

LIST OF 35 LETTERS IN PHILOSOPHIC CORRESPONDENCE, 1949-50

1. Feb. 18, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
on Lenin's Notebooks on Hegel's Science of Logic. (Doctrine of Being.)
2. Feb. 25, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
on Lenin's Notebooks on Logic. (Doctrine of Essence.)
3. March 12, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
on Lenin's Notebooks on Logic. (Doctrine of Notion.)
4. May 14, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
on "circumstances surrounding" Lenin's Notebooks.
5. May 17, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
on Lenin and the "actualization of the dialectic proper."
6. May 18, 1949. Dunayevskaya to Lee  
on Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.
7. May 20(?), 1949. James to Lee  
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8. May 27, 1949. Discussion notes: James and Lee.
9. June 8, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
on Lenin's Notebooks on Imperialism.
10. June 10, 1949. James to Dunayevskaya  
First response to the correspondence thus far.
11. June 13, 1949. James to Dunayevskaya  
on Lenin's Notebooks and the period 1914-1923.
12. June 19(?), 1949. James to Lee  
on Lenin's method and the method of this correspondence.
13. June 20, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
on the Logic, Marx's Capital and the new stage of capitalism (imperialism).
14. June 24, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
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15. June 28, 1949. James to Dunayevskaya  
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16. June (?), 1949. James to Dunayevskaya  
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17. July 2, 1949. James to Lee  
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20. July 6, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
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21. July 9, 1949. Lee to James  
on Lenin and Bukharin; the Taylor system.
22. July 15, 1949. James to Lee  
reply to letter on Bukharin.
23. July 20, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
on Lenin 1914-1917.
24. July 25, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
on Lenin as "revolutionary dialectician and thinking Kautskyian."
25. July 29, 1949. Lee to James  
on Lenin's Notebooks on the Logic.
26. August 16, 1949. Lee to James  
on Hegel's categories of Universal, Particular and Individual.
27. Aug. 25, 1949. James to "everybody"  
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Further comments on Lee's letter of Aug. 16, 1949.
29. Aug. 30, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James  
on Lenin's approach to dialectics: 1900-1902; 1908; 1914-1916.
30. Sept. 4, 1949. Lee to James  
on Hegel's Logic: Doctrine of Essence and "the revolt."
31. Jan. 24, 1950. Dunayevskaya to James  
on the structure of Capital.
32. Jan. 30, 1950. Dunayevskaya to James  
on Marx's plans for Capital.
33. March 14, 1950. Dunayevskaya to James  
on the miners' strike and Marx's writings on coal.
34. June 7, 1950. Dunayevskaya to James  
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35. Jan. 15, 1951. Dunayevskaya to James  
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2/18/49

Dear :

I decided to translate the Philosophic Notebooks on the Science of Logic in toto as excerpts cannot avoid the appearance and actuality of being forced. Here is the first section, dealing with the Prefaces, Introduction and Doctrine of Being. Note that the Leap (translated by Hegel's translators as Jump) you made so famous in your Notes is not in Quality but in Measure. It is the climax, that is, to entire first volume. He begins by objecting to the pedantry which listed the title of the Observation to the Nodal Line of Measure-Relations: (Examples of Such Nodal Lines; natura non facit saltum) in the contents pages but not in the text itself. He then proceeds to introduce his conclusions with "gradualness explains nothing without leaps", then he repeats the title of the Observation "as if Nature did not make jumps" which he emphasizes further by repeating the word "Leaps!" at a side, then softly emphasizes "Interruptions to gradualness" and ends with quoting pages 389-90, "It is said, natura non facit saltum" and two more Leaps! follow that. You would think at this point that he feels gaily and can transit to Essence easily. No, he complains here that the end of Vol. I. "Transition of Being to Essence is analyzed doubly obscurely." How much that man knew and how much more he was searching for!

You will enjoy the notes on Being which you practically skipped over in your hurry to get to Essence. It seemed to me one of the reasons was the necessity to begin with simplest categories, because both in philosophy, economics, politics and what have you those simple categories "contain in germ the whole". An excellent example of this firm grasp of the dialectic at its simplest is his remark, after complaining that Hegel is unclear, or rather he is unclear about Hegel's full meaning in "Die Objectivitat des Scheins, die Notwendigkeit des Widerspruchs" (inherent negativity):

"Is not thing the thought, that appearance is also objective, since it is one of the sides of the objective world? Not only Wesen, but also Schein are objective. Even the distinction between subjective and objective has its limits."

No wonder that man could write of appearance so profoundly! "Imperialism A Popular Outline." Need I harp on my favorite peeve: compare to this analysis of appearance to Rosa's analysis of essence in her Accumulation

Another thing that struck me anew was emphasis on Method, Method, Method "the dialectic which it has in itself": ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ The first reference to Capital occurs here when he quotes Hegel "not a mere abstract Universal, but as a Universal which comprises in itself the full wealth of Particulars." When you add to his emphasis ~~about~~ on the development of thinking through "its own necessary laws", his attack against "using" forms of thought "as a means", the attacks both on Kantianism and his "thing-in-itself" and Transcendental Idealism and its "subjectivism", you can see that the concretes which Lenin had in mind when he was reading Logic were both the economic conditions--Capital plus the Imperialism he was going to work out--and Ideology of the Bernsteins, Kautskys and, yes, Rosa Luxemburg since in that very period he also made notes on her book. What rich years were 1914-1918 for Lenin in his "study room"!

Evidently for the first time he was struck also by the fact that in the back of Hegel's mind when he worked out the "self-development of concepts" was the whole history of philosophy. (He had made these notes before those on Hegel's History of Philosophy) Along with this was the emphasis on how "materialistic" rang the sound of Hegel's statement "What is first in science has had to show itself first historically." Lenin gave a very, rather truly materialistic interpretation of history as it meant to him also the economic foundations of society. At the same time he contrasts "Sophistry and Dialectic" in general when he quotes Hegel: "For sophistry is an argument proceeding from a baseless supposition which is allowed without criticism or reflection; while we term dialectic that higher movement of Reason where terms appearing absolutely distinct, pass into one another because they are what they are, where the assumption of their separateness cancels itself." Both Hegel and Lenin hit at "baseless assumptions"; this is very important for our work, of course.

Among the "baseless assumptions" are those that divide finite from infinite by an impassable barrier, or, as Hegel would put it, by making one "a this-sidedness" and then establishing an "other-sidedness", a beyond. It is at this point that he deals with "Ought and Barrier as moments of the finite", but very briefly; I went back to Hegel very carefully on that, and the correspondence with G on the relation of this to the general contradiction of capitalism you are acquainted with. I will return to that again ~~later~~ at another time.

No one reading Lenin can resist temptation to quote him on the dialectic, although they know the reader is all too anxious to stop reading this to get to Hegel himself, so here goes: This comes after Hegel's "The things are, but the truth of this being is their end."

"Thoughts of dialectic on Hegel. NB.

Sharp and wise! Hegel analyzes concepts which usually appear dead and he shows that there is movement in them.

The finite? That means movement has come to an end!

Something. That means not what Other is.

Being in general? That means such indeterminateness that being = Not-Being.

All-sided universal flexibility of concepts—flexibility reaching to the identity of opposites. This flexibility, subjectively applied = ~~subjective~~ eclecticism and sophistry. When this flexibility is objectively applied, i.e., reflecting the all-sidedness of the material process and its unity, then it is dialectic, it is the correct reflection of the eternal development of the world."

Have fun with Lenin and be patient about his Notes on Essence since this is a very large section and I do this between many other activities.

Yours,  


1598

1 5 9 9

Feb, 25, 1949

Dear J:

Herewith Lenin's Notes on Essence; I am moving faster with the translation than I had counted upon mainly because I had thought it would take time "to find" the quotations but now find that as I myself internalize Hegel I nearly always flip open the right page.

The deep richness of Lenin's Notes would overwhelm me if it were not for their utter simplicity. As if you did not believe me, let me cite but one instance. He is talking about a "purely logical" working out of the dialectic and continues "Das fallt zusammen. It must coincide as does induction and deduction in Capital. "Not for one instance does he permit you to think that to compare the dialectic "merely" to the deductive and inductive method of Capital is "narrow" for the comment occurred as an addition to: "The continuation of the work of Hegel and Marx must consist in the dialectic working out of the history of human thought, science and technique." Moreover, "technique" or the technology which sets the ground for our mode of production, production relation and generally the whole intellectual development, is nowhere here so overpowering that you think of the mind's development as a mere reflection of the economic relations; that too not only has its own laws but "works upon" so-to-speak the economic material and the result is not any one of these things alone but all of them together. This can be seen, for example, in the three dates that he sets down for ~~the~~ universal development:

- (1) 1813--Science of Logic or the theory of development
- (2) 1847--the Communist Manifesto, or the application of dialectic to society.
- (3) 1859--Origin of Species, or "application" of dialectics to man.

Whoever is still so fool-hardy as to look for a "primary cause" may do so if he has enough time to waste; Lenin will have none of that--he will have only totality and movement and break-up and movement.

If the three sections of the Doctrine of Essence, ~~as they~~ summarized in 3 words, I'd say Manifoldness for Show, Law for Appearance and Totality for Actuality. Manifoldness is particularly important if you consider that Lenin wrote his Notes when the world was being rent asunder. Lenin, in quoting Hegel on the fact that both Scepticism and Idealism admitted manifoldness and yet the dared not "affirm 'it is'" and the other dared not regard cognition as knowledge of the thing-in-itself", comments:

"You include all the manifold riches of the world in Schein and you reject the objectivity of Schein'at!"

Lenin notes, further, not only that Essence must appear (He rather he comments on this statement of Hegel's, thus: "The little philosophers dispute whether one should take as basis the essence or the immediately given...Hegel substitutes 'and' for 'or' and explains the concrete content of this 'and'") but he emphasizes that even here is "one of the determinations of essence". Naturally, he does not fail to underline that one-sided determinateness of Essence has no truth, but he emphasizes also (permit me to skip here): "Causality is ordinarily understood by us as only a small part of the universal connection, but (a materialistic addition) the small part is not subjective but the objectively real connection." I could not help but feel that these "small parts" which had "objectively real connection" were the elements of the phenomena about him which became the book Imperialism.

1599

May I be permitted to linger a moment on Law of Contradiction, seeing that both Lenin and you considered so much the essence of the ~~dialectic~~ as to quote it in toto? I however wish to limit myself only to its relationship to the general contradiction of capitalism. I began to harp on the applicability of parts of the dialectic to that general contradiction even when I was in the Doctrine of Being (Section on Ought and Barrier in relation to infinite production--production for production's sake th t is) and now I find that Hegel notes (p.87): "Infinity which is contradiction as it appears in the sphere of Being" and then moves rapidly on to demonstrate that "the principle of self-movement consists of nothing else but the exhibition of contradiction". Having moved that rapidly he concludes "Motion is existent contradiction." The emphasis is Lenin's and suits me perfectly for grappling with the law of motion of capitalist society in philosophic rather than in value terms. If am wrong, I can always return home--to the law of value but something bids me continue with it.

Some time back I wrote to Grace about the fact that "Kingdom of laws" in Phenomenology had me baffled since there seemed to be a contradiction between that analysis which fitted the primitive conception of the Stalinists and the economic laws to which Marx refers to as dominating over society regardless of the consciousness of men. I was on the point of considering myself still as a mere "woman of understanding" when I met with Lenin's notes on the Law of Appearance, where he not only sends himself back to the very same section in the Phenomenology, but after listing no less than 10 definitions of law in Hegel, he concludes that all these definitely differ from the final conclusion, p.135. Allow me to take these summations step by step as they will help me transit to totality. Law is, says Lenin, paraphrasing Hegel:

(1) unity of show and existence; (2) one of the steps of the cognition of unity and connection, of reciprocal dependence and totality of the world process; (3) the enduring and persistent in appearance; (4) the identity of appearance in its reflection; (5) the (quiescent) reflection in appearance; (6) narrow, incomplete, approximate; (7) essential appearance; (8) law and essence of concept are homogeneous...expressing the deepening of man's knowledge of appearance; (9) reflection of essential; (10) a part; appearance, totality, wholeness is richer than law.

But here Lenin stops himself to note: "But further, although it is not clear, it is acknowledged, it seems (pp.135 especially) that law can overcome this inadequacy and grasp also the negative side, and totalitat der Erscheinung." Must return here!" Now p.135ff has what appears to me the key sentence: "The determination of Law has thus changed Law itself." At which Hegel proceeds to show what it was "at first", what it became as "negative intro-Reflection" developed it, and concludes "Thus Law is Essential Relation." The emphasis is Lenin's and brings us precisely to the comprehension of law in the sense in which Marx uses "absolute general law" which can only be abrogated by the mediation of the proletariat establishing different social relations.

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What a dialectician that Hegel was; nothing else can explain the sheer genius of that man's language which defines identity as "unseparated difference" and now as he enters Actuality and Totality, asserts that totality is found as "undered completeness." The emphasis is Lenin's, which shows he was not going to be outdone by a man who lived and died long before WWI. You will like the way Lenin weaves in the Smaller Logic to clarify the essence of the dialectic. He underlines Hegel's "The sum total of the elements" which, as it opens itself out, discloses itself to be necessity." And then translates: "The unfoldment of the whole totality of moments of actuality NE = essence of dialectic knowledge." He also asks himself whether by "moments of concept" Hegel does not mean "moments of transition". He is full of "all-sidedness and all-embracing character of world connection." Always it is: Connection, relation, mediation, necessity, motion, unity of opposites, break-up of identity, transition and motion, motion and transition, and that is totality. I believe I am ready to follow him into Notion.

Yours,

1601

3/12/49

Dear J:

I am extremely happy in being able to send you the conclusion of Lenin's Notes on the Logic. If you wrote your Notes on the Dialectic for me, then I translated Lenin for you. Surely you who have gone into a regular "conspiracy" with Lenin on the analysis of Hegel deserved seeing Lenin's notes in their entirety, and not merely in extracts. Being the only Russian, it was my duty to have done this long ago. The only reason (and it is the real ground, not a mere excuse) I have for not doing so is that I could not have without first having digested your Notes; so now we are "quits". Perhaps I'll even be conceited enough to say that when you come to rewriting your Notes I can be of service.

Let me say at the start that, although you have entered into this "conspiracy" with Lenin, the outstanding difference between the two "versions" is striking. You will note that Lenin's Notes on the Notion are as lengthy as those on the Introduction & Doctrines of Being and Essence combined. Yours were too—but in your notes on the Notion you included the actual application of it, both insofar as a balance sheet of Trotskyism is concerned as well as in outlining our own leap, but Lenin's Notes on the Notion are that bulky in and for themselves, with bare indications as to how to apply. The difference is not accidental. Lenin was looking for a new Universal. He found Hegel's Idea, and said: if I may steal an expression from Marx who stole it from some one else: hic Rhodus, hic salta. And even then Lenin couldn't fashion his new universal: revolution to a man: until there appeared the Soviets, 1917 version. The Idea had him pose the question correctly; the Russian masses supplied the practice; and then Lenin arrived and unified the two and called it: State and Revolution. We, on the other hand, although we are looking for our (this age's, that is) universal, have something to go by as Lenin had not. Hence, although you spent that much time on Notion, and included its practice, the thing you chose most to stop at and say: hic Rhodus, hic salta to was the Law of Contradiction in Essence. That too is not accidental since what we are confronted with is not a "betrayal" (like that of the Second Int.) but the contradictions of Trotskyism which still passes for Leninism and in which we too have our roots and being, so much so that even when you come to the Notion (in your Synthetic Cognition) you return back to Essence, contradiction of form and content, cause and effect, etc. in order once and for all not only do away with, but overcome, transcend Trotskyism.

Just as the LEAP characterized Lenin's comprehension of the Doctrine of Being, LAW as Essential Relation his grasp of the Doctrine of Essence, so PRACTICE characterizes his very profound analysis of The Doctrine of the Notion, and why he chooses to single out the section on the Idea as you had ~~the section on~~ Observation 3.

*Handwritten note:*  
EVE has been  
sent to the  
in June 1952  
the day after  
a 1952 book



Benin begins with the fact that "The dialectic road to cognition of truth is from living observation to abstract thinking and from this to practice" and never lets go of this for a single second. He insists that the laws of logical cognition reflect objectivity in the subjective consciousness of man, but he does not stop at reflection. No, he states categorically, "Man's cognition not only reflects the objective world, but creates it." (My emphasis.) But if you think for a moment that that means you can get off into the high clouds of the land beyond, he brings you right back to earth and practice, practice, practice: "Conclusion of action"... For Hegel action, practice is the logical 'conclusion' of the figure of logic. And this is true!

Of course, not in the sense that the figure of logic has by its Otherness the practice of man (= absolute idealism) but vice versa: the praxis of man repeating its-lf billions of times, fastens itself in consciousness of man by the figures of logic. These figures have the solidity of a prejudice, an axiomatic character precisely (and only) because of this billion-timed repetition"

And again: "The activity of man, composing for itself and objective picture of the world changes the external activity, transcends its determinateness (changes these or other of its aspects, qualities) and thus takes away from it the traits of appearance, externality and nullity and gives it being in-itself and for-itself (= objective truth)."

And before that: "...undoubtedly practice in Hegel stands as a link in the analysis of the process of cognition and precisely as a transition to objective ('absolute' according to Hegel) truth. Marx, consequently, clings to Hegel, introducing the criteria of practice into the theory of knowledge: cf. Theses on Feuerbach."

And before that: he had traced the embryo of historical materialism in Hegel, quoting and emphasizing (in caps) the following from Hegel: "in his tools man possesses power over external nature even though according to his ends, he frequently is subjected to it."

His whole emphasis on the End, and Subjective notion is that the aims of man are generated by the objective world but that he changes, subjectively desires change and acts; there he goes so far as to call the objective world non-actual and the desires of man actual, and the reason he hangs on so to the Idea is that "it not only has the dignity of a universal, but also the simply actual."

Let me see whether I can do with The Idea, what I tried to do with the Law, listing it in detail, for Lenin has no less than 17 definitions--more correctly, manifoldednesses: (What a word I just made up!)

- 1) Notion and objectivity;
- 2) relations of subjectivity to objectivity;
- 3) impulse to transcend;
- 4) process and subordination of thought and object;
- 5) contains strongest contradiction in itself since notion reaches freedom and eternally creates, eternally overcomes
- 6) is Truth (only as totality and relation does it realize itself;
- 7) is Reason (Subjective and Objective);
- 8) is objective activity

9) develops through (a) life, (b) process of knowledge, including practice, (c) reaches the Absolute Idea or complete truth;  
 10) logical notion, which = natura AND concreteness AND abstractness AND phenomena AND essence AND motion AND relation; 11) not only dignity of universal but also simple actual; the richest is the most concrete; 12) unity of cognition and practice; 13) 3 postulates summarize it: (a) good End (subjective End) vs. actuality ('external actuality'); (b) external means (weapon) (objective), (c) correspondence of subject and object, the verification of subjective ideas, which are (14) criteria of objective truth; 15) Absolute Idea as unity of theoretical and practical idea; (16) method of absolute cognition, after which is the (17) summation of the dialectic.

For that Lenin gives 17 other aspects which constantly develop through relations, (objectivity), contradiction, (struggle), transition, unfolding of new sides which seem to be a return to old (negation of the negation), motion, practice. He sums up science which he considers, after Hegel, "a circle of circles" as the movement from "subjective Idea to objective truth through practice," with no end of emphasis on technique and the objective world and subjective aims: "Technique, mechanical and chemical, thus serve the aims of man, in that its character (essence) consists in its determination by external conditions (by the laws of nature)." Finally concluding that the only verification of all these dialectical laws is the application to individual sciences and hence the emphasis on our restudying Marx's Capital, which none of the Marxists of the 20th century understood, and a remark against himself: "Marxists criticized the Kantians and Humists at the beginning of the 20th century more than in the Feuerbachian (and Buchnerian) than in a Hegelian manner." The emphasis on the plural (Marxists) is Lenin's; it follows the remark against Plekhanov; and has an additional remark: "The question of the criticism of contemporary Kantianism, Machism, etc." In other words, the emphasis on the plural includes himself as he is the only one in addition to Plekhanov who had bothered much with Machism.

It is a masterly understatement to say that I am immensely impressed. A better way to express it is that I am dying to get down to apply all this to two things: (1) the American economy to which I hope to get to seriously this summer; (2) to Marx's Capital in which I hope Grace will collaborate; I have written on some of the aspects already and will tomorrow send off another letter on other aspects.

Because I have been very anxious to finish this (Novack's visit took a week out) I have not read either the notes on the Puritan Revolution or the one on the Negro question; I hope I can keep both till next week and will let you have my reactions then.

*Handwritten note:*  
 J. P. ...  
 ...  
 ...

My love to Connie.

May 11, 1949

Dear J:

For the time being--because I have not yet had time to reorient in Pittsburgh--I will not write on the dialectic itself (that is on Lenin's Notebooks on it) but only the circumstances surrounding it:

(1) Krupskaya's memoirs (Vol. II, pp. 153-5) speak of 1914-6 and emphasize (a) international range of VIL's activity which gave a new tone to his work for Russia, (b) study of philosophy as preparation for his essay on Karl Marx, which began with Philosophic Materialism and Dialectics. Krupskaya comments: "This was not the usual way of presenting Marx's teachings. Before writing the chapters on philosophic materialism and dialectics Ilyich again diligently read Hegel and other philosophers and continued these studies even after he had finished the essay. The aim of his work in the realm of phil. was to master the method of transforming philosophy into a concrete guide to action. His brief remarks about the dialectical approach toward all phenomena, made in 1921 in the course of the controversies with Trotsky, Bukharin covering the trade

Studies in philosophy began upon his arrival in city

unions, or the but evidence, he must have had access to this paper from his own (2) The introduction by Adoratsky, under the editorship of Bukharin, to the Notebooks (Leninski Sbornik, #12, 1932; the Leninski Sbornik #9, 1929 has an introduction by Deborin) along similar lines). These state the following (a) "In all works after 1914 Lenin mentions the dialectic. For example: 'Collapse of the 2nd Int.', 'Results of the Discussion on Self-Determination', 'About the Junius Pamphlet' and the Trade Union dispute." (b) then cites the notes of the Lenin Institute which show that on 11/30/20 Lenin asked for a copy of S. Labriola's 'His. Mat. & About Philosophy; (Ilyin: Hegel. Also in that year he asked for a Russian edition of Hegel's Science of Logic. (c) letter to editors of Under Banner of Marxism in 1923. (The introduction by Deborin had also included reference to Lenin's Notes on Bukharin's "Economics of the Transition Period" as being entirely about "method". I remember, incidentally that when I studied these notes, although I studied them only as an "economist" I had been much attracted by his criticism of Bukharin's statement as to capitalism being "an antagonistic, contradictory order" because these two words were "not one and the same. The first (antagonism) would disappear, the second will remain under socialism." And began to ply you with questions as to difference of the two in Hegelian terminology. Also, never being able to get away from the accumulation debate, I remember now that the outline of Lenin's intended book against ~~the~~ included a section entitled "Dialectics and eclectics")

11/30/20 VIL asks for copy of His Logic. 1929 I was under Bukharin's VIL's

Now the question of Plekhanov. You will remember VIL's first reference to him (p. 40 of my tr.) is still as a source for after quoting Hegel on the "arabesques of history" Lenin comments: "This 'inner spirit'--of Plekhanov--is the idealistic, mystical but very profound indication on historic causes of events." The note by the M-E-L Institute on that refers you to ~~Engel~~ Plekhanov's "On the 60th Anniversary of Hegel's Death" which is the alpha omega of some people. By (p. 49) however he places him as one who criticized the Kantians in the Feuerbachian rather than the Hegelian manner. This is 1914. In 1915

-2-

he begins his notes on Hegel's History of Philosophy. It is there (p.6 of the excerpts I sent you) that he writes:

"NE"Work out; Plekhanov wrote on philosophy (dialectic) probably nearly 1,000 pages (Belto v. against Bogdanov against Kantians... on fundamental questions, etc.etc.) There is nil in them about the larger Logic, about it, its thoughts (i.e. dialectic proper, as a philosophic science)!!"

The MEL Institute then footnotes the names of these works, thus: re Belto v. "On the Question of the Monistic View in History"; re Bogdanov: "From Defense to ~~Attack~~ Offense"; re Kantians, Bernstein, etc: "Criticism of Our Critics" and "Fundamental Problems of Marxism".

And finally there is the reference to Plekhanov in the short piece "On Dialectics" in Selected Works; XI, p.61. As contrasted to that there is the advice to the youth to study Plekhanov. No one, however, has denied that Plekhanov never had taken up the question of the dialectic.

It is not true however that Lenin's notes were merely notes inside of a copy in the library in which any one could have written. The Philosophic Notebooks consists of 10 notebooks, on the cover of the first of which Lenin marked: "Notebooks on Philosophy".

Unfortunately I cannot get the work of Ilyin here; ~~Examine the work of Ilyin here; it would take over a month to try to borrow it from Library of Congress; I think the only thing we can do is drop it for the time being and when I am next in NY (it will not be May 30 as that trip has had to be cancelled; perhaps July 4th) I will read and make extracts.~~

What you write of the plenum is "interesting".

Here all is quiet and relations smoothed; I will see they don't run off that course again.

The Best to Connie and Nobby.

6 0 7  
May 17, 1949

Dear J:

I've been thinking of some points to be included in the letter to Marcuse, and it seems to me that to follow Lenin through his Philosophic Notebooks, the decade, 1913-1923, should be held on to firmly for the one red thread that runs through his great activity in that period as well as through his notebooks is the actualization of the "dialectic proper" as the disintegration of the order and its categories on the one hand and the self-activity of the masses and creation of a new social order on the other hand. The Logic to him is the theory of knowledge which sees (1) the necessary connection objective tie-up of all sides of a given phenomena, and (2) the immanent emergence of difference or the union of the objective logic of evolution and the struggle of differences of polarity.

We can practically follow him step by step and see how he applied these keys of the dialectic to his study of Imperialism. His study of the objective situation is connected with his study of the phenomenological reflection of this phenomenon in:

Hobson's Imperialism (1902)  
Hilferding's Finance Capital (1910)  
Luxemburg's Accumulation of Capital (1913) (Although the latter is not included in his book on Imperialism, we know from his notebooks on Rosa's work that he had that in mind & in fact his remark that her eclectic approach to the phenomenon of imperialism had so bewildered her as to lead her to a revision of Marx assumes added significance now.)

These three, from the social liberal Hobson to the revolutionist Luxemburg and including the centrist Hilferding fail to grasp the quintessential, and that is that it is the concentration of production which led to monopoly (out of which imperialism was born) & Lenin stresses that ~~these~~ these are the "steps in the rise of finance-capital and the notion contained in the term." (My emphasis) That is to say, Hilferding by giving finance capital the predominance has failed to show how the financial oligarchy arose, just as the Narodniki had failed to show how surplus value was realized and thus both remained in the market, rather than sticking to production both in its expansion and in its concentration. To Lenin, however, who saw the totality of all sides of imperialism, imperialism emerged from capitalism in general, but capitalism at a stage "when its essential qualities became transformed into their opposites".--And Lenin does not stop here, but adds "when features of higher social stage" arise. And precisely because he saw the affirmation in the negation (and who, which class, was to affirm it) he was not bewildered by the oppositeness of monopoly and competition; on the contrary he saw that the former did not drive out the latter "but coexists over it."

Emergence of difference, furthermore, is not only in object, but in subject--relation of the two fundamental tendencies in the workingclass. In fact the dialectic proper meant

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grasp of the contradiction in essence, and the division of the proletariat itself into an aristocracy of labor and the mass in general. To fail thus to connect policy with economics meant that the 2nd International in its Resolutions in 1912 had not advanced one step beyond Hilferding's economic study, and this point Lenin makes at the very start, in the prefatory note to his book.

This must seem very repetitious to you since I am not saying anything we did not already know, but I am trying to say it from a new angle—to connect what was new in his Imperialism with his conclusion that none of the Marxists had understood Capital and particularly saw its first chapter for it is impossible to understand that without comprehension of the whole of Hegel's Logic. It seems to me that what Lenin means by that is that no one had seen imperialism "growing out of" capitalism, specifically, the concentration of production "out of which" was born monopoly any more than they had been aware of the unity of opposites in the commodity (Lenin seems never to tire of repeating that the "germ" contains all the contradictions of the fully developed capitalism, and he even compares the commodity containing in embryo all the contradictions with the first simple generalization containing the basis of logic.) The form of value, where Marx "flirted" with the dialectic is full of one thing manifesting itself as its opposite: use value appears as its opposite, value; concrete labor as its opposite, abstract labor; private labor as its opposite, social labor; and this constant transition of one into the other creating ever deeper contradictions and antagonisms out of which new relations are born.

What Lenin seems to be saying is that with the Marxists of the past 1/2 century the repetition that the fetishistic form of a product of labor as a commodity hides the social relations of men was a mere ritual and because of that they, in their age, failed to see that the fetishistic form of appearance of the concentration of production as monopoly-capital on which imperialism was built hid the socialisation of labor and hence imperialism as "the eve of the revolution". Because they failed to grasp this they separated politics from economics.

That that was not only on the part of Kautsky with his theory of ultra-imperialism and "preference" of political methods but even of revolutionists and Marxists such as Bukharin and Trotsky is best seen from the trade union debate. (Forgive this violent jump from WWI to 1920; these are but rough notes and I am trying to follow through the major "discoveries" of Lenin's dialectics, rather than following the historic course.) His constant, almost tiresome reiteration, of the superiority of politics over economics seems to me to say that so long as a class state exists politics is the truth of economics.

Since truth, in turn, is a process which includes life, knowledge (including practice of man) and absolute idea, or notion plus reality, the relationship of politics, or the activity of the proletariat, to economics, or the activity of the objective forces, is that of man transcending nature; or the ~~real~~ activity of the workers "to a man" leading to the birth of social man. That is why he paid so much attention in his

1608

notes to the section, The Idea, in Hegel's Logic, stressing that the best of the dialectic is there. His profound grasp of the subjectivity in the objective, and the objectivity of the subjective is seen best of course in the State and Revolution where the proletariat "to a man" runs the economy, makes the revolution, transforms the ideal into the real and puts an end to the ordered chaos of capitalism, and later fights the bureaucracy in his own workers state to protect the workers from its state.

PCAP

Q3

Perhaps it would be well to concisely sum up all his references to Capital in order to show what he saw in it as he read Hegel that he had not seen.

(a) first reference (p. 8) is to Capital as "not a mere universal" but containing "full wealth of particulars."

(b) secondly (p. 32) he refuses to separate the "purely logical" from the "mere historical" and points to the fact that the two must coincide as do "induction and deduction in Capital". It is there too he notes that the continuation of the work of Hegel and Marx "must consist in the dialectical working out of the history of human thought, science and technique."

(c) his reference to value (p. 45) as to grasp abstraction higher than the "sensuality" of supply and demand.

(d) in the section on the Universal, Particular and Individual he says (p. 43) is "historical analysis is reminiscent of Marx's imitation of Hegel in Ch. I."

JPS

(e) in dealing with the true significance of the Logic Lenin notes that "Marx has applied the dialectic of Hegel" to political economy. (It is here he says simple value contains all contradictions of capitalist, and simplest generalizes "signifies the ever-deepening knowledge of the objective world connection.")

(f) On p. 80 is the quotation we always use as to no Marxist understanding Capital who has not understood Logic.

(g) On p. 86 he deals with the fact that practice in Hegel is "a link in the analysis of the process of cognition (precisely as a transition to the objective ('absolute', according to Hegel) truth. Marx, consequently, clings to Hegel, introducing the criteria of practice into the theory of knowledge of Feuerbach."

(h) finally (p. 82) are the references to Marx leaving us the logic of Capital, and logic, dialectic and the theory of knowledge beings and the same.

Now the relationship of Lenin to Plekhanov, beginning with 1914, is as the relationship of Marx to Feuerbach, no more, and also no less.

You have no doubt noted that beginning with 1914 in his essay on Marx and ending in 1923 with his letter to the editor of Under the Banner of Marxism Lenin seems to separate philosophic materialism from dialectics; regarding the former he gives credit not only to Plekhanov but also to Chernyshevsky and to the present (1923) editors of Under the

Banner of Marxism who are not Communist but are materialists. No doubt in part this division is due to the backwardness of the Russian peasant who has to be broken from religion (idealism) on very elementary levels; and in part it is due to being true to his past (not subjectively but objectively, as Hegel rose from Kant and we from Trotskyism). This, then, also creates for us a bridge to the totally new, and we can make our philosophic leap by showing that on the question of dialectics he gives credit to no one but Hegel himself and Marx and the dialectic to him is the <sup>of</sup> knowledge.

Please forgive this disorganized form of putting down my thoughts; since we are not together, cohesion of expression is not possible until I actually see an outline of what you propose to write. One more thing must be included, and that is developing the connection between WWII and the liberation movement on the one hand and the appearance in 1943 of Marcuse's Reason and Revolution on the other hand; and the end of WWI and total collapse of the old categories and our appearance with Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.

NB From the practical point of view the letter should begin with the fact that Philip E. Wesely of the Russian Institute of Columbia University having suggested I write him, and also somewhere bring in the names of Roman Jacobson and Meyer Schapiro with whom I have discussed the project, and finally Dr. Grace Chin Lee as my collaborator on the German, or however you wish to introduce her.

Tomorrow I shall finally get around to typing you a copy of the draft we made out when I was in NY.

Warmest greetings to Connie and Nobby,



5/18/49

Dear Grace:

I note that in your letter to J you mention the division between materialism and dialectics that evidently characterized Lenin's philosophic conception when he wrote Empirio-Criticism. It is insufficient however merely to record the fact and that that was contrary to the primacy Marx assigned to dialectics. We must know: why was Lenin thus limited? In my letter to J, dated 5/17, I try to develop a historical reason. I point to two facts: the relationship of VIL to Plekhanov paralleling that of Marx to Feuerbach and, two, the backwardness of Russia. (Incidentally we must also remember that Empirio-Criticism was written against those who left Marxism ~~for~~ for God and hence it was a sort of a natural throwback for Lenin to have taken this "backward" step in stressing materialism and failing to see the dialectics; the great chaos and contradictions we see in 1949 were not anywhere that sharp in 1909.) Now it seems to me that Lenin's "error" can be worked out philosophically, which is why I am writing to you, and economically, which I hope to do. In other words, what is the relationship of materialism, English, to materialism, French, to materialism, Russian?

That man Marx was a most remarkable genius--we have not yet been able to work out the theses on Feuerbach that he jotted down in 1845, but it seems to me to contain a key to our present problem, and why not dig at it? The two that stand out in my mind particularly are: "The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism--that of Feuerbach included--is that the object, reality, sensuousness is conceived only in the form of the object, contemplation but not as human sensuous activity, practice, not subjectively. Thus it happened that the active side, in opposition to materialism, was developed by idealism--but only abstractly, since, of course, idealism does not know real sensuous activity as such...."

"The standpoint of the old materialism is "civil society"; the standpoint of the new is human society or socialized humanity."

It seems to me also that with J's working out of the Puritan Revolution, we get a different relationship of masses to philosophy than we got when we kept on repeating that Kant for years before the French Revolution worked out the bourgeois mode of thought, n'est-ce pas? In other words while working out the philosophic relationship of materialism and dialectics which will explain Lenin and also us--where were the masses in 1908 when Lenin tackled philosophy for the first time and where in 1915?

1611

1 6 1 2  
May 207, 1949

My dear G:

I forgot to mention that I had read your notes. I thought them wonderful, and I liked their ad hoc character. No theses. These are better and unless I deceive myself, there is more material in them this way, more leaps.

I have not been doing much but I went over Mat'm and Empirico-C' and had a good look at the Philosophy of Mind. I got nothing from the second for our task now, but I have a hunch something is there for us. But looking at your notes, the P'v and M'm and Empirico-C'm and thinking a bit, I get the following:

2. I begin with 2 because 1 will come out of all this. Lenin 1907 and P'v had to fight old-fashioned bourgeois idealism, and wrote to suit. Why? Because their enemy was Russian Menshevism permeated by liberalism, the radical petty-bourgeoisie. Note: Lenin had read P'v years before; he had written who are the Friends of the People (about which more later) That was against the Narodniks. Now is the reaction he had to battle for plain materialism. Reading the book over I find no inadequacy. He did what he saw needed to be done. He dealt with the epistemological question, in general.

2) In 1914 the enemy is the labor bur'y 2nd Int'l, on a world scale; socialism itself is in question; not from liberal idealists, not from Kantians, but from avowed Marxists, materialists. Therefore his study of the Logic had to clarify materialism, not materialism from idealism but vulgar materialism from dialectical materialism. Hence, opposition, contradiction, the moving principle of the dialectic; and then to practice. The ~~subjective~~ the subjective contained in the objective. In outline, as a universal, he does State and Revolution, and after ~~that~~ he sees that, he had a program for the rev'n, Threatening Catastrophe, etc.

3) Now in 1948 I sit down to write in Nevada. What as I look back strikes me as the thing that I felt most needed to be done; this, that error is the dynamic of truth. That Stalinism is the concrete by which the proletariat arrives at concrete socialism. That Stalinism is the perversion of Leninism, but contains in the role of the party national defense repudiated, international action firmly adhered to, repudiation of private property, etc. It is not the unity of opposites merely - it is a very vivid feeling that only by the means that we can understand progress.

I feel that this means much more to us in 1948 than it did to Lenin in 1914. Do you feel that way?

Secondly, as I told you, the other day, I feel very strongly that the difference between synthetic cognition and dialectical philosophical cognition, dominates our approach; it did not dominate his. Here is another reason added to the one I gave you the other day. Stalinism is a materialism much more dangerous than vulgar materialism. It actually attacks and carries out all renovation of capitalism except the abolition of wage-labor. Already Engels had said that state-cap'm contains within it the technical means etc. etc. only that the prol't remains prol't. (I omit the idealism and positivism into which The Stalinists are hurled)

We have a more deadly enemy than either Lenin or P'v (1894) or Lenin (1908) or Lenin (1914) had. Hence for us the new aspect - the complete theory of knowledge, dialectic worked at and out in a way that our predecessors did not have the necessity to do. And as Lenin had had to attack P'v and Rosa, so we have to clear up all problems with the 17th.

Between 1894-1908 we have epistemology and chiefly quantity into quality; in 1908 unity of opposites, contradiction; in 1948 we have as our main objective the negation of the negation, and the clarification of the very types of cognition within the dialectic itself.

Finally L in 1914 had to emphasize practice. For us in 1948 there was no theory and then practice. For us theory is practice; their unity for us is established by the needs of life. There was still a division in L's time (1914). I see it in his notes, I am very conscious that for us that division does not exist. I see a dialectical development in the Marxist studies of dialectic.

But there is more to it. We included in our epistemology, materialism & idealism, the whole dialectical theory of knowledge, practice, all ending in the practice of prol'n, i.e. rev'y politics. I use "politics" in the Greek sense - the whole man, the complete man. Today the problem of epistemology is a political problem, i.e. the full and complete actions of universal man, politics, economics, philosophy. Lenin had this in 1914 as an abstract universal, or if you like a first statement of the concrete universal. In 1908 or thereabouts the political party was for him the only means by which the workers could test the relation of forces. Today the party, in the sense that we use it, now, is the only test of all knowledge, etc. I don't know if you see this as I see it.

Now we can get back to No. 1. When K.M. was working out the theory in the forties he worked it out completely in the abstract. He had in the Economic-Philosophic M.S. to work out epistemology; against Bauer & Co; Feuerbach (the theses), Proudhon, and against Hegel he took up all problems, nature, humanity, humanism, negation of negation, practice (philosophic and political); what was still objectively separate in L's mind in 1914 - theory and practice, Marx made into a complete whole, in the Economic-Philosophic M.S. and again in Cpl. Vol. 1, 512; you remember where he says, industry will collapse unless man becomes fully social. The basic opposition was (for him then) between the emergence of real humanity from out of the degradation of the prol. I do not see that very clearly in Lenin against the Narodniks in 1894. In the Holy Family, quoted in the introd'n to German Ideology, also, there is a famous passage in which he very clearly uses this Hegelian concept as the reason for the prol. as human. So you see, Marx uses the dialectic completely in working out a theory against Hegel and his perverse progeny. But later stage by stage certain aspects of it emerge and are treated until today we have to use it all, but much more concretely and in greater wealth, detail, etc. than he did. Finally if Lenin saw the importance of philosophic idealism, in 1914, we see it more than he. We are poles apart from Hegel, but very close to him in another respect. As materialists we root man in his environment, but now that the real history of humanity is about to begin, the Hegelian concept of speculative reason, comes to life with us, as never before, on our basis.

Re the Logic, again. Naturally, Lenin, in proving that capitalism had to develop in Russia, in fighting for an arena in which to create a Social-Democratic party in Russia, used the broad sweep of dialectic which could be got second-hand from Marx. In his essay on Marx in 1912 (3?) he had the regular concept of dialectic. But it is when the prolet. itself divided in 1914 that he feels the need for a more penetrating study of the Logic. So there it is.

Here are a few odd remarks. You say L in 1915 sees that dialectic is the main thing, not the mat'm. I have shown it, or rather indicated why.

The core of dialectic is self-movement through opposition. Good. But that is the core of dialectic-for him, in 1914. But for us, 1948, in our world, the core of dialectic is the materialist interpretation of Hegel's last chapters in the Logic, the complete interpenetration of subjective & objective idealism and materialism. We see that error is the dynamic of truth more clearly than L. But for that very reason we have to move on. Think of that passage in Vol. III, p. 900 and something in which KM talks about what man must be - the necessity of creating an environment suitable to his human nature, what the freedom consists of. He sounds like a Unitarian minister, there are powerful overtones of philosophical idealism, until suddenly he ~~ends~~ ends: "Its fundamental premise is the shortening of the working day."

You see, in writing to Marcuse we have to know precisely where we stand, in relation to Lenin, so that when we write, we lay the basis for ourselves tomorrow. In fact we cannot write clearly at all unless we have this development in order.

You say again: the whole question of whether knowledge ~~is~~ and the categories are external... involves the party. If the categories are developing content, then the masses are living process, etc. etc. Good. Now after this I look at Lenin again, 1914, he writes us if all this is very new to him. Look on p. 51 of the Notes where he says:

"Very profound and wise! The laws of logic are the reflection of the objective in the subjective consciousness of man."

Look at the way he repeats it. The ~~concreteness~~ <sup>grasp</sup> of this is new to him. Now in 1948 this was not new to us, even before we grasped the importance of his Notes. What was new to us in Hegel, to us who had experienced 1923-45? We had to see the organizations of the proletariat & developing "categories" of society. Lenin had reached to the Social-Dem'y; ~~and~~ we were reacting to Stalinism. We had far more knots and focal points to draw from. We therefore were able to join the subjective, i.e. the party, to the objective, the mass (the org'd prol't) in a way I could not. He was verily aware of the gap between his Universal and the concrete (I must take this up some day). His greatness is that he strove to bridge it. We, 1948, and in the US in particular (the educated by the European experience) see that there is not so much a gap as a unity. Where he say the gap, we see the unity. Can you do something with this? Finally, and really finally; Lenin says KM did not leave a Logic, but he left us the Logic of Capital. Now in his 1894 work he dealt with the general theory of Capital, dealing with economic and social relations against the stupidities of the Narodniks. In 1908 he takes up elementary epistemology. In 1914, he deals with labor bur'y. opposition within prol't, relates this to the concrete cap'm of the day, etc. and finds State and Rev'n. The party and party policy continue to be the expression of these relations. Your para where you say "the whole question of the party" is correct, but only in its context. We have begun the dialectic of the party itself. The party is so much the expression of everything, that we battle not with the logic of Capital, (not ordinary epistemology, but with the epistemological, the economic, the historical, the political significance of the party. Looking through and ~~and~~ thinking over L'm, at its various stages of philosophical development, I do not see this, just this. The real history of humanity is beginning. He posed the problem in S & R in terms, general, of the mass, the inevitability of soc'm, etc. We are beyond that. For us it is now Mind, the subjective element, the party. But on this issue, we are on one side; and everybody else, but everybody, is on the opposite side.

If we can get somewhere on this, then we can put L' in 1914 very precisely historically, and ourselves also, theoretically and practically. For today is no problem of the economic basis of society, no problem of epistemology.

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nothing at all, except: Man ~~has~~ can be free. Is he able to do it? If so, how? Socialism, yes! But it means the one-party state. The every-day preoccupation is the same preoccupation of abstract theory. I think this is very very significant for our case.

J.

(Please forgive my typing job - It's done between cashiering, phoning, answering  
salesmen, etc. -G)

1945

DISCUSSION J & G - May 27, 1949

There is a dialectic in thought. It moves in its own way. It was for Lenin political thought and organization to correspond. The old way previous to 1914 in which the crisis of capitalism would automatically bring the social revolution - that was henceforth dead. The question was how the socialist idea, the socialist movement, subjectively would develop, what was its ideals etc. Henceforth enormous respect for Hegel's idealism.

Marx's critique of the Hegelian dialectic in 1844 must be brought in. Very vicious against Hegel's idealism.

The concept of practice - not the concept that the Stalinists have that the intellectual must come out of his study and act on the line. Concept of mass practice developing and testing itself. Concept of essential capacities, man's activity - the basic difference between this and bourgeois revolution. The bourgeois revolution and bourgeois ideology essentially that of conquest of nature, overcoming duality of thought and being, man and nature, development of productive forces. Third International still has that ideology - development of productive forces - that is bourgeois. P. 31 - Marx's Critique - cuts away from this opposition and shows that it is the root of positivism. Marx watches humanity - the way inhuman way in which human essence materializes itself. Throughout Capital bases himself on man.

There is a sequence of dialectical development which appears in every revolutionary period. There is a conquest, a leap forward, stated first of all abstractly but in opposition to previous period. This which is an advance of the subject becomes rationalized - turning into on the one hand idealism and on the other positivism - the essence of both being that man is over here, nature is over there and the gap to be bridged somehow. This is always totalitarian. Finally a new synthesis is established.

For example, the great leap forward in the 17th century was the development of individuality. But what the philosophers (Hobbes) did was to take the individual in their solitude, not as developing but as they were (war of one against all) and therefore had to set a governor over them. You have the sequence in every development of philosophy. Bacon, Hobbes, Locke (see introduction to S, E & U where Engels extracts from Marx on French Materialism in The Holy Family). Man had to find himself in nature - therefore at the beginning the principle of unity of knowledge and being. Bacon's discovery is that man is active in the world. (See Hegel - Phenomenology - on Reason's Certainty and Reason's Truth to get this dialectic through from the initial affirmation and revolutionary advance to its degeneration into positivism.) Buritans express this principle. At the beginning it is revolutionary. Then Hobbes rationalizes it, and the counter-revolution establishes itself on a new basis, the old basis having been licked. Ultimately this self-activity of the individual has to be re-instated. Locke does this for bourgeois society. What Locke fails to see in flourishing England however is the contradictions and negativity in this movement. Leibniz establishes the latter as principles and did it for the same reason that Kant did it for Rousseau, i.e. the backwardness of Germany. Leibniz's monads have more self-movement than Locke's because they contain this negativity, differences in the unity and therefore necessity for transcendence of differences.

We have the same sequence in Kant who establishes the primacy of the human intellect as process of cognition. Fichte occupies himself with this process in the negativity, where Kant had postulated the reconciliation (infinite progress). Schelling resolved the contradiction in the same way that Hobbes had, by a totalitarian ruler. Hegel then reaffirms the principle of self-acting intellect insisting on the process of mediation and the ultimate unity as a premise. As he insists continually he could only do this as contrasted with Fichte because he didn't begin with the isolated individual but with society and history.

(Rae's note of 5/26/49 establishes this same sequence for Lenin, Stalin and ourselves in 1949 - the party as principle, conscious political practice, in 1902; then in 1923 Stalin doing what Hobbes and Schelling did - finally today) Essence of Nevada document)

In Greece, first of all the Milesians getting away from pure sense-certainty. Then comes Parmenides of whom the atomists are merely a variation establishing this principle of Being-for-Self in a rationalistic form. The breaking away from this rationalism to occupy themselves with the development of individuality comes in the sequence from Socrates to Aristotle. Within this broad sequence, we see the same dialectic from Socrates to Plato to Aristotle)

Working with this principle of broad sequence and then internal sequence, we can see the analytic judgment in the 17th Century with Locke and the Encyclopedists doing for society what Locke did for the individual. Then the Synthetic judgment with Kant whose inevitable result is Schelling. Dialectic reason and the speculative judgment emerges with Hegel. This has to be worked out more precisely. Hegel does it on the basis of the mass movement in the French Revolution, the Emigres, the Babouvists. They try to correct Kant and then Schelling from below. Hegel, apart from his idealism and final positivism reduces their actual movement to method.

In the Realm of Being the dialectical movement is completely different from that in the Realm of Essence. The dialectical movement in the Realm of Being is constant degradation of the determinate being of the individual in his given reality to part of abstract universal. The movement is to quantity, abstract labor. The abstract principle of Being-for-Self has to become this degradation, precisely because it is abstract. The dialectical movement in the Realm of Essence is something else. (Previous to 1914 the whole revolutionary movement, the 2nd International and all the rest of them were essentially in the Realm of Being. Even Lenin before 1914 was not very conscious of Essence although objective situation in Russia drove him to the Logic. The key to Lenin's notes on Logic is this relation to Essence. We today have not only to do Essence but also Notion, the dialectic of the party. The Stalinists today are still fighting Catholic humanism by rationalism. It is the reformation all over again which with the stage that humanity and objective development have reached, is most merciless tyranny.

The movement in the Realm of Essence is the expansion of the concrete individual, developing subjectivity. This is the revolutionary movement, while the other is the counter-revolutionary movement. Hegel begins by insisting on the reality of Show. He will have nothing to do with the abstract essence or being-for-self. It is almost as if he were conducting a polemic against Being-for-Self, to establish the necessity for the universal to be concrete, from the very beginning. Then he attacks this more specifically showing how identity must become difference and therefrom opposition and contradiction. Having established this as the abstract principles of the movement, he reaffirms that the contradiction is not going to without unity, by going to ground, the principle of self-transcendence of the opposing determinations by the subject. But the moment he does this, he has to show again that the Ground must be concrete. It has to include all the conditions to emerge into existence. Then again he insists the essence must appear, to posit and make explicit the contradiction between the appearance and the essence. Appearance is the immediacy of this essence with the contradiction posited. The whole is constantly moving to become more concrete and comprehensive - with the end, substance which will include all accidents and be the totality. That is the energizing actuality.

(Note Hobbes would not have been what he was except for Leveller movement. Stalin not what he was except for Soviets. The character of revolution establishes character of counter-revolution)

1) We have to prepare this letter for Marcuse for the general public. We cannot take anything for granted despite the fact that only professors will read it to begin with. We have to make this preliminary essay self-contained, referring it to the philosophers but also making it clear that philosophers were expressions of political currents in sense that Marx saw them.

We have to be careful also to leave way open for us to make the notion our own, as we have to work through essence very hard to make essence clear to understand Lenin before making our own jump. The only way to do that is to make extremely clear the distinction between Marx's critique of dialectic in 1844 and Engels on Feuerbach in 1888. Then we have to go from Feuerbach (1888) to Materialism and Empirico-Criticism and what are the ~~Real~~ Friends of the People, including Plekhanov - including stuff on party and Lenin's stuff on the party in order to make the big jump in 1914. In it should be included the long passage against Katsky from Lenin - masses as reason. We have to show how he was prepared by his experiences in Russia for essence. We leave reader asking what next.

Refer to Marx on Utilitarianism and Hegel on Enlightenment (Phenomenology, 559ff). She should concentrate on how far political economy, development of capitalism from part of this "absolute substance", that we are dealing with. She should immediately work out Lenin's notes on Bukharin and she should look up references to dialectic in the volumes referred to by the Russian editors and have them all clear (Note the constant battle with Bukharin by Lenin from 1916 on - The absolute out of a pistol without the labor, patience and suffering of the negative and his final totalitarianism in 1928 - all a clear line from his position on the national question in 1915 then his fight with Lenin on the Draft Program, Brast, T.U. question). The underlying battle is between abstract universal and concrete universal.

2) Marcuse stumbled badly when he tried to show transition from capitalism to socialism was not predetermined and how politics predetermines economics. But by politics Lenin means total and comprehensive cognition. Revolutionary politics for us is the notion, -the concrete determination of the universal and that is what Lenin meant by Bolshevism in Russia. The party, although it was socialism, was socialism in a bourgeois revolution. We have to leap off from the fact that Marcuse brings this up in his book.

Today it is not a question in Europe or China of whether capitalism will solve the questions. The question is how new society is going to be born, what are the objective and subjective means. That is the doctrine of the Nation.

3) The third point is point on contemplation. Lenin remarks p. 16 against those people who perceive determinations and then jump to explanation. (Lenin before 1914 was fighting Narodnik nonsense and idealism. Such was the need of a revolutionary approach that by 1914 was pressed to grasp the self-movement of subject. We have to trace objective development of this in his work before 1914.) Hegel keeps grumbling about explanation. Plekhanov does not take the concrete exposition by concrete writers developing a policy which has past, present and future (developing out of own contradictions). He constantly dips into objective situation, comes out again, dips back. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Lenin is more concerned with self-movement than he is with the Nation. He is concerned with the notion and the conception of dialectic as the theory of knowledge. We however are concerned with the theory of knowledge. All his activity as a revolutionary had the idea of activity in it from 1909-1914. But activity has a dialectic of its own. For instance, his idea of activity in 1894 is the ~~ability~~ battle in won. In 1905 he is trying to establish activity of proletariat as basis for destruction of Tsarist state. Between 1914 and 1917 he establishes principle of



activity of revolutionary masses in Soviets for establishment of socialism, and he was particularly concerned with contradictions inside proletariat (proletarian dem'y and Soviet dem'y) and the development of these contradictions in party to power and also relation in all sorts of details between that contradiction and every conceivable aspect of the existing world. The theory on which he is working is dialectic as theory of knowledge and for him its essence is (1) contradiction and (2) validity of phenomena like philosophic idealism and labor bureaucracy. This is background of statement, not evil or malicious intention" and it is further concretized by statement that in moments of crisis, petty-bourgeois parties even though they don't exist will grow and grow large and to what extent we don't know.

For us dialectic in 1949 is theory of knowledge, the whole, the complete conception becomes a means by which we understand and carry on our concrete activity. In other words, what Lenin still conceived as a theoretical business, telling Marxists to study and look up, etc., has become for us regular daily method for dealing with both fundamental questions and phenomena. What was not so with Lenin. He said you can't resist unless you study up on these questions.

In the Notes Lenin keeps on saying - very important, wonderful, etc. When he sees that logic is reflection of actions of millions of men - wonderful, it sounds very naive. It is a discovery to him that logic is the history of philosophy. One begins to ask himself "What was his acquaintance with these before?"

Note p. 49: Two Aphorisms - On Induction and Deduction. He says that both go together and makes particular reference to Vol. I, Chapter I. You have there use-value and value (and various stages of transition which represent stages of society long past. So that Marx is working both by deduction and induction, checking one against the other, and he could not get along scientifically without doing this. For Lenin capital was the capitalism of the 19th and early 20th century, imperialism plus super-profits plus the labor bureaucracy. There was no other capitalism but you could only arrive at this by means of induction and deduction. At one and the same time he was establishing essentiality of concrete and essentiality of the subject. (We may have to develop these ideas first and then move over to concrete phenomena with which Lenin dealt)

P. 82/- logic, theory of knowledge and dialectic are not difference - one and the same. Marx left us the Logic of Capital. The others didn't understand philosophy and they didn't understand Capital. They didn't go into dialectic as a theory of knowledge. What was it they didn't understand in Capital? He Lenin didn't have in mind concrete labor and abstract labor. We have that in mind today, we have fastened on alienation and unity of theory and practice in 1949. Lenin had self-activity for politics but not for production. What was it that he did have in mind that the Marxists hadn't understood for 50 years, since 1867?

(Has should get exact dates, reading of Logic, writing of Imperialism, when first started, finished etc. Get necessary quotes from Imperialism and State and Revolution on objective world connections)

Get clear p. 49. What did Lenin have in mind? The 2nd Int? didn't do what it did because it was "caused." Result of objective world connections. "To reject the universal in the particular is impossible."

Lenin wrote magnificently on vol. II. The others had an abstract conception of Capital, did not relate development of capitalism to emergence of castes, etc. That is what he means by rejecting "malice or evil intention" This labor bureaucracy is capitalism today - there is not capitalism and then labor bur'y. Induction and deduction means seeing labor bur'y = cap'm. For others the collapse of capitalism

-5-

was something separate from the bureaucracy. He said capitalism created bur'y and apart from this interconnection and wealth of details related to the universal, the class struggle, there is no capitalism and in relating different social stages and logical development of capitalism, you have to take every new step and relate it to previous steps by broadening and deepening it and creating a logical and necessary transition. The categories of political economy were social categories, same as logic was of philosophy.

What were the ideas of Marxists for last 50 years about Capital? This nonhistoric, conception? No stages, no transitions, now show?

6/8/49

Dear J:

Those Stalinist barbarians, M-E-L institute in 1939, excluded from their publication of Lenin's "Notebooks on Imperialism": "a small number of materials, ... as having no direct relation to the theme." And who decided they had no relation to the theme? And what were they? Could it have possibly been notes on Phenomenology? But the philosophical notes, published separately as we know, are generally referred to by the editors as being found there, for ex., the one on "Marx and Hegel" by Plenge, whom Lenin calls "an arch-scoundrel". Also excluded from the Imperialist Notebooks are "some materials relating to the imperialist war, 1914-1918, to the extent that these latter, according to the plan of the Marx -E-L Institute will come out in a separate sbornik." As I cannot get hold of the Sborniki here I do not know whether latter have been published. It may not since it is clear from the Notebooks that actually the WWI is included for the Imperialist Notebooks encompass not only what went into Imperialism, (but also in the articles on the Fall of the 2nd Int., also on Kautskyism; also on the Self-Determination question, etc. (see below), and hence these particular ones must have been kept out for other reasons. The date of publication of the volume is 1939.

After  
be read //  
1917

Lenin began the "Notebooks on Imperialism" in the middle of 1915 in Berne and continued them in Zurich in 1916, evidently finished Imperialism there in July 1916, altho it wasn't published till April 1917. There are altogether 20 notebooks, 15 of which were numbered by Lenin with Greek letters, and one was entitled "Brailsford" (author of War of Steel and Gold), another "Marxism and Imperialism" (contains latest materials on Marx & Engels found by Mehring), still another "Egelhaff" (author of ~~History of Materialism~~ and one entitled "Materials on Persia"). In addition the one entitled "From the Notebook 'Austrian soc. statistics' & others" must be the one which included the question of the war; in any case it is incomplete. Finally there is one entitled "Individual (Separate) Notes, 1912-1916". The Notebooks fill up 693 pages; they include quotations from 148 books (106 Ger., 23 Fr., 17 Eng., and 2 in Rus. tr.) and this means it does not include those books of which we have no quotations, for ex. Phenomenology. Also there are quotations from 232 articles (206 Ger., 13 Fr. and 13 Engl.) that had been published in 49 different periodicals (34 Ger., 7 Fr., and 8 English). They are extremely rich, covering the field economically (including Annals of Am. Academy of Pol. & Social Science), philosophically (below), politically, including the attitude of American socialists to Negroes AND outline of articles he intended to write on Trade Unions (and bureaucracy, see below); I must take back the remark about Taylorism in my previous letter; Lenin had covered the first books on that too! The question of dialectics runs through all of them, and particularly so the question of the transformation of one thing into its opposite.

Now in the very first notebook, p.3, there appears the following: "From the philosophic books of the Zurich cantonal library: G. Gideon Spicker: "About the Relationship of Natural Science to Philosophy" (esp. versus Kant and Lange's "History of Materialism, 8<sup>o</sup>. Berlin 1874.

1621

"Hegel. "Phenomenology" (Holland ed. 1907)"

~~xxxxxx~~ Then in the second notebook, (p.42) there is mentioned "Plenge: Marx and Hegel" There is an editorial note here referring you to Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks and ~~is~~ a brief resume appears in these notebooks.

*Here*

The ~~Emp.~~ Notebooks include, beside the material used in Imperialism, material which was later used in following articles: Junius, the Fall of the 2nd Int., a projected one on Kautskyism, some of the material for State and Revolution, (called here "Marxism and the State" and incl. Marx on France, 1871, Ireland, 1870, Coming War, English workers, Engels in his late letters, and in his introduction to Marx's Cologne Trial, on opportunism of English workers, and something I never heard before: Can Europe Disarm?, which was published in 1893, which has material on army and militia and then VII has another little piece on the subject in which he lists everyone from Engels to Liebknecht and Luxemburg (evidently her Reform and Revolution in its complete edition had an appendix on the subject),

As he went on his way (incidentally he continued to collect material on imperialism even after the work was published, up to Feb. revolution) he made outlines of the work, in which it can be seen that "final stage" was called "latest stage", and what is a great deal more important, he was to have included a section on Taylor (That was when the book was projected to include also political question: Imperialism and Opportunism, Diplomacy and Foreign Politics, Imperialism and Democracy, The National Question in the epoch of Imperialism, and finally "Interweaving" (combined, r) versus "socialization", under which heading, after St. Simon and Marx follows:

Technical "Progress and pain (Qualerei)  
Taylor and "study of the movement" 70-77

Then, when he plans the titles of the chapters, under Chapter X, the final, section III is entitled "Imperialism is a transitional or dying capitalism", but then there appears, evidently as a variant, "III. Combination versus socialisation. (rapidity of Saint-Simon and Marx -- Riese about the growth. --Transition to what? (84 we had it once already) Taylor here?"

As we know the last chapter, and that variant is there too, was instead entitled "The Place of Imperialism in History". We can now more fully appreciate his remark in the introduction to the work: "We are going to attempt to show, briefly and in the simplest way, the connection between and the reciprocal relations of the chief economic features of capitalism. We shall not pause on aspects of the question, other than economic, whatever their importance." Taylorism did not become a chief ~~xxxxxxx~~ factor till 1920, and not a dominant one till the depression.

1622

In getting rid of Kautskyism he went back also to his work on Religion, which he did not like, to put it mildly, he calls Kautsky a scoundrel when he attempts to make religion a "private matter". At the end of that (I believe it was because the Socialist paper in America was Kautskyian; he refers to that fact once) he writes:

\*  
 "Socialist party and Negroes in America. p. 382-3 (the page must refer to Kautsky's book on Religion, r): "Industrial Workers of the World" is for Negroes. The Relationship of the Socialist party "is not entirely unanimous". One proclamation for Negroes in (1901).  
 NA. Spreadst. Negroes  
 Only!!!

Ibidem. p. 592. in the state of Mississippi the socialists organized Negroes "in separate local groups"!!  
 Registrar  
 1912-13!!

Finally, among the separate notes, which the editor says was written in 1912 or 1913, there is the following:

"PLAN FOR ARTICLE ON TRADE UNIONS

1. Rise of prices. Plunder. "Strike". Pigeonbreeders.
2. Trade unions ("world phenomenon" in Europe (America) and Russia)
  - a) development of production
  - b) home market. Farmer and peasant poverty
  - c) situation of the workers. Lawlessness.
  - d) political freedom.
3. Trade unions and "bureaucratism" \*
4. "oil and sugar versus landlords... (union of landlords)
5. Trade Unions and the Urals//.
6. Chinovnik liberalism (or liberal-chinovnik view) ("pogrom socialism") versus class struggle. Gov. carrion and life.
7. Thiefs and mutual responsibility of thieves.
- 7 bis. Capitalism and unions.
8. Means:
  - (1) opening of the borders
  - (2) 20 min. in workers dwellings in coal & oil regions.
  - (3) government production and democratic conditions of control
  - (5) (4) labor unions and political freedom
  - (4) (5) questionnaire and public commission and full disclosure.

\* This plan was written on a single page with a document or rather outline of production and price of oil in America from 1900-1910.

I will try to translate other parts of the Notebooks as I go along.

1 6 2 4  
June 10, 1949(?)

My dear Rae,

*This is 15/35  
recovered  
& accounted for  
by my own -- 1/27/51*

You are covering a lot of ground and it is pretty good. But after some conversations with G, & reading (carefully, this time) your correspondence, I feel that we are still off the point, despite the apparently final form of the blue-print I worked out last week.

*Some other  
a separate  
concern*

This represents the core of our problem.

Lenin in 1914 had one view of Capital and of Philosophy. The war, & the collapse of the Second Int. made him study Dialectic and changed his view of Capital and of Philosophy.

Now despite many talks with G and looking up many profound and illuminating points she makes, no one has put his finger on this yet. After once more going through the stuff I arrive here.

Lenin before 1914 had read philosophy to write his essay on Marx. Krupakaya, you say, says so. He was working towards a philosophic conception. But on reading the essay I see not a serious line about opposition--the unity of opposites. Now are there any notes of his philosophic readings previous to this essay. I presume there are none. But this reading of Hegel leaves him just where Plekhanov is.

If you note Vol. XI, pp. 333-34 you will see his conception of the socialised prol. is quite abstract; so is his conception of the state.

Thus by early 1914 he was exactly like the others.

Now, we have to be careful here.

The article Who Are the Friends of the People is in the same tradition. (By the way, Williams, what are your chances of getting Lenin, Selected Works, complete. I know you have some volumes. You need all.) Thus Friends of the People; Mat(m & Empirio-C'm.; and 1914 are all one.

But there is another Lenin: the practising revolutionary in Russia. And here he is dialectical to an extreme degree. His is an extreme revolutionary temperament driven by the sharpest contradictions in Russia, so that in his conception of the rev., v.v. important (Vol. VII, around p. 263), his conception of the armed workers, etc., his conception of the role of the party, etc. (that thing I bless Grace so much for bringing sharply to our notice) in all this there is a Lenin profoundly different from Plekhanov.

\* We will have to begin here--in the contradiction in Lenin himself before 1914.

Here let me suggest that you get down to this stuff. We must begin here.

1624

Then comes 1914, August, and, I presume, L studies Hegel's Logic. Previously he probably had read only the same

only believe that I should not see I don't know of how life with  
and I don't know how to read a good I understand even more  
of what I am doing in 1922-23. I don't know how to read a good  
book of philosophy.

kind of general philosophy about what P. had written. Check all  
this like an accountant.

Now, his Russian experiences are going to be general-  
ized for capitalism as a whole. The point will be made, by the  
way, of how his previous study of Capitalism in Russia had dealt  
with the aspects you singled out.

Now the question is:

What did Lenin primarily  
discover? More precisely, what fundamental conception illuminated  
his reading of the Logic? We have the war, the breakdown of the  
IM, the disillusionment with all previous thought, and methods  
of thought.

But Lenin does not begin blank. In him is the revolutionary  
dialectic. In him is embodied the most violent contradictions  
of world-capitalism. When he begins to study afresh, the Russian  
proletarian revolution is beginning.

Here is point I. The mind wh. is now reading dialectic is begin-  
ning to apply to the world scene the special contradictions of  
Russia.

A detailed list of his observations, principles, etc. on Capital,  
party, labor movement, philosophy, etc. before is imperative. Put  
each ~~subject~~ one down, classify, organize them.

Now to go back a little?

What fundamental conceptions for him, organized the  
new materialism in general. He had just finished a com-  
plete rereading. But theoretically his stronghold is not philosophy  
it is Capital. So that we ~~begin~~ begin, as he began of necessity,  
with Capital.

At the start he is going to read the Logic material-  
istically, he says. How else except in terms of his world out-  
look. Therefore I propose: Capital must be the basis—not  
philosophy. And I note that except in reference to Piskhanov  
he makes no concrete references except to Capital.

There is a logic, a dialectic, a materialism of  
Capital. All are the same. We do not need any other Logic.  
You have to master all the Logic to understand Capital.  
Inductive and deductive is the method of Capital, etc.

I feel we have been playing around so far. (No offense  
to Grace.)

Lenin says Marx left us the Logic of Capital; the  
method of Capital. Isn't it obvious that the method and are what  
now become his logic and his method?

These questions, this transition we must answer  
first and fully.

Once more, what is the logic of Capital and the  
theory of knowledge

1625

There I was compelled to stop, but G and I had a talk on Friday wh.  
I explained to her the rest of my ideas. The first draft of this  
(Over)

6/13/49(?)

Dear Rae

These are some general ideas. First Being is pre-bourgeois society, the logical essence of the pre-bourgeois society. Essence is the distillation of bourgeois society.

Notion is the subjective mastery of bourgeois and future society. But Hegel could only do this subjectively, intellectually, for a few.

Hegel summed up and completed all previous thought.

Hegel, Ricardo, Shelley, Beethoven, Savigny, all between 1816-1820, stated the fundamental problems of bourgeois society. It is a terrible pity that we have nobody to do Shelley--as a poet. But with patience will get that done too. All the tendencies of bourgeois society were at that time stated abstractly, but the contradictions were there, in all their work.

The fact that Hegel summed up is what makes him so important, today. He stood to the Fr. Rev. as we stand to the Rus. Rev. Now

The method he worked out for the elite, the few, is what we have to work out for the masses. That is why the Absolute Idea is so important for us. We have to work out the Abs. Idea for the exact opposite of that for which he worked it out. Engels said Essence was the most important. Correct. But for him, not for us (1949).

NB always that the logic is "without concretion of sense". It is nothing in particular. It expresses everything.

For example, Being I can see as the purely economic analysis of society. Essence, however, the sociological analysis, leaps out of it. Both objective logic. Subjective Logic, Notion, deals with, expresses man's subjective determination, need, necessity, to master nature, society, himself. The "real history of humanity" is being worked out in Notion. When the masses, not a few philosophers, grasp the dialectic, the logic, the unity of theoretical, practical, methodological, we have reached the Absolute Idea of society, i.e., social man. There begins the development of human power for its own sake.

again:

The logic is "without concretion of sense." It expresses The Absolute or an Absolute in many absolutes. The history of society is an Absolute; but one can make a special absolute of a special society, capitalism. Then Being = the growth of the prerequisites, the elementary economic relations of capitalism; essence = capitalism as we see it in Marx's Capital; Notion = the growth of the proletariat which is expressed by its subjective, i.e., its political organizations. Today, 1949, we are faced with the dialectic of the party. We have to trace its growth, development, how it perishes, must perish. Lenin came at the climax of capitalism; and beginning with the Rev. experience, he transferred it to world-cap'n.; and emerged with State & Rev. He posed the prol. "to a man" and yet had to pose the party in opposition to it, abstractly in 1920, and then, with bitter concreteness in 1920, the unions versus the party. That opposi-

1626



tion we have now to resolve. Note that there is no other problem in the world today--all problems revolve around the "one party state." If that can be solved, there is no obstacle to the irresistible victory of international socialism. It is the last ideological defence of the bourgeois and its satellites; it preoccupies all thinking workers, it dominates the petty-bourgeoisie.

In 1914-1923 Lenin did several things, but they can be boiled down and worked out only by rigid historical, factual investigation, shaped by dialectic.

Capitalism

They. pre-1914 capitalism free competition and some monopoly. Orderly organisation of imperialism, or

Rosa L'g. At the height of monopoly it will collapse, back into free competition

He. Cap-ism, 1914-20 Monopoly, Monopoly, going into state capitalism, state-cap., state-cap.

redivision of world increase of antagonisms

1923 clearest perception of A few western nations against Ger., Rus., & many hundreds of millions in the East

Us. 1940

state-cap. going into int'l. reorganization No redivision

but unification of the world.

Incredible increase of antagonisms

*Handwritten note:* Rosa L'g. at height of monopoly it will collapse, back into free competition

Pre-1914. Must keep the party. "Movement every thing. Work out everything by "democracy". Even the rev.

Socialism = what we have in Britain carried to extreme complete nationalisation; no confiscation; parliament; democracy; plan

Prolet. Lenin 1914-1923

The economic structure of the monopoly cap. demands that this become state-cap. in (Rus.) and around workers take over acc't'g. & control all over the world which, in advanced countries, is state-capitalistic. NB. For world mkt. & free competition.

US Motive power of cap. must be substituted a new motive power: I cannot over-emphasize importance of this. Party must organize for this.

Complete overcoming of all opposites, politics & economic, nat'l. & int'l.; party & mass.

Method

They. Pure Kantianism, degenerated: A mixture of uncritical idealism & uncritical positivism

Lenin Unity of opposites

Method, Cont.

They	Lenin	We
pre-1914	Stages of Transition, Transition, Transition, Transition, (Something New for him) which is governed by the solution of a concrete problem, and conflict between the bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeois authoritarian way and the proletarian creative way. Each stage of transition arises from the previous stage, and expresses the basic contradictions in a new and more acute form. Democracy = democ. mobilization of the masses, democ. org'n. of army at rear, etc.	Owing to vast extension of state cap. and its consequences, and the objective situation (Mass Resistance--mass strikes in US--interrelations of economy, etc. etc.) pose whole prol. against all parties which = bureaucracy
	But inside and outside Russia still poses rev. party as opposite to reformist party: has to owing to great mass of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeoisie.	

Now you have some idea of what I mean. (Grace will write to you also) I do not swear by all I say in the chart, but that is the method. The great error is to believe that L and the European Mensheviks had the same policy but they betrayed; No such thing. They had a different method on everything. L thought his ideas were specifically Russian. In 1914 we had to transfer these profoundly dialectical conceptions of his to world cap.; the international etc.

If, concretely, we draw the line between him and them in 1914 and as he developed it; and between him and them and all shades, LT; Bukh., Rosa; if we do this with the utmost concreteness and formal tabulation and as sharply as possible we shall have done a tremendous historical step, and cleared the way for us politically. On the whole see Lenin in essence aware, of the new role of the prol., but compelled to pose it in terms of parties; the objective situations compels us to pose in terms of the prol., i.e., organized labor as a whole, the rev. prol. That is the new dialectical stage. But first and foremost to drive home, sharpen, even more than he did the differences between L and the end Int. of 1914. Rosa L., LT, etc. Bukharin etc. are to be seen in relation to this struggle.

*Handwritten notes:*  
 Grace will write  
 State & Rev.  
 State Capitalism

Grace will write as I say. Compare the two. This work must begin. I am sure that in the work and in the concrete changes we shall understand what L saw in the Logic and not vice versa. The Logic will help us, but the truth lies in the concrete. And do not, I would say, jump to the trade union discussion, etc. I think the thing is to get Imp., State & Rev., and state-capitalism (this is difficult for some of the 2nd Int. played with it) to get this clear. 1914--up to the report and discussion to the

Bol. conference after L's return; skip from here to State & Rev.

One little example of what I mean by concrete. To oblige me make a little list of what is taught as to the basis of L's change in April. There is plenty here; but what is never said is what L said in the and many other places. Heavy Industry in Russia has reached the stage of nationalization and nat'n. calls for either bur. control or workers' control. This economic basis has been completely lost. I think I have written enough. If you do not like the method & the ideas, let me know, and I am ready to try another way. But I have been gnawing at this for weeks--it has, along with my poor health--prevented me from doing anything else, and now I am sure that this is the way to what we want.

J.

Let me add something else that is to me v. imp. in all directions. Lenin made the aphorism on Capital in the midst of a discussion about the Syllogism.

If you add to this the longish passage on Dict., 1915, Vol. XI, you will see that he sees very clearly that every single statement, i.e., the tree is green, contains opposition and the possibility of development to further contradictions. Now every stage of capital, and of capital in fact and in theory, contains the elements of transition to another stage in which the contradictions (unity of opposites) appear at a higher stage.

Grace should first work out this section on the Syllogism very carefully; as logic first; (then later as applied to capital and Capital and what not--there we can have a free for all); but it should be done as logic first.

This means that you, Rae, must concretise every stage of capital and what was thought about it at the time (briefly of course) particularly in 1914. Note that while some may have talked about monopoly, etc. we will be able to show up what they thought by contrast with Lenin.

19- 27? He  
June 22, 1949  
in 77  
meeting and  
recording and  
will be 15

My dear Grace:

You have forced my hand. I am going to make a polemic against you. But first - prolegomena. You and R. must understand that copies of my letters go to R, G and W. Now I wish to add F and L (I would be glad if R sent you a copy of my letter with the chart. The date, Rae, I think, is June 4th). These letters, mine, must not go to anyone else. There are many reasons - the only one necessary to state now is that I express myself freely and know that I perpetrate philosophical boners. I don't mind. I encourage G. to write freely. They are a conversation - a three-way conversation. If they spread, the writers are affected. William I proposed to include because he is doing serious work for publication and he must be aware of what we are doing. F and I have followed the development of our ideas, back and forth, good and bad, and I have always talked to them so freely that I don't mind their catching me in contradictions, and furthermore Lyman has, I think, a little more time than before and if he follows the correspondence will undoubtedly have something to say and in addition should have the job of revising the final ~~Ms.~~ a tough job in which so far we have not on the whole distinguished ourselves. Within this circle I can polemicize against Grace. One step out and I wouldn't. I also invited you to polemicize against me - you didn't take it. I have spent the last three weeks thinking about what you told me about quantity and Leibnitz, I am an infinitely wisor man. I know now what you were talking about in your letters to Nevada. I knew something was missing. But, Sister Grace, you are abstract. And in this last letter, you are abstract, not in general, as re Leibnitz, the Eleatics and Quantity, and Hegel in relation to individuals and the whole. No, that is good, tho I believe if you were more concrete in stating it to me, it would have been easier for me. But in this letter, abstract, abstract, abstract, about things which must be concrete.

Dismissing  
the  
letter

Concluded  
1949  
W. R. M. S.

Unreasonable? Harsh? No. Why. After weeks of painful back and forth, in and about, you and I bearing the burden, I struggle out of it. I say: we must find out the contradictions in Lenin himself; begin from the concrete; I say: instead of cracking our heads on the Logic, let us crack it on ~~the~~ Imperialism, on what Lenin thought before 1914, etc. I make a chart. I state the periods; I say we are to find out what was the thought of each party at the time and trace inter-relations, connections, transition, development. My chart by the way comes out awful both in the ~~Ms.~~ and in the typing. I say: only then; are we equipped to tackle the Logic, L's Logic, so to say.

Rae immediately ducks down into her books, Concrete, the concrete, the facts, tabulation, order, as she did for weeks and weeks until she came out with those marvelous three pages on LE's politics before 1914 and after 1914. I say marvelous and mean marvelous - ~~model~~. But in this recent letter you have not been concrete. It is a letter of the Nevada kind. It contains many beautiful things and things wh. will come up later. But it is general, too, too, too general. Let us concretize!

We must know (a) what was L's theory of the state before 1914 (b) What was the Menshevik theory?

- 2) What was L's theory in 1917?  
" " their " " "

Now of immense importance. Did L anywhere develop the Soviet idea before 1914, Feb'y. As far as I know there is not a single mention of Soviets before 1917. Which means that if the Soviets had not come, State and Revn would have been a different book.



Now, from there, on to some Logic, from there. You say in your letter I repudiates method of thought of Being, and shows the necessity of method of thought of Essence. I can't say yes or no. But after the last ten days or so, (and how I have sweated, lying on my back, staring at the ceiling, dipping into a book, and staring at the ceiling again) after ten days of this, I arrive here.

1763  
\* Lenin I cannot see as having repudiated the method of Being. You cannot do that. You have to use it but on its own level (God forgive me. I tremble, tremble, tremble, at the boldness of some of the things I say) Its level is things, material objects as material objects, i.e. capital as a material object. And if anyone says to me that capital is a social relation I shall utter a stream of filthy language. I know that. The material, the object, in Capital, can be measured, arithmetically; it must be as a start. Now let us measure it. It has an aim, a purpose, a something that is always present, a Being-for-Itself, a One, that changes into a succession of the Many; each one of which Many, however, comes and goes, but always bearing in it the thing-that-matters, the genuine abstract infinite - profit-seeking or more scientifically, surplus-value. Individual capitals come and go; infinite forms, Many, Many, Many, connected with each other, disappearing and giving place to new ones, but always swelling the total profit, increasing the total social capital. This is the problem of the Atomists. They see the many individuals but cannot see that these must be governed by some totality, some One. Leibniz sees the necessity for this, but he ties the many to the One by a purely external bond. They do not see what Marx saw (cf Lenin on Marx 1914) that the Individual many ones, express, in their finite birth, death, and perishing, only the development of the big One, the system as a whole where Being-for-Itself is profit.

These people are the ones who fall into pure Quantity, and here is a fine job for you, Grace. Note how in Quantity Hegel constantly comes back to Absolute Indifference. But we are dialecticians. The method of Thought of Being is a method of Thought; and if we follow it we see that Quantity becomes the infinite quantitative progression (EB the vicious attack of Marx on Bentham; each for himself and therefore all for the good of all).

But Hegel insists you cannot go on indefinitely with the Infinite Quantitative Progression. At a certain stage the quantity begins, within certain limits, to assume what we might call, a quantitative/quality. Then this quantitative quality becomes a ratio; the relation is what matters; and from this ratio you move into measure, some sort of rule by which you test the whole thing. I have innumerable quotes illustrating this.

Now take Marx. Marx looking at Capital objectively reached Relative Surplus-Value, pure quantity; then he split it into organic composition, throwing aside pure quantity and fastening on the ratio, and his final statement is that the ratio develops until production becomes impossible. Why? By a measure. For us and for Marx that measure is man; the effect upon the proletariat. We are forthwith in the realm of Essence, the relationship between the proletariat and the objective form of Capital. The two are joined.

\* Now my supposed analysis of capital as objective constitutes an abstraction from Marx. I agree. But that is how Hegel, as a good bourgeois dialectician would argue, would think. And in the end he would arrive at measure - place, rule, order, and the organized bourgeois stage, or state-capitalism. The difference between him and Marx would be that Marx, from the start, would see and include the proletariat, labor. But it seems to me that the method of Being, being a logical and a dialectical method can go thus far, but no further.

Here I repeat, and I confess, I am always nervous about this: Logic is abstract.

It applies to nothing in particular. The Logic of Capital is the logic of social development on a world scale (we shall come to that in a moment); but Hegel's Logic, whatever its origin, is placed before us as abstractions which fit or enable us to translate into the innermost essence of an object.

Yet Hegel himself says Being - pre-capitalist society; Essence is modern society, beginning with Bacon etc. Let me make very clear how I see it, this use of Being as a method of thought.

Today, 1949, there are different ways of looking at society. You can look at it purely objectively, materialistically. See how the productive forces grow, larger and larger; how they must be controlled by the state. That is pure Being, its method of thought. Others, however, see class conflict, recognize man as the measure - they want to correct capitalism - abstract from it the reason for its existence, profit-making. These are the "stubbornest" - the most stupid of all. Then there are the dialecticians - Marxists who seek the transitory and the proletariat as its grave-digger.

So that at all times the modes of thought represented by the philosophers of different ages are used. Different classes use them, e.g. your old-fashioned American capitalist, your free enterprise fanatic, is a man of pure Being.

You can do the same with Stalinism; look at the different method of thought which try to solve it. You will find them again, Being, Essence, etc. Just for practice. At Being, Man says: Stalinism? You must have leadership. It defeats capitalism. He is a Stalinist. Another man, reflection, i.e. a man who steps at the end of essence, just as a being man steps at "objective" measure, he says: Stalinism? We must get a good bureaucracy. He does not understand that the essence of bureaucracy is to bureaucratize. A dialectician seeks to abolish the whole thing. Grace knows all this. The thing is to use it concretely.

conf 1949

New I suggest (whisper it, whisper it) that Lenin before 1914 was not too far from a type of thinking for Western Europe which saw the Social-Democratic bureaucracy taking power (not peacefully, of course) and establishing that type of state. "Soviet" democracy, he did not know. What exactly did he think? I believe he had for Western Europe some vague ideas about something like the Comuna. But the Comuna voted as in bourgeois democracy.

But Imperialism and the banks and finance-capital put into his head the idea of a concrete national control (in fact in 1918 he said that the road to socialism and state-capitalism is the same - national accounting and control) This economic, objective economic relation opened his eyes to what socialism in 1916 was. This was his first step, his transition.

Many things will have to be worked out here. But to get this break sharply enough and all that it means - that is a job. In 1914, not a soul talked about "planned economy" - nobody. We have to drive this home. The bourgeoisie does it now. He saw the basis for it - and then moved to the control and accounting by the proletariat. ~~He Stop~~ and think of how sharp a turn that was. Get back into the climate of 1914. But he saw both and -. He saw as clear as day that monopoly meant control, some sort of

control, workers or the totalitarian state. You others may have seen this before as clearly as I see it now. I didn't. He say, and we have to say that he saw, then. It saves us from having to say how we see now.

I think we should stay here awhile and extract every ounce of juice we can squeeze from Lenin's break with his economic past. I want G to say directly - Do you see what I mean by concrete and where you are too general. If not, let us know. My great polemic is not very serious really.

New a little more, on this point. We say that Lenin worked at imperialism primarily to account for the collapse of the Second International. Not concretely/ true. He worked primarily at capitalism. He found the transition - mononely. Then he analyzed the kind International and from there he linked them up completely with the bourgeoisie. Some he said would go, with the bourgeoisie. Remember new Lenin's "planlessness ceases." For him, there was, inherent in the whole situation, a brutal, merciless type of "planning" and he threw the Social-Democracy ever into the bourgeois, junker type of plan. In these days NB, even Trotsky in the Manifesto of 1919 spoke of either the proletarian state or the imperialist state. Lenin believed and thought this because like Marx in 1867 he drew his conclusions to the end. A very careful reading must be made of the Manifesto and the Platform of 1919.

So, Grace, I believe we must throw all we have into the concrete, around L's Imperialism. If Rae prefers to do the syllogism, etc. O.K. But Imperialism and related writings, that is the stuff now.

Here I'll stop. Tired. I'll do something on the Logic of Capital when I feel like it. But first I want to employ some detectives. In the Manifesto of 1919 we used to have one translation; stratification of production. I notice in First Five Years of C.I. the translator is using a new term: state-ization. Now one of LT's worst blunders is to say that state-capitalism can only be the French etatism. The words should be carefully looked up. Cp. the Revolution Betrayed. The point is doubly important because words that the Stalinists originally translated as nationalization (Collected Works) they have changed (Selected Works) and call something else. Again, why?

Now I don't want to be misunderstood. I cast my remarks in the form of a polemic - not too much either. I began that way but soon forget; too much sincerity. We have all been abstract too long, time is going by and we need henceforward to be absolutely concrete. If I had strength and time I could supply a mass of quotes, and in order. But I'll wait on Rae's first response and then supplement.

Future concretions. Future. Precisely what did L think of the party in 1903, 1914; how did he change?

But for the time being. Imperialism - extract its guts. Scrutinize it. Dialecticalize it. Develop the implications. By dialecticalize it, I mean analyze it in dialectical terms. Then see what you can do with it in strict logical terms, quantity, quantitative ratio, etc., as I have tried to do. Marxists in the past have emphasized Imperialism and War. We should read new for



what it signifies about the structure of capitalism. Imperialism is Marx's chapter on the Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation concretized. That is the 1914 stage of the infinite. We have to concretize what Lenin described as Historical Tendencies of his time. I started something and I think we but will finish some other time. Or does it fit.

J

In Selected, p.33, there is a marvelous definition of what L means by "private" in economic terms.

And I simply must not omit this. The Notes in the Selected Works are very full. There are references to Bukh's organized capitalism of 1928. There is a long quarrel between L and B. It should not be too difficult to trace this. Also I think R should begin to say what she wants us to do, or if she wishes I can do it, probably better than she, among other reasons because I can communicate with G so easily. The thing, if worthy doing, should be done thoroughly, and as I see it, if done right, could use 1914 and hit a great blow for 1949. I am seeing now that far more than I thought before, even in Nevada. We have L's authority and method behind us. And I see every day if we can make that break sharp enough, we will be ready to make sure when the time comes.

\*\*\*

Before I sent it off, I saw the thing so clearly that I am moved to write it down. It should go something like this.

1. Lenin in 1914

Sketch of his career. Pregnant double or single sentences such as: He had denounced RL's theory of underconsumption and insisted that a different rearrangement of the national capital etc.

Maybe 4 or 5 sentences  
His theory of the state  
His ideas of this  
that  
etc.  
His disputes

2. Hegelianism and Marxism in 1914.

Marx and Dialectic (Phenomenology and Logic)  
He had used it in Capital. Engels, Plek. Dietzgen, Lenin around 1903

3. 1914 - His reading of the Logic. What the Logic is. What he saw.

Imperialism - in the light of the Logic The Logic of Capital  
S & R " " " This should be the basis

Previous Marxists on Capital (Lantisky etc  
" " " Hegel (Plekhanov)

4. Part IV will take up 1917-1923

And all through asking and posing such problems in such a way that anyone of intelligence would ask the same questions for 1949. And this to the general public. Isn't that something?

We must not write the article now. The main outline will be sufficient

P.S. Reading over your letter, G, I am struck by two things: a) how useful it is to me b) how necessary it is for me to start to take imperialism apart so that you can see what I mean by concrete. Just to keep you going for a bit.

Do you know that the R-S-D party in July 1903 formulated a program, the only one in Europe which contained a paragraph on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

\*\* Exactly what was L's conception of the dem. dict. of the proletariat and peasantry, I believe in all this L had nothing to learn from anybody or anything. The state was to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ mobilize the masses and crush the enemy, whether for bourgeois d-c or socialist revolution. Now as far back as 1907 L had a clear conception of his thesis on super-profits and the opol, limited however to colonial chauvinism (Gankin and Fisher, p. 52) But he was not troubled seriously by it. But it is there

Again, Gankin and Fisher, p. 226, L says in a very very profound (and confusing) passage: we must have complete democracy in mobilizing the proletariat in the army, etc. in order to achieve socialism. Civil war against the bourgeoisie is a war "democratically organized." But despite talk about participating in "state affairs" he is concerned with civil war and liquidation of capitalism. This is written in spring or summer of 1916. National accounting and control do not appear. He had already written or very nearly written Imperialism. He gets into a controversy with Bukharin (G & F, p. 236) and S & R begins as notes for an article against Buk's Theories of the State. It was to be published with Buk's article. He began in the spring of 1917 before the outbreaks in March in Russia. Now B's two articles are in G & F. Now we have L on Imperialism and B on Imp'ia. Then we have both on the state and both on self-determination. L, I believe, added plenty after the first revolution.

But there is a duality in his conception of the state - to crush the enemy; and to administer. One of them he always had. We have to dig the other out of all that mess. E.g. the comparison of the original note-book on S & R with the final book. (some of the notes are at the back of Critique of Gotha) L says B on self-determination is the "same" nonsense as on the state. You see what I mean by concrete, now; not yesterday nor tomorrow but now. In all this not a word, not one word about the Soviet.

\* Now I am going to jump a bit. You see it seems to me that he wanted to finish with the 2nd Intl as a type of organization. His party, therefore, was merely the vanguard of a new type of organization. Here new in the organization is the counter to the stagnation inherent in all monopoly - here is the source of movement - free creative activity to replace free competition. See? Dig it out, dig deep.

And, I am going to jump again, the key to all these differences, development of L, etc. is in imperialism, somewhere behind B's anarchist ideas is an incapacity to grasp the relation between free competition and monopoly. I am guessing, but I believe the guess is good. Here I will stay. This is long enough. I think next time instead of the

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Logic of Capital, I'll do some notes on Imp'm. But I hope you see what we must now systematically do and why I look at your letter as too smooth. Finally, we must be on guard against giving the impression (false) that L read a book and understood. That would strangle us. No dialectic taught him to formulate, clarify, concretize objective stages etc. We must show the dialectical contradictions in life and in his inheritance of 1914, and his controversies etc. This is not Nevada, by the way. I got so tired after two hours and what is worse, I skip the connections - cannot bother to write them down. I believe we got some place here. If we haven't, in method, let me know. And even if Marcuse says, No, we have two or three articles, and if I am not crazy, we shall offer them if need be to all sorts of people, all sorts. We got something, and with patience, out of patient work, comes the way to work it out and what to do with it.

June 22 (duly dated)

Do you agree now after yesterday's opus (Tuesday, June 21st); that there is a new significance now to L's statement on the Great Beginning. Look at it again, will you, Selected IX, p. "I have always said that coercion is not the main thing." Why? He knew all about coercion even for the bourgeois revolution. No, the main thing is the new discipline, etc. and then he describes the characteristics of slave-labor, semi-labor, wage slavery and proletarian or rather socialist labor.

(Step a bit friends, and visualize what a terrific impact a study of this kind will have - in the prevailing gloom)

Now, watching particularly the kind of socialist labor described in the Great Beginning, back again to Imp'm. All monopoly is stagnation. But as he said in 1920, all democracy help production. Socialization of labor is wonderful. But he has nothing concrete to put in its place in Imp. The articles which describe the relation of dem'y to soc'm (It is in Vol. V, Selected) is written in August 1916. Note the key para beginning "Imp'm is highly developed capitalism" and ending "minimum program, i.e. under capa." There is a deep-going dial. law here. But we must pass it by, the bearing it on mind.

\* However, note: L is dragged into this by Buk. Question I. Does Buk "represent" the Marxists who did not understand Capital. For note that L is not hostile to these dumb Marxists as he is not hostile to the philosopher, Plek, as he is too close to them, only too recently. Back again to the economic revn of socialism. L has nothing positive to say.

You see this is a very fine mind, I see it now in detail; of the same kind as Hegel's and Marx's. Takes nothing for granted, never substitutes a phrase for a thing, skips no intermediate stages, lets nothing pass. He knows what free competition has meant. That was the impetus, later he will say that it is the expanding world-market. Socialization of labor is wonderful. But I don't see a line in Imp. which implies the positive solution concretely. Now plan is there. When he comes to write S & R, he carries over the fact that "planlessness ceases." It seems to me that

HE REJECTS PURE PLAN

\* It may seem I have said this before. Maybe. But I don't think so. Later, after the Soviets have appeared he will say either their plan or ours. But until then he does not slip into the easy road,

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socialization and workers power. There is not a line that I know between 1916 and the Letters from Afar about economics. There is very little between April and July. Only after he has started to write S & R that he grasps what is required, and what is it? The energy of people, new millions. Before this he simply did not know But is it implied in Imperialism? It is. You can see that he has to find an opposite to Monopoly. It is not "socialization of labor." S of L is an economic fact. He has not yet found the relation between the fact and the energy of millions as a motive force. There is a mass of stuff in the early writings of Capital - against Narodniks, etc; not a line about this, that I can remember. All of them, L included, was capitalist disorder and socialist order. Show this. L however (only now I touch the Logic) sees at the core of Herellianism and Marxism spontaneous self-movement, etc. This is the core. Monopoly is the economic quintessence of capitalism. Its opposite is not socialization of labor, just growing bigger and bigger and bigger. That if you please is "Quantity" and "plan." Its opposite is the freedom, the democracy, of millions which lifts production a new stage. How we must drive home this. In the 1914 things he had said socialization of labor. In that, however, so late (July-November 1914) the large scale production is there, and he talks about new people, better educated, etc. The thing is there but very very abstractly and bookishly as we used to say it at the start.

Now for some jumps. There is some strict logical work hidden here. Every form has its opposite, every new stage of the Absolute contains its dialectic opposite. Monopoly is one such stage. Grace can work out this. But behind it all is something else, the Logic of Capital. Lenin says: we have that. What is the connection with all the above? Nothing but the whole logic of social development. Two movements are in Capital. One is the whole of history. Primitive use-value producing societies, guilds, and small peasants, Capitalism, socialism. Dominating this but growing out of it, is the logical movement of Capital itself, simple deep-eration, conquest of home market, struggle over working day, relative surplus-value (very important transition here) Now we have to see both in general and in particular, at the critical stages, there is an opposition which is exploded and new relations established. Monopoly is one such and L seeks the concrete opposite and sphere of transition. In Monopoly is a contradiction, many contradictions but all expressing one basic one. Now having dug all this out of Lenin and the concrete - dates of articles, etc. we can begin with Letters from Afar and ride gloriously to S & R.

I hope this means something to you investigators. I wish I could get down to it. But maybe it is just as well. One last word. At all costs establish what the others were thinking around 1914 and keep that going.

Rae - I got your letter a few hours ago. I hadn't sent this off and will add a few things. Your method is admirable. And you will see that I am answering the same questions you ask. But there are some trends I think wrong. You seem to be polemicizing in a very narrow circle and writing a political treatise. However good that may be it will get us nowhere with Marcuse, and the this may sound like heresy, no place with anybody now. I have as good a record as any in struggle of tendencies I believe. In fact nearly 10 years of my life has been spent in building a tendency. But this is neither the time nor the place for that. This is what I see.

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1640  
June 20, 1949

Dear J:

Early capitalist production which begins with cooperation and develops into machinofacture reaches its climax in railroads bringing cohesion to national market and Bessemer steel replacing iron in ships connecting the world. The cut-throat competition leading to scandals and fighting labor demanding an eight hour day in laissez-faire fashion ends the turbulent '30s and Capital as conceived by Marx. All Marxists accept Kautsky's "Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx", which has not an ounce of dialectic, nor of contradiction in any concrete sense, and reaches no more than commodity production is not an individual, but a social type of production and, abstractly, somehow socialism is the "next stage", historically only of course.

The 1890s bring capitalism to a new stage. Before they have quite ended, the trusts and final victory over agriculture will not only lay the groundwork for stratification of production but there will be the first search by a gang boss (Taylor) as to "what constitutes a day's work on any operation", that is within socialization of labor, there will be the fragmentation of the individual worker, the standardization and principle of interchange of parts of machines, factory lay-out, that is, advance planning within factory as well as outside (trusts). In other words what Marx called real capitalistic production ~~is the~~ machinofacture and the creation of surplus value and the production and reproduction of the capitalistic relation of production will mean concentration and centralization of capital, rationalization of production or totalitarianism of production relations. It is at this point that Vol. II of Capital is published and Lenin enters on the scene in his fight with the Narodniki and his original explanation of Vol. II. By original I mean he not only does not accept Kautsky (although he doesn't know that he doesn't accept him either) but he himself interprets Marx directly. There is nothing anywhere greater in the explanation of accumulation of capital vs. market, production vs. consumption, disproportion leading either to crises or to foreign market to avoid crises but not to overcome it, inevitability of capitalist development than there is in Lenin's polemics with the Narodniki climaxed by Development of Capitalism in Russia. But Russia is a backward country and its capitalist development proves the progressive mission of capitalism against barbarism, feudal, paternalistic semi-feudal autocracy, and not the horrors of the capitalist factory.

Here enters the first contradiction with Lenin himself, pre-1914. The first period, 1894-1903, involves on the one hand the advanced worker vs. backward peasant abstractly, but in actual revolutionary worker, concretely, this ~~abstract~~ advanced worker is a very much oppressed individual. On Fines, and all other leaflets Lenin writes in this period reveal the appalling conditions of the factory which do not enter into his book, but which most definitely enters into his fight with tendencies in the Social Democracy, for he will never for a minute deviate from his complete reliance on the worker and his desires, aims, needs, concrete and abstract. He begins with the dialectical principle "We must first separate and then unite". He separates not only from the Narodniki, but from Economists and not only

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hat is already on the surface, has already appeared as an opposite, but he "creates" opposites for it in his profound understanding of organization, party as a new category ~~and~~ the proletariat has reached, that gives birth to Menshevism before its time so-to-speak. Organization, organization, organization! "In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapons but organization. Divided by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by slave labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and will inevitably become, an invincible force only when its ideological unity round the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity round the principles of an organization, which unites millions of toilers in the army of the working class." (II, 466)

organization

Now to retrace a bit to see what the bourgeoisie was thinking. In America Carnegie's principle was "Pioneering ~~doesn't pay.~~" Empire building through consolidations, construction, swallowing up did. The proletariat, as an unorganized mass, has its last stab against the empires that are and that will become greater in Homestead in 1892, and loses. US Steel appears. The first billion dollar corporation will be followed by many attempts on the part of the proletariat to ~~become~~ greater ~~and~~ which will finally result in the IWW in the US, in the Soviets in Russia, in the Zulu rebellion in Africa; as well it will develop and move into 20th century's new industrial revolution (flight of Kitty Hawk, 1903) and new scientific concepts (Einstein's theory of relativity, 1905). But in the meantime, the period, 1870-1900, has the bourgeoisie impatient with all its new inventions and unevenness of home-development and breaking into imperialism. But the bourgeois economists do not follow (C, naturally, imperialism has its apologists but since it is unanimously considered a policy both by those like Hobson who oppose as by those who favor; those concerned with production keep to home country). They begin, first, by attempts to destroy Marx once and for all. Again, a backward country begins a new theory for Austria has temporarily replaced England as home of theoretician. Now, the coincidence of Marginal Utilitarianism with imperialism plus its own subjective apologies led Marxists to reject it in an offhand manner as a psychological quirk. But it is no psychological aberration; it is a very concrete, very much needed response to the beginnings of rationalized production. It is based on mathematics and quantities and infinitesimal increments and decrements, and "roundabout" machine production versus alternate raw materials that can be used, plus point in production where it no longer pays to have another worker, "final degree of utility". It is true it boasts of resuscitating Bentham's table of pleasure and pain, but just as Keynes' resuscitation of Malthus's effective demands in the 1900s will be solidly connected with production not with clergy, so is the Marginal Utility's calculus of pleasures and pains linked with production. What Marx did for labor in his theory of utilization of labor alone creates surplus value, the Marginal Utilitarian will attempt to do for capital. And if the first attempt to "prove" productivity of capital will be crude, the later introduction of rates of movement into the statistics of quantity will acquire a veritable classicism.

It is this which the pre-1914 Marxists do not see. Imperialism is so much the all-dominant factor that it appears as the only factor, instead of as only one of 5 counteracting factors to the decline in the rate of profit. Imperialism in fact hides the tendency to the decline by its present super-profits. Finance-capital entrances Hilferding so that he does not see concentration of production. Bernstein had long before decided that colonies were "needed" by Germany. It should be said to Rosa's credit that at least she tried to see a connection between imperialism and production and accumulation of capital. Instead of trying to deduce it from the laws of capitalism as expressed in the decline in the rate of profit, she fell for the inductive method of history and ended up, as we know, revising Marx. But what I did not see before this was that she attempted to stick to Capital. Lenin did not go off the rails because he was concrete, concrete, concrete. But no one saw the decline in the rate until it appeared in life in 1929. We live in Volume III; the pre-1929 Marxists did not and it is the proletariat plus dialectics that made Lenin grasp some parts of this even in post-1914.

While Lenin did not see this theoretically or concretely in production, he saw it most profoundly as tendencies in the party. Note the development in his concept of organization. First he sees it as politics vs. economics, and to that he adds professional revolutionary vs. intellectual anarchism. But 1905 comes. He sees creativeness of proletariat in creating Soviets, but he still counterposes party to that and he writes: "The Social Democracy should strive in every possible way to safeguard its own influence in the Soviets of Workers Deputies, the real fighting organization of people in revolt." (Krupakaya) Political strike plus armed workers he develops, but the party is proletarian, while soviets have peasantry, etc. And when he sees economic content of Russian Revolution, he realizes that despite its extreme reaction after defeat, it is no longer a semi-feudal autocracy, but a bourgeois monarchy, and launches into his fight with Martov about school of capitalism vs. school of capitalist bourgeoisie. As he fought the hegemony of liberals over proletariat (Economism), he fights now the hegemony of liberals over peasantry (Menshevism); moreover, bourgeois influence in period of reaction will now permeate S-D from the right as liquidationism and "left" as otzovism, but he still sees only Russian opportunism. Even in 1912 when Kautsky first reveals his opportunism openly in article in Neue Zeit opposing workers using uprisings and strikes against war, he not only does not show the fury he did to the much less important conciliationism of LT, but as late as May 1914, in his article on The Ideological Struggle in the Labour Movement (XI, p. 746) he limits analysis of opportunism to Russia: "Of all capitalist countries, Russia is one of the most backward, the most petty-bourgeois. It was therefore not fortuitous but inevitable that the mass movement of workers should have engendered a petty-bourgeois, opportunist wing within this movement." In other words, opportunism still comes from backward capitalism, and not the most advanced imperialist stage, and it is still p.b. rather than aristocracy of labor.

1642

We reach 1914, August, thus: Tendencies in party, Russia exclusively. 1906: First separate and then unite.  
1903--Separate again; 1904: Must view process in all



its concreteness. 1908. Destroy Liquidationism, otzovism. (NB while he found the philosophic difference no deterrent to bloc with Bogdanov, he wrote that if faction approved boycottism, he would leave it.) 1910. Destroy Menshevism and their school of capitalist bourgeoisie. 1912. Destroy conciliationism of IT; only one who gave theoretical formulation to conciliationism through "fight of intellectuals over immature proletariat". Destroy August Bloc. Disregard International that understands nothing of Russian problems. While destroying, build, build, build on proletariat.

August 1914. "The Second International died, vanquished by opportunism." A Third International must be built. Internationalism assumes first place in Lenin's life. Rejects slogan of "Ug of Europe" until an analysis can be made of economic side (he will then decide that without proletariat it can be nothing but an agreement for division of colonies.) Rejects peace without annexations. Turn imperialist war into civil war. Writes also essay on Karl Marx, July-Nov. 1914. Began study of LOGIC.

Sept. 1915. Bern. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Outline of Hegel's Logic. Hegel's Philosophy of History. History of Philosophy. Outline of LaSalle's "Philosophy of Heraclitus", Aristotle's Metaphysics and works on Hegel.

1916. On the Question of Dialectic. 1916-16 IMPERIALISM. Began his notebooks on imperialism in the middle of 1915 in Bern. Jan. 1916 goes to Zurich and begins actual writing of pamphlet; completes it in June 1916. "In the autumn of 1916," writes Krupskaya (II, p. 198) and at the beginning of 1917 Ilyich steeped himself in theoretical work. He tried to utilize all the time the library was open. He got there exactly at 9 o'clock... Never I think was Vladimir Ilyich in a more ir-reconcilable mood than during the last months of 1916 and early months of 1917... (197)

Now what springs out immediately, all through, and profoundly is the unity of opposites, the transition of one into its opposite and v.v. Unity of opposites and transition fill the notebooks which are richer than the actual pamphlet on Imperialism. There is competition that became its opposite monopoly. They have not been overcome; they coexist. National wars can become imperialist wars, and vice versa. Dialectics is the theory of knowledge, not just a method in the sense of an instrument, which is the way pre-1914 Marxists thought of it, but the, the, the theory of knowledge. You know nothing if you do not know that. You do not know Capital, not even its first chapter unless you know the whole of Chap Logic. Capital is not an abstract universal, it is an aggregate of the most concrete, and that means also there is no separation between logic and history; it is one and the same like the inductive and deductive method of Capital. And it isn't only logic and history but Notion. (The dialectic of Ch. I includes, I believe, the notion, too, in the fetishism of commodities for there the bourgeois theorist cannot master, although he has discovered labor as source of value; only proletariat can strip veil and master). A wealth of particulars, and Absolute Idea, there, says Lenin, you find the best in the dialectic.

Lenin sees more yet. He sees Engels' criticism of the Erfurt program. Two things, (1) planlessness ends with trusts; capitalism ~~can~~ plan, but proletariat remains proletariat; (2) truth is concrete. Krupskaya says "he simply clutched the following sentence in Engels' criticism of the Erfurt Program: to <sup>to</sup> "Such a policy can in the end only lead the Party on the wrong road. General, abstract political questions are put in the foreground and thus obscure immediate concrete questions ~~and~~ which will automatically come up on the order of the day at the very first outbreak of big events, in the first political crisis."

"Having copied this passage," K continues, "Ilyich wrote in very large letters, putting the words in double parentheses: ((THE ABSTRACT IN THE FOREGROUND, THE CONCRETE OBSCURED!!))NOTA BENE! EXCELLENT! THAT'S THE MAIN THING! NB"

Dialectics demands the most concrete.... "Of course the fundamental proposition of Marxian dialectics is that all boundaries in nature and society are conventional and mobile, that there is not a single phenomenon which cannot under certain conditions be transformed into its opposite." Lenin writes in Junius pamphlet (Aug. 1916), which is part of his Imperialist Notebooks. These 993 pages also include one outline of his pamphlet which shows how he practically came to our stage of Taylorism, and why he did not. Instead of the last chapter (X, The Place of Imperialism in History), he was to have had ~~xxx~~ 3 sections: ~~xxxx~~ "Imperialism is Monopoly Capitalism"; (2) Imperialism is Parasitic Capitalism, and (3) Imperialism is transitional or dying capitalism. Under the last he wrote:

"Interlacing versus socialization. St. Simon and Marx--Rieser about rapidity of growth. Transition to what? (84) We dealt with it already once) Should Taylor be here?"

He had made an outline of Taylorism and spoke of "torment" of labor. He saw Taylorism, that is, and did not exclude its transiting to that any more than, abstractly, he excluded ultra-imperialism, but the concrete actual situation and his analysis of imperialism "as the eve of the revolution" made him reject this variant, in favor of a critique of Kautsky's pettybourgeois critique of imperialism: "Kautsky's theoretical critique of imperialism has nothing in common with Marxism and serves no other purpose than as a preamble to propaganda for peace and unity with the opportunists and jingo Socialists, just because this critique avoids and obscures precisely the most profound and essential inherent contradictions of imperialism: the contradiction of monopolies existing side by side with free competition; the contradiction between immense "operation" (and immense profits) of finance capital and "honest" trade on the open market; the contradiction between combines and trusts on the one hand and non-trustified production on the other, etc." And that is where imperialism had reached at the outbreak of WWI.

At that time there also <sup>occurs</sup> undergoes a change in Lenin's concept of organization. Krupskaya tells us it is impossible to understand State and Revolution, without reading L's "Letters from Afar" and particularly so the one on the proletarian militia:

"Our immediate problem is organization, not in the sense of effecting ordinary organization by ordinary methods, but in the sense of drawing large masses of the oppressed classes in unheard of numbers into the organization and of embodying in this organization, military, state and national economic problems."

It will be, you see, a social reorganization, not a mere economic reorganization. The organization widens.

Secondly, and this will form part of the April Theses, Imperialism means, from point of view of Marxism, to consider problems not "from the point of view of one country but of world."

In looking for an economic basis of US of Europe when he rejected the slogan he showed a further development of objective conditions "from monopoly to state concentration." Before we approach April, however, February and the actual reappearance of soviets and on a national scale is to influence that man to make as great a leap as "Transform imperialist war into civil war". Contrast the two letters to Kollantai when he first heard the news. The first he still lives in 1905 and talks in terms of legal and illegal work, but the very next day, in response to a telegram from Kollantai what to do, we get! "Spread out! House new sections! Awaken fresh initiative, form new organizations in every layer and ~~provoke them that need~~ can come only with the armed Soviets of Workers-Deputies in power." He had already said at first news: "Never again along the lines of the End Int! Never again with Kautsky! By all means a more revolutionary programme and more revolutionary tactics." But the word, "more," shows yet a quantitative conception which will entirely vanish by April. The Resolution based on speech (or rather vv) was "lost", they tell us, but it is clear that in his elaboration of state monopolies and, later, in his fight with the "Left" on state capitalism in Russia that he was saying, since ~~statification~~ statification is next stage, just remember only intervention of proletariat "to a man" can possibly keep out Junkerism. And State and Revolution, written in August 1917, is the answer.

For the time being that is enough. I am not sure I'm working along the lines you wish since there seemed somehow to be a lack of continuity in your thoughts between your writing and G's somewhat overly brief summation; also not yet received analysis of "Syllogism". I do think if at all possible for you it would be best to write a draft now so we finally get a conception of the whole.

Friday (June 24, 1949)

My dear Rae,

This is written partly on Wed., when I gave G another letter, and partly on Thurs. Today is Fri. and I am sending this one to you directly as I had you in mind when I wrote it. Circulate as I asked in my last long one to G.

Regards  
J.

G has been so encouraging that I think I can do a little more outlining & then leave it to you for a week or two. Have no doubt at all that this is our next stage, Marcuse or no Marcuse.

Why?

Because objectively for Marcuse we need

- 1) A study of the Logic: representing social development, the history of philosophy and scientific method 1000 words?
- 2) A study of the Logic of Capital 1000 words?

The opportunity is marvellous for we do them together in the same script.

Then we do Early Marx and Dialectic:

Then we do pre-1914 Lenin. for example; briefly summarize L on

- a) organization
- b) Capital (economics)
- c) philosophy
- d) the party
- e) socialism

Then you give a summary, very bold of what L learnt chiefly from the Logic; you take them separately, maybe in order of importance. Then you apply.

Imperialism  
March Revolution  
State & Revolution etc. etc. ,

weaving in: organization party socialism dialectic etc.

Leave October and 1923 till later.

Aim at no more than 1200 words to each major section. Do not "prove". State. But if you state clearly enough and in correct sequence your proof is practically there. You are not debating with Shachtman.

I will forget for the time being the falling r of p. We are dealing with Lenin.

Now for some more pointers. Strive to be understood, but you cannot write a serious theoretical study on the assumption that your reader knows nothing. In these preliminary drafts, state.

If you need more space than 1200 take it. One can always cut down after. I have it at the back of the head that it is the opportunity of a lifetime to do together the Logic of Hegel and the Logic of Capital. I believe that it is an open question which should appear first in the script.

This is all very nice but I don't think a step should be begun until you have worked out the Syllogism carefully, abstractly first. I believe if G here is strictly abstract and philosophical and does a hard minute piece of work, R will "capitalise" it

-2-

(forgive) quickly enough.

But before you do anything do this part.  
You see Lenin says! Not abstract but concrete. That is it.

Work out very precisely the concrete circumstances of Engels' remark.

The whole of L's purely theoretical discovery in the Logic I believe revolves around that; the contradiction between the generalization, necessary, and the concrete. How that works stage by stage is the syllogism problem.

My--let me say, opinion, is that this should be worked out thoroughly, and then the other sections written. It will take shape. For the time being I am avoiding the syllogism business.

Finally: to return to socialization of labor. Lenin on Socialism, Marx, July-Nov. 1914 should be scrutinized. But there is a deep problem, philosophical, and all-inclusive around "socialization of labor". S. of L. is capitalist category. I have thought of this almost continuously for hours & hours (whenever I had some time of course). The socialism is the revolt. Watch the His. Tendency of Cap. Accumulation.

Transformation of means into means only workable in common etc. etc. = socialization of labor; at the same time one capitalist killing many. But with the usurping magnates grows the revolt of the U.S. Now

1) See how often, list, it is the revolt which causes a leap forward in capitalist production. The working day struggle. That is the revolt. The Logic of Capital will have very carefully to tabulate the stages of those revolts; and make them integral. Work out closely connected with this is Lenin on democracy and on bureaucracy: He says a lot against the Nardoniki. We should have some logical development of his ideas on democracy. There is a dialectic of democracy from capitalist democracy to proletarian democracy which he found. It is connected with the revolt. Then you see, the 2nd Int. in suppressing the revolt is an obstacle to the law of motion.

Now here are some general points to help out in Imperialism. I am purposely keeping away from S & R. Of course Engels had gone to the limit--with state-cap. but L says no word about that.

Selected, Vol. V, Ch. V: combines control internal market "more or less completely." Lenin hesitates around this. Then at a certain stage he does not hesitate at all. Yet in Vol VIII the whole debate with Bukharin is very very important.

#### Interpolation

(And by the way, Rae, this is what I mean by not keeping up and being deflected by struggles of tendencies. Treat them only when needed and in passing. The point is that today they all seek peace and world-govt. by paper organizations & paper constitutions etc. With force and yet with restraint you can show how L looked to the mass movement--to the concrete.)

1 6 4 8

Back to Imp'm. Notes. Why do I insist on cutting Imp. away and analyzing it by itself. Your yesterday's letter shows once more how much he owed to the 1917 Soviets (Krupskaya). Therefore, glue the eyes to what he was thinking before. And note: He says the war accelerated from monopoly to state, but I think that the Soviets told him that henceforth there was no choice for the bourgeoisie either.

V, p. 80, The transition to a higher system is being revealed; but also the reaction is being revealed.

p. 95, Hobson is quite right. Unless, etc. Now Hobson is quite wrong and so is L, despite Unless. There is plenty here, but the chief thing for us is to state the features L singles out in such a way as to be able (later) to show, that these changed also. Altho we 1949 are not going to appear, keep it in mind constantly.

Particularly valuable as an illustration, one, of this is p. 100. A general enthusiasm about it in 1914. Note p. 102. V.V. Imp't.

The reactionary features of Imp. are due among other things to the "elimination of free competition." "Work out what he is thinking--the logic of his ideas.

And about stagnation. Note in Vol. III on credit & monopoly, p. 516 and again in those pages on the falling r of p. in Vol. III Marx speaks of the deadening effect of monopoly because the rate of profit is so small....

What does he mean (p. 118) by the prominent parasitism in American capitalism?

Now here is another way of "attacking" Imperialism, if digging out its secrets. Lenin does not deal with the bureaucratization of production. Marx has the statements in Vol. I where the whole organization of capital becomes a mighty monster and the poor individual is helpless before it. Then in Vol. III, at the end, Conditions of Distribution, he says that Capital creates a hierarchy of rulers, which arises from the conditions of production, the real foundation of the social functions of the different classes. Lenin speaks of bureaucracy in S & R and he speaks of the bureaucrat in Will the Bolsheviks Maintain, but he seems to have in mind officials--outside of industry. His workers control of production seems to aim at national accounting and control first... Before we go to S & R, we should have all this very, very clear and - implications etc. It is amazing what you get when you get down to this.

Precision. Why? His use of monopoly should be contrasted with that of people like Theodore Roosevelt. NB that we are writing for the public --and a public that is willing to hear. We can adapt Bukharin etc. and L's conflicts (which we have to work out) to a means of explanation, emphasizing their differences with L and, in particular, where they expressed a bourgeois mode of thought.

1648

The "Taylor thing" is wonderful in general and in that it shows how strictly capitalistic L was in Imperialism.

Now Vol. XI, p.748

Again p.748 monopoly v free competition  
quintessence

I am not fully satisfied to why this enormous emphasis.

p.748: private ownership

NB! note the connotation: private always means decay; and we know that private means: not public

Nothing alive.  
Secondly.

Note the corruption of MONOPOLY

A very profound idea here.

Note p.750 It is clear why....

Note that the "tremendous socialization of labor" means the same thing". Means what.

Again  
Again p.750

Finance capital over Industrial Capital  
Fusion is state capital

762. "the essence of Marxian tactics"

Lenin makes a mighty statement here.

Same page

"lower and deeper"

You see what is implied here & the sensation it could cause today. He says the same in another way in Left-Wing Communism.

Note that this article is Autumn 1916. He had just finished Imperialism. Look also at Marxism & Revisionism. Same volume. 1908. There you will see a remarkable concept of the dialectics of democracy & the political struggle. Enough for quite a while now.

J.

v. p.178. Useful definition of dialectics. Note also p.187. Comment on the importance of the word say "undergone a vital change, say,..." I would like to know the Russian word he uses.

NE All through bear in mind that knowledge becomes always more concrete. L insists on that himself; and not only say it but show it, e.g. re L and the genuinely capitalistic bureaucracy.

An idea, needed now, just struck me. In addition to a noble, a truly noble essay on the Logic in general, each section, Being, Essence, and Notion, as Lenin comes to them should have an introductory sketch, explaining what is needed to be explained for that section and for L's notes. This gives more scope to the opening essay which can be more generally history.  
Just @ May: What a volume this can be; Logic of Capital, Logic of Hegel, Imperialism, State & Rev.; theory of knowledge; and--behind it all revolutionary workers. And by the way stop at 1917--no use tangling up NEP etc. I believe that we should exhaust Imperialism looking at it from 1914--to the Feb. Rev. in 1917. We have July-Nov.1914 essay on Marx. That is our concrete Absolute. Examine that carefully; link it up to Imp. and on to the Soviet. I believe L had learnt more than any other

1649

Marxist how progressive capitalism was, his past experience in Russia did this. Now, between there; and of course Dev. of Capitalism in Russia and his attacks on Narodniks, there is development. I would take p.329 e.g. of the Syllogism and play with it, in itself and then using such terms as Monopoly Free Competition, etc.--after G has worked out Syllogism theoretically. With all this after a week or so something will explode. Now absolutely must stop. This thing holds me by the throat and disrupts everything. I shall now put it out of my mind. But it will be hard. NB. Marcuse or no Marcuse, we will finish this Intro. then we will go forth. Maybe a book, with Logic as appendix, articles in a mag; but we'll make the intro. the edition, that we cannot do without money; but the other things--marvellous. and these things we have to do before the revolution. Why do I see it so clearly. Because nothing exists--nothing; because people want to know; and because we can say: this is it--nobody else knows, And,

LASTLY.

That Syllogism business, abstract and concrete. Philosophical first but I believe in the treatment of Stalinism in the Nevada document (which must be read and re-read) we have abstract and concrete.



6/28

My dear Rae,

Today is Tuesday - June 28.  
We must not by the way forget that we must attack Hegelianism.  
For ex.,  
Hegel says that only a few philosophising men can overcome alienation. Wrong. The worker, even under cap'm. is twice blessed, in comparison with the philosophizers. I know that, both objectively and subjectively. This thing is a pain. You just have no peace, none. Mid-day and midnight. No peace.

Hegel says too a lot of stuff about contradiction, opposites, etc. Baloney. You want to ruin your life? Become an opposition in a party that is in opposition to bourgeois society. Then you are finished, you cannot do one thing without being tied up in another thing, and the contradiction within the contradiction--it just contradicts you every time. ~~You~~ wish to contradict. The Most important work has to be done in off periods.

Anyway, out of my multitudinous miseries, the following word holds foremost place. MONOPOLY.  
Yes, that's all. Do not despise it. I note that L after reading Logic, singled out value, price, supply and demand, etc.-- apparently simple demominations. Now for him the new category is monopoly. How profound! I wish that it thought so & would go trouble somebody else.  
Instead I say: Monopoly. It is two things. It is:  
1. A new category for capital (common c).  
2. It is an absolute.

The moment you get that, an absolute in Thought, a self-contained identity, you must be aware of a concrete opposition. If you stick at monopoly you are at Understanding. (You remember that guy? He came out of the West.)  
Now the opposite of free competition was the socialization of labor. (You have heard all this so many times in recent days. Sad, but true. If only I could tell myself that.)  
What is this socialization of labor? What was it in 1914? Lenin (Vol. XI, pp. 33-34) describes it as he saw it then. Spend a week on that passage. Dig at it. See what it has and what it has not. Note how abstract it is. Note phrases like "The socialization of production IS BOUND TO LEAD TO,..." This will "DIRECTLY RESULT IN". Science, redistribution of labor, "improved" labor etc. Note how abstract and idealistic is the new form of the family, the new forms of education--the things sounds like a real petty-bourgeois forecast of the rosy future--if taken by itself. Grace must pin this thing down. We know L, the article is dialectical materialist, revolutionary. Already (Nov. 1914) he is thinking about cartels etc. But observe that page in abstracto and it sounds pretty bad--for Lenin. I am going to try it out on my good wife who has a wonderful nose for these things.

You see: there you have free competition and socialization of labor. But the movement, soc. of labor becomes MONOPOLY--ah! S of L has imposed itself upon capital, the whole organism. Now Lenin begins to dig out the transitions, the unity of the opposites, the self-movement, socialism from this new category. Nothing "leads to" or "is bound to become"; or "will be well educated". All that is gone. Monopoly creates concrete conditions in which

the opposition is concretely posed. Thought, dialectical materialist thought, gives you Monopoly, transcending free competition. Monopoly then as a category clarifies war, imperialism, democracy, etc. etc. Remember Lenin's constant listing. Monopoly means a) b) c) d) e). The struggle is against this concrete a) b) c) d) e)--if of course you are a socialist. This then becomes the revolutionary struggle for socialism, with concrete enemies and concrete tactics. The concrete is the opposite of the abstraction, the abstract thought, monopoly. The thing is to get hold of the concrete in the light of the abstract generalisation. Monopoly is a new category, i.e., a new method of gaining knowledge of the object. It arises out of the previous capitalist category: free competition. It gives us a closer approximation to capitalist reality, and to the revolutionary struggle. (I assume a re-reading of the Nevada document.)

Note please in the His. Tendency of Cap. Acc. Marx began by saying "One capitalist kills many." Finance capital is the unification of what had hitherto been separate. In Vol. III what Marx speaks of monopoly (p. 516) he refers there almost exclusively to credit. It is Engels who interpolates on production. (And by the way, why haven't we a complete copy of Engels on the Erfurt Program?) From there finance, industrial capital, on to the state, is a certain line to Monopoly. Marx in the Historical Tendency... had left the thing at "grows the revolt". Lenin in 1914 was still there. It is later that this abstraction becomes concrete, through the concentration of thought in the new category Monopoly.

I am still keeping away from State & Rev. But it cannot be ignored. Now--free competition brought democracy--political democracy, bastard, limited, hypocritical, but still democracy. But monopoly must have democracy or it will go to ruin. (This is the kind of premise implicit in Lenin which we have to bring out.) But monopoly of its origin and nature means political reaction. Hence the moment the category Monopoly is clarified, there begins for Lenin, given his sociological premises, the search for a new type of democracy. Nobody, even in the revolutionary movement was thinking in those terms. As for the liberal bourgeoisie, God help them. They are just helpless before monopoly and democracy. All they can think of is more voting and when everybody votes, then, they say, democracy means the gov't. must regulate. I don't say to say it that way, but the difference is so immense that now, when they know that their democracy is in a mess, many will be able to see who simply could not have seen in Lenin's time. However! however! Broad and simple as that definition and its opposite may appear, just think how it separates Lenin (and us) from everybody--and when I say everybody, I mean everybody. That approach draws a ditch between us & everybody.

Now let us look at democracy a bit. It is political democracy. It helps production, as all democracy does. The production it was tied to was free competition. That was the main freedom. The bourgeoisie was made free, to act freely in production. You have to bear in mind the battles that had to be fought to win this. They were great revolutions, genuine revolutions. You see there is a duality to democracy itself--there is the bourgeois-democratic republic, purely political and there is the freedom of free competition. If socialization of labor grows up inside free competition, the bureaucratic republic, strictly political freedom, grows up inside the capitalist regime. This political freedom L sees in a purely proletarian manner in Russia--and elsewhere.

Parliament is for him a stop-gap. Since 1848 the main aim is to organize the masses democratically, i.e., for revolutionary action. With the growth of monopoly, partly democracy cannot cope with the crisis. The only democ. possible is rev. democ. But this rev. democ. which began as freedom of competition, now explodes, as he says, quantity changes into quality, and the new democ. = freedom in the industrial organization--release of powers. Here, you see the full force of Marx's final conclusions on the effect of the worker of cap. accumulation. Note too: "one capitalist kills many." Note too "the diminishing number of magnates. Free competition meant freedom for a whole class. But monopoly means freedom for nobody, except the diminishing magnates. Sure we have written about this at various times and in various ways. But have we done the analysis in strict terms of: free competition and monopoly (a paragraph or two in Invading, that's all, tho' they are good). The struggle for us is to place ourselves where L was and recreate his mental environment and his dilemma. The "public" today is looking at what he saw then.

Let me before I forget: be sure and look up the notes at the back of the Gotha programme (the Int. ed.) There you will see Lenin's schema. He is most excited, a vast number of NB's, very good's! Wonderful, etc.; there you have the abstract idea; the universal, the generalisation, linked to monopoly. But those are for him abstract thought. Always in his polemics, in his articles, etc. he goes back to the concrete. In the notes he keeps on saying that--he calls it: practice. Everything should revolve around abstract generalisations around monopoly, democracy, free competition, etc. and then the concrete... The problem as I see it is this. We are so familiar with the stuff that we think we know all about that. We don't. At least I feel like an infant before it all--now, for this task that we have. I'll try to explain, with the above that I have written in mind.

Take self-determination. We know. We understand. Yet Lenin always it seemed to me to throw a passion into those writings which seemed to me unnecessary. Now just let me list some of the points, at random

1) Today what L thought of self-determination is to denounce Stalinism off the theoretical map. I could write an essay on this alone: e.g. The SWP and Shachtman usually say: Lenin believed in freedom of nations, etc., maybe a few quotes; and then: the Stalinists have betrