-youth theoretician, we need to turn back the clock over a century to what may seem irrelevant but will be a profound illumination of today -- Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program.

In that work, Marx (in what he called "Marginal Notes") commented on the proposed union of "Marxists" and Lassalleans that was being founded to fight Prussian overlords. Bismark's Germany was in its most reactionary period following the White Terror of the first counter-revolution in France against the first attempt for a workers' republic, the Paris Commune. So new were the truly new human relations emerging there, with the women the first to sound the alarm and take up arms and with the working out of a form so new that Marx made "its own working existence" a beacon for all future attempts to gain a new society.

This session will be especially difficult both for the

and there are a  
one of us without exception has views on this, ~~XXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXX~~ multiplicity of Left tendencies who are all against  
Reagan but refuse to discuss the topic of what they are for.

Yet this is precisely what Marx talked about in those  
Marginal Notes. It is the first time ever that Marx wrote  
anything resembling a so-called party program not ~~XXXXXXXX~~ to  
immediate tasks, much less the existing situation, but ~~XXXXXXXX~~ <sup>insisting</sup>  
on projecting what communism would be after the overthrow  
of bourgeois society. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>Just</sup> as on the question of  
women, who are supposedly not mention but are actually the  
center of his thinking when he dismisses the Lassalleian  
proposals as "bourgeois twaddle", so the youth are also not  
mentioned directly and yet are actually at the center of his  
thought. The method makes you see that the whole question of  
what follows after the overthrow is aimed at the new generation  
of revolutionaries, not the older generation he is sending  
the Notes to.

- NOTES
- READINGS: 1. Lead in December 1985 N&L by Olga  
2. Summation of State of Union in regular press  
3. Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program  
\* 4. Chapter 9 of P&R

Bolivia 1952  
Spain 1937  
Latin Am. 1986

THIRD WORKSHOP/CLASS: "The First of the New Type of Worker-Peasant Revolutions in the Third World that Took Place in Bolivia, 1952 and Its World Ramifications that Date Back to 1937 and Forward to 1986"

Although what I am going to say now is just for keeping in the back of your mind, the methodology ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>points us to</sup> the relationship of something ~~MM~~ in the movement from practice that signalled the <sup>as</sup> new ~~MM~~ not only against capitalism but also against the so-called Communism in Russia. It was the 1937 Revolution in Spain. It made for a kind of new Divide in the 1930s not only in Spain but projected to the whole world, especially Latin America which was not tied to Russia in the first stages of revolt. AND it showed on the question of spontaneity on the part of all Left tendencies -- anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism, socialism, social-democracy -- that new ground for a new generation of revolutionaries was laid in such opposite places as the U.S. and Latin America.

Spain 1937  
U.S. Capitalism  
Stalinism  
Spontaneity

Whether it was the Debs or Lincoln brigades in the U.S. or the very first nationalization of the oil industry in Mexico, there was and continues to be a very new and historical alternative to both the transformation into opposite in Russia and a new stage of capitalism born out of Depression, i.e. state-capitalism, welfare stage, co-prosperity sphere. Relate how this impacted on the way we were to work out state-capitalism as the world stage of capitalism of which Stalinism was but the

1937

NB  
wk. out

Russian name.

Although this is kept in the back of your mind, the central point of Latin America is the new opposites brought on by the Bolivian Revolution, on the one hand, and Pax Americana on the other, all the way to El Salvador and Nicaragua in the 1980s. Reagan leaves no doubt in any one's mind that his view of Pax Americana will make headlines throughout 1986 as he continues his mad pursuit to overthrow the Nicaraguan Revolution .

- READINGS:
1. N&L Lead by Eugene on the Latino dimension which is not only South of the border
  2. Peter's Essay on Bolivia
  3. The whole 1930s period in the John Dwyer Archives
  4. RD's PPL on the Latin American Unfinished Revolutions and PPL on Grave Contradictions in the Iranian Revolution..



FOURTH WORKSHOP/Class: "The Political-Philosophic New in the Post-World War II World that Emerged in East Europe Initiating a New Epoch of Revolutionary Thought; a Return to Marx's Marxism in Production as well as in Philosophy in the U.S. in a General Strike; the Birth of Marxist-Humanism Itself -- All Grounded in Methodology in Hegel, in Marx, in Lenin's Break with his own Philosophic Past, 1914"

The point here is to show how totally new events, that become what philosophically would be called categories, actually are grounded in what is magnificent about Dialectics -- whether that be Dialectics in Thought alone (or maybe I should say where the objective situation, especially the revolution, is not openly seen as a determinate); or whether, as in Marx, they are definitely both philosophy and revolution but that was the 19th century. For Lenin, in 1914-17, it was the determinate in defining not only the politics of being against both imperialism and Second International socialism, so that the dialectics of revolution was the actual concretization of 1917. Central, however, is neither 1917 nor 1937 but the three decades from the 1950s to the 1980s with daily headlines on new forms of worker-opposition from MEX the birth of Solidarnosc in Poland to the ongoing underground revolts as they are related to new points of cognition -- and to such betrayals to the West as Kolkowski's writing, in Poland, "Toward Marxist-Humanism" but adhering in the 1980s to the new Reaganism -- as is seen in his coming lecture (in June) at the Univ. of Chicago.

- READINGS: 1. Chapter 8 of P&R on "State Capitalism and the East European Revolts"  
2. Chapter 12 of RLWLKM

ND's answer to Peter Bergman in N&L on "Why Hegel? Why Now?"

FIFTH WORKSHOP/CLASS: "Revolutionary Journalism and the Absolute Method: What New Has Been Brought in by the Marxist-Humanist Paper, News & Letters?"

The combination of the 30-Year Retrospective/Perspective and Eugene's "Methodology of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1975-85" will set a good foundation for what can only be worked out ever anew, daily. (Yes, you <sup>not only</sup> have to imagine that N&L will become a bi-weekly but how daily reading and analyzing of the press leads to the projection of the philosophic revolution that initiated the 30 years of the post-WWII world.)

This will be a certain type of summation and concretization of what we have done thus far when our need has been to express events as they happen and the attitude must be that to get the full meaning one must turn to it philosophically. You will be surprised at how many new things are seen in the same event, depending on the relationship it has to history, to our other writings, as well as to what we are trying to project for the next year.

Look again at Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future, not as a whole but singling out something like the article on the miners' wives as written when the strike happened and as seen in relationship to the article that precedes it when the category of "Woman as Reason" was created, as well as in relationship to the article reprinted in Praxis delivered during the Marx ~~workshop~~

1950  
1969  
1983

centenary. Try to do the same thing in relationship to something you have written, whatever period you choose, relating it to ~~XXXXXXXX~~ what you think about the same subject now.

READINGS: 1. N&L at a turning point in each decade -- one ~~issue~~ <sup>issue</sup> from each decade, the 60s, 70s, 80s. What is decisive is not a single article but the paper as a whole.

2. Eugene's essay on a 10 Year Retrospective of Perspectives Theses.

3. Mike's 27

SIXTH WORKSHOP/CLASS: "How the New in the 1980s Relates to Marx's New Moments in the 1980s (centrally with the yet unknown Ethnological Notebooks, and with the known but not grasped as epoch-making Letters on Mikhailovsky and to Zasulich)"

The Workshop, like the first, will need more than half an hour for the main (perhaps the only) speaker. It is a sum-up of what achievements, if any, occurred in the other five sessions. This brief retrospective look is not as repetition but in the nature of a Perspectives. What we are aiming at is to see whether there was something "in the air" on those subjects in the historic periods, at turning points in history, that we didn't see. If so, what ground did the dialectic analysis lead Marx to see that none others saw? It certainly wasn't a matter of prophecy, which he had always rejected, as historical materialist, believing firmly that "you can't know before you know."

What, then, led the young Marx in 1844, as he was discovering a whole new continent of thought and revolution, to say that the ongoing weaver's strike was greater than the Great French Revolution which had destroyed feudalism and created our modern, industrial, bourgeois world? What led him three years later, in 1847, before the 1848 revolutions erupted, to pen the Communist Manifesto and issue the challenge to the whole, now stable, bourgeois world: "A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of Communism"? The Manifesto

had barely got off the press when the 1848 revolutions covered all of Europe.

And what led him, 20 years later, after hard, rigorous, empirical labor in both the British museum and the class struggles at factory production lines, to conclude in his greatest theoretical economic-philosophic work that the law of concentration and centralization of labor -- even if it reached its ultimate, the "concentration in the hands of a single capitalist or capitalist corporation" -- would not change the absolute opposite: the general law it produced of the permanent unemployed army and "the new passions and new forces" for the reconstruction of society.

That was the true aim, the end, the goal. Marx credited the proletarian instinct of pointing the road to be taken without giving up the idea, at the same time, that this is what finally compels the revolutionary theoretician to draw a philosophic conclusion about that new society.

Here is how Marx transformed the Hegelian revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution. Where Hegel had concluded that only "intellectual instinct" paved the road to the Absolute and the Absolute still remained an abstraction, Marx had dug out from the process of objective development that the class instinct of the proletariat is so profound that if revolutionary theoreticians single it out

Marx vs. Hegel

that proletarian instinct will release, liberate, the theoretician to work it out to its logical conclusion fully, objectively and subjectively. Dialectic philosophy makes it possible to anticipate the future, i.e. develop a new relationship of theory to practice. That was Marx's transformation of Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution. It could not be done unless it was rooted in the practice from below.

Marx proceeded in his last decade to call/fo attention his substantial additions to the French edition of Capital -- especially on the Fetishis of Commodities in the first chapter, and on the Accumulation of Capital in the last part! At the same time, the period after the Paris Commune, he wrote his Critique of the Gotha Programme, studied what was then a "new science", Anthropology, especially Morgan's Ancient Society, and wrote his Ethnological Notebooks. From all of this he drew the following conclusions about what we now call the Third World:

- 1) The multilinear view of human development reveals, -- whether in the Iroquois in the U.S., or in the "Oriental Commune," or the Western peasant -- that there are other paths to revolution;
- 2) The peasants and the women are revolutionary forces as well as the proletariat;
- 3) Revolution may come first in a backward land like Russia before the advanced West Europe.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Standing on the Marxist ground and reason for a new relationship of theory to practice, Marxist-Humanism saw in the new moments of Marx in the 1880s a trail to the 1980s. Our tasks begin there, but that is not where they end. It is the todayness that has to be worked out anew in each epoch, based on the concrete of the new age. That cannot be anticipated; it must be worked out anew by the new generation of revolutionaries. That is the aim of these Workshop/Classes.

It is this which I want to sum up briefly so we can define our immediate tasks for a bi-weekly. <sup>The sum-up will take us</sup> ~~From the first~~ workshop on the two opposite current events -- the Reagan-Gorbachev summit and the headlines about the undeclared civil war in South Africa; through the Second, which combines the President's "State of the Union" address and Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program; to the third on the new type of worker-peasant revolutions in the Third World as a whole with concentration on Latin America; as well as the fourth on the political-philosophic new in East Europe revolt. <sup>By</sup> ~~The fifth~~, on revolutionary journalism and Absolute Method, it will become totally and concretely clear that the most fundamental division of all between Marx and Engels was by no means restricted to the Woman Question alone, though that happened to be the first work Engels wrote after the death of Marx. Engels' Origin of the Family is still embraced by so-called Marxists who have never worked out Marx's multilinearism as against

Engels' unilinearism on all human development, be it primitive communism or the relationship of the developed "West" to the undeveloped "East." But it is this "new moment" which is exactly what led Marx to concretize the multilinearism, and point to new paths to revolution with his Promethean vision that revolution could come first in a backward land like Russia rather than in the so-called advanced West.

Now that we are in the sixth and final class, we have to face the fact that this has left many aspects of Marx's Marxism not worked out. In fact, they cannot be because what we are approaching is the new work that isn't yet written on the Dialectic of the Party itself. We do have direction toward it, with Chapter 12 of RLWLKM, which <sup>contrasts</sup> ~~is~~ Marx's "new moments" (especially the Ethnological Notebooks, whether or not they were available in full) to what post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels, were developing instead. Marx's multilinearism vs. Engels unilinearism is integrally related to what we now call the Third World, to Women's Liberation, as well as to the elitist Party. Chapter 12 issues a challenge to them all because even great revolutionaries like Lenin and Luxemburg did not dive into the full depth of Marx on the forms of "the Party," which remains a noose around our necks. Rather, they ended by contributing to ~~the development of~~ <sup>why I transformed</sup> the word "post-Marx Marxism" from a mere date designation into a pejorative. Chapter 11 of RLWLKM, "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization",



1988

began tackling the philosophic-organization question, but that needs full development and that will not really be done until the book on Dialectic of the Party is completed, two years hence.

For the present, in this sixth class/workshop, we are limiting ourselves to how what we have projected in these sessions is to be expressed journalistically and philosophically at the same time. What Marx called "Marginal Notes" were not only organizational but philosophic. They were the only place where Marx concretely projected a communist society.

Though that is exactly what we began tackling with Chapter 12 of RLWLKM it will not be fully developed until I have worked out the new book. What relates directly to the Workshop/Classes is our concept of new forces of revolution, not only workers but peasants, not only the generic man but Man/Woman, and most pivotal of all, youth as a new generation of revolutionaries which is not burdened with as many remains? birthmarks of the capitalist society from which we will emerge.

Finally, whatever the readings are for this session,

READINGS: 1) Dialectics of Liberation (not to be considered for this session alone), which contains both the summaries of Hegel's major works and my "Letters on the Absolute Idea" as well as "Lecture Notes: Lenin on Science of Logic".

- 2) Chapter 1 of P&R
- 3) Chapter 12 of RLWLKM
- 4) Part II of IHABWJ
- 5) Introduction/Overview of WLDL
- 6) New edition of PPSABT

6th class

what I haven't talked about (and didn't expect to take up in a workshop on current events, although it is integrally related to Absolute Method) is a return to the past philosophically. That's what was hovering in the background when I wrote the December Editorial for N&L on the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, but it appeared again as I rewrote part of it when I met with Lou on the new Introduction to the Frantz Fanon pamphlet.

He reiterated that in addition to the Depestre-Ngui appendices on Negritude there was a need for most of my PPL on Grenada and for part of the 1985-86 Perspectives. There will be yet another footnote on CLRJ who by now is saying that there are no African roots, that the Caribbean personality is unique, "sui generis".

PPL Grenada  
1985-86 Perspectives  
CLRJ

~~NB~~ BEGIN  
At that point, a month ago, what had been hovering in the background suddenly loomed large and mysteriously straight ahead in the objective situation -- i.e. the parallelism between the two years, 1953-55 and today's 1983-85. All one has to do to see that there is nothing mysterious about becoming conscious anew of that parallelism is examine the two different historic periods. In 1953 McCarthyism pervaded the land as the first unpopular war in U.S. history, the Korean War, was drawing to an inconclusive end with the two super-powers continuing to put down markers for the next war between "west" and "East".

1953-55  
1983-85

McCarthyism

Nor was the division only among the rulers. As Lenin put it during the First World War, war is so over-

WAR

whelming a development that the rulers' reactionary ideology creeps into some revolutionaries who cannot see that more is needed than just being against what is. Lenin went so far as to designate his co-leader, Bukharin, as projecting ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ "imperialist economism." Similarly, during the Korean War, what emerged at first stealthily, was a division within the JPT in different attitudes to the new beginning manifested in the Miners' General Strike, two different visions of the kind of new paper we would issue when freed from Trotskyism. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>It was inherent</sup> in my 1953 breakthrough on the Absolute Idea as a movement from practice as well as from theory. All these issues culminated in CLRJ's refusal even to discuss those 1953 Letters as he silently ran from McCarthyism when we were listed, while I was working out the new beginnings in 1950-53 that would determine a totally different end -- a new society of truly human relations rather than just against-ism of what is.

Korean War  
+  
CLRJ

MGS  
Corrap

1953 ASJ  
vs.  
CLRJ ran away

Presently, CLRJ's never-ending forked-tongue-style of thinking and writing showed itself on Grenada\*, while the latest from his pen is so preoccupied with the Caribben personality being "unique, sui generis," that in his latest 1985 interview (called "An Audience with CLRJ"), he says he sees no African roots, but the Caribbean roots are so deep that he now extends them to those of "Caribbean origin", as he embraces ~~Stokely Carmichael~~ as being in that category along with Touissant.

In any case, the 1983-85 parallelism to the 1953-55 situation reveals that today's McCarthyism is not only the "ideology of a Senator" pervading the land but the power of a President Reagan from on high, armed to the teeth and reaching for the made phantasmagoria of Star Wars. His retrogressionism at home covers all fields from anti-labor, anti-Black and anti-WL to gaining ideological adherents ~~XXXX~~ <sup>with</sup> so-called former Lefts becoming "the new Right"; abroad, he tries to extend his imperialist invasion of Grenada as he works mightily to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution and help the contras overthrow the legitimate government there.

BEGIN  
Now how do all these conflicting powers, as well as very different political tendencies in the Left, relate so intimately to this year -- specifically the past few months since our Plenum, and from this expanded REB to our convention over Labor Day -- that we must turn to Absolute Method to that parallelism between 1953-55 and 1983-55?

1953-1967  
In order to better understand the present moment in the sense of reaching for the future, we have to return all over again to what has been the theme of all these Workshop/Classes -- not history as past, but Marx's concept of "history-in-the-making." Let's begin with our bulletin on Dialectics of Liberation -- which contains no foreword that would direct you to see what connects the Letters on the Absolute Idea, written in 1953, before the break with CLRJ, to the summaries of Hegel's major works, written in 1960-61, after the break, and the 1967 Lecture.

Notes on "Lenin on Hegel's Science of Logic".

What we did the minute we were free of CLRJ, who ran from the listing, was not only not to run away from McCarthyism but to unfurl a new banner of Marxist-Humanism with a new type of paper and my "assignment" to complete Marxism and Freedom. These facts led me back to how much labor goes into making a philosophic category, not only when you are driven in the right direction by your instinct, but even in 1983 when the challenge to all post-Marx Marxists was worked out and opened new doors for Marxist-Humanism to the Black dimension and Women's Liberation, although we did not concretize the ramifications of that until the New York trip this year.

1955=  
N&L  
M&F

★

W. K. ...

*Notes*

*1st 1953 pamphlet*

To the extent to which we did mimeo the 2 Letters on the Absolute Idea of 1953, with the Philosophic Notebooks of Lenin, we did so without comment, <sup>as I noted</sup> and we definitely published Lenin's Notebooks so enthusiastically that not a whiff of any critique of Lenin was present.

And yet, and yet ...

Listen to the May 12th, 1953 Letter, as I related the Absolute to Marx's "absolute general law of capitalist's Great Contradiction in the accumulation of Capital, and concluded on the "dialectic of the party": "I am shaking all over for we have come to where we part from Lenin."

"H, are you as excited as I? Just as Marx's development of the form of the commodity and money came from Hegel's syllogistic UPI, so the Accumulation of Capital (the General Absolute Law) is based on the Absolute Idea.

"Remember also that we kept on repeating Lenin's aphorism that Marx may not have left us "a Logic" but he left us the logic of Capital. This is it -- the logic of Capital is the dialectic of bourgeois society; the state-capitalism at one pole and the revolt at the other..."

With that conclusion on the "economics" in accumulation of capital and its general absolute law, I ended by showing that Marx had ended with the new beginnings (the revolt of the masses) by setting "the limits to the dialectic of the party which is part of bourgeois society and will

*AB*

whither with its passing as will the bourgeois state."  
Whereas "full liberation takes precedence over economics,  
politics, philosophy, or rather refuses to be rent asunder  
into three and wants to be one, the knowledge that you can  
be free..." (Svitak told me that the underground dissident  
revolutionary left know that sentence.)

The May 20, 1953 Letter then goes into the Philosophy  
of Mind, where Hegel goes from the objective situation  
where "freedom presents itself under the shape of necessity"  
in the "form of reality" (objective world). By the time  
Hegel reaches the Mind Absolute, I write: "The movement is  
from the logical principle or theory to nature or practice  
and from practice not alone to theory but to the new society  
which is its essence." And I conclude commentary on the  
paragraphs #573, 576, 577 with the declarative sentence:  
"We have entered the new society."

Clearly, it wasn't a matter of just the half para-  
graph WIL told us doesn't matter and I had my first "debate"  
with him and proceeded to <sup>go where</sup> ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Hegel directed me, to his  
Philosophy of Mind. And clearly insofar as CLRJ was con-  
cerned, the break was complete and the new organization,  
News and Letters Committees, assigned me to complete "State-  
Capitalism and Marxism" <sup>as</sup> ~~MM~~ Marxism and Freedom, where I  
spelled out not just state-capitalism but Marxist-Humanism.  
But why was it so long before I could make the next philo-

1953  
↓  
1955  
MEF

1953 → 1973

why??

i.e. where

sophic leap by going where none had trod before -- those last 3 syllogisms were developed as the Absolute Idea as New Beginning that would determine the end -- in Philosophy and Revolution. 1973?

RD to HM

Thanks to Mike's great archival work, he has found 82 letters between Herbert Marcuse and myself, which show that as early as May 5, 1955 I broached the Absolute Idea to Marcuse. MM/sooner had Marxism and Freedom got off the press in a letter on Jan. 28, 1958 than I spoke of a "supplement" to M&F on Hegel's AI. By Oct. 16, 1960 there is a whole kind of introduction, where I relate the AI not just to Hegel but as it must be worked out for our age. First and foremost I <sup>add</sup> M&F to the Absolute "and the New African Revolutions." I show that I really mean all of today's revolutions as I speak of Mao as administrative mentality and adventurism with the so-called Great Leap Forward, and warn against him as one who proposes himself as the "leader" of the Afro-Asian Revolutions, and talk against Eisenhower-Khrushchev. That is the letter of Jan. 12, 1961, which is already in the Archives. The others will be included in the new volume to the collection in 1986.

ORIGIN & SOURCE 1953

Now to go back to the subject MM of origin and source. We all know 1953 as that origin and source. And we can see a direct relationship to the concepts we worked out in Philosophy and Revolution in what was written long before it was a book. Does that really mean "it"? (No.)



Only when it is fully worked out as it was in 1973 is it "it." That is why I am so opposed to what academics call "prolegomena" and what we call simply "Introduction" when it is so elaborated that you do not grasp what is quintessential--

THE NEW, THE NEW, THE NEW.

The source did start for Marxist-Humanism in 1958-60.

But insofar as we were not conscious of it as a new category, and it was not worked out explicitly until it was recognized as the new category, philosophy and revolution. ~~it is not "it"~~

The source, though it can lead to a new category of the scope of a new epoch, can't and doesn't become that new when it is just "in the air". It doesn't become the new until the actual movement from practice makes it so -- i.e. helps the philosopher to make it a category.

This holds true also for the period 1983-85, at the end of which I can finally make a category, that is inseparable from organizational conclusions, of those new doors opened on Black dimension and Women's Liberation just when we had ~~the~~ RIWLK finally in hand, with Chapter 12 challenging all of post-Marx Marxism and showing it as a pejorative.

The point here is that <sup>not</sup> until the objective situation in retrogressionist Reagan-land showed a parallel to 1953-55 was I ready to make the organizational proposals for individual and local reorganization that affect the whole organization. As we ~~prepare~~ <sup>not only prepare</sup> for new beginnings ~~not only~~ with trips...

NR

1953 is not 1973  
vs. Prolegomena

1958-60 not conscious  
1973 recognized

1983-85  
Category of Ch. 12  
or E + W

1983-85 for org. proposals

bi-weekly } out of  
DofP } 1983

abroad and to Appalachia (which we had already voted for),  
but pave the road to the bi-weekly as well as for the next  
look on the dialectic of the party. I am proposing the  
following reorganizations to expand both the worker and  
intellectual periphery of the New York local: Sending 4  
to N.Y. means taking 2 out of Detroit. But then they will  
gain a tremendous NKB member -- an activist, archivist, OLAT w  
writer. And there may be another for Detroit if Chicago  
asks for expansion of its PIC next year by gaining one who  
was experienced with N&L when it was published in Detroit.  
There will be 2 also going to N.Y. from Utah and we cannot  
help them -- but one contact at once rose to the challenge  
and joined to keep Marxist-Humanism growing in SIC. And  
you already know from the discussion at the Plenum that  
simultaneous with our move to the bi-weekly will come the  
move of Peter to the Center.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE EXPANDED REB MEETING, DEC. 29, 1985

AGENDA: I. Welcome; II. Presentation by Raya on "New Beginnings that Determine the End"; III Discussion; IV Lunch Break; V Discussion continued; VI Summation by Raya and Adjournment.

Raya's report had three parts:

I. Introduction: The Whole and Its Parts

II. The Dialectic Method and the Workshop/Classes on Current Events

III. Return to the Beginning: The Parallelism of 1953-55 to 1983-85; Categories, Tendencies, The Objective World

(The report has been published in full as a special bulletin and will not be reproduced here.)

\* \* \*

The floor was then turned over to Raya for her SUMMATION. She was limiting herself to four points, but with the "Chinese method of numbering", in which all four are "firsts", all important. She turned first to the move of comrades to NY. It's not true, as Marcotte had joked, that NY "pirated" them. When you reach a new philosophic stage and that with also a new objective situation, people recognize it and volunteer. The person volunteering recognizes that the new is so important that they make the conclusion for their own lives. The new in philosophy, the new in the objective situation, was combined with being able to make a concrete organizational conclusion out of the NY tour.

The need for dialogue has never been greater-- to speak to yourself about the concrete person you want to enter into a dialogue with first, and ask how to present M-Hism on that one point that will

get through to them. Now take the new that I didn't know myself till last night. Take the making of multilinearism as more important than unilinearism. Believe me any Stalinist can say it, or any pragmatist. The Stalinists can use it as an argument for the Popular Front. How, Raya asked, can we keep multilinearism vs. unilinearism from becoming a cliché? Raya pointed to what still hadn't been done, even though we singled out Ch. 12 of RLWLKM. I never connected Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of the Party right from the objective situation with Engels after Marx died. What happened when Engels made the dialectic unilinear? Was it just the Origin of the Family, which the Stalinists both "update" and then still declare their allegiance to? In this same period Engels got the Social Democracy to publish the Critique of the Gotha Program, which had been lying unread from when it was written by Marx in 1875 until 1891.

But that isn't the whole story. First, it wasn't published as written; and second they published it as a "contribution to the discussion". Who, after all, organized the Second International-- Engels was responsible. Now go to our day. On the dialectic of the party we had always given CLRJ "credit", since we were all working on this. But now we can see that we were talking about two entirely different directions. When I said "we are parting from Lenin", it was not just on the vanguard party. It was after I had been studying Hegel's Absolutes. And there was no collectivity among the three of us. Now when re-reading those 1953 letters, you see I had the dialectics of the party, and yet it isn't concrete against Engels. The Origin of the Family and the founding of the Second International is not only the same period, it is a stunting of the dialectic. When the two are considered together, it is clear that his thought wasn't Marx's. Here he is in a party filled with Lassalleans, and they publish Marx's critique only as a "contribution" and ignore it, and it is known as a "Marxist" party. Engels didn't betray, but he didn't have the vision of Marx from 1844. Marx couldn't find anyone else to be the collaborator. What is new, and what would make more understandable what we mean by all forces of revolution, not just one force, is to tell women's liberation that it is not a totality as a sum-up, but a totality which is a new beginning which determines the end.

Now let's go to CLRJ and leadership. Re-read every word of Afro-Asian Revolutions. Remember it was written in 1959 because Mao was challenging on contradiction. No parallel is a repetition; that is clear from re-reading it now. Everything is development through contradiction. Here was a new enemy right from within the Third World revolutions. Was he only a Stalinist? Or was something new? AAR is warning the Third World to watch out for this combination of administrative mentality and adventurism/voluntarism of will posing as Marxism.

The worst Maoist is CLRJ, but he has no power. Each person wants to be at the center of revolution. For 15 years he said the U.S. was the center of revolution; I will lead it. Now he says I returned to the West Indies; I am Black; and the Caribbean is unique, it is sui generis, and I am the one who will tell you about it. It isn't only that he leaves out the masses. It is also that he leaves out philosophy, the new relation between theory and practice. Only personality remains.

That is how the second edition of Black Jacobins came to associate Toussaint L'Ouverture with Fidel Castro. The question of leadership asks: do you really just need the will of one man or one woman? Re-read the footnote in AAR against CLRJ and you will get a very different perspective on the question. That path is exactly the one he has been travelling down from Nkrumah to Grenada, where he speaks out of both sides of his mouth. (Here Raya reviewed CLRJ's writings on Grenada, and the actual dialectic of the events of the Grenadian revolution.)

Eugene used a terrific word-- "release", of your own views as a theoretician when the masses show you where you are going. Let's be specific on what I didn't develop in 1953 vs. 1973. M&F is M-Hism; it is the most basic book; it is concrete. Absolute is there in the very first chapter. What I didn't see, and what still was necessary? 1) I didn't have a collectivity. In 1953 it was Johnsonism, and after 1955 it wasn't immediately free of it. M&F projected a whole new philosophy of revolution and traced the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory back to 1776, before Marx. But it wasn't made concrete because the youth wanted activity, activity, activity. First we had to go through the experience of the 1960s, of being critical. Only when the objective situation showed that the activity of the 60s led to counter-revolution, could we see the new. Counter-revolution can teach you as much as revolution.

1973 meant Absolute Idea as New Beginning. That was new. That was what dictated also Ch. 9 of P&R. The two together (Ch. 1 and 9) determine the end. The parallelism of 53-55 and 83-85 isn't straight lines by any means, it is development through contradiction...

The new generation of revolutionaries have no right to regard history as past. It is "history in the making" in their age and as it was made by other ages. In that history is dialectics. Look at the 60s. There is nothing that was gained in it that hasn't been turned back today, yet we are showing a path to transcend that. Just look at the people at one meeting in NY: from Africa, from the Caribbean, from the Black USA-- the whole Black world was represented. You got a real multi-linear view of Black and of ourselves. You see why NY was not only cultural center, but crucial for us. The workshop-classes are related to this very directly, because the greatest need to develop these new relations everywhere is for us to become practicing dialecticians.

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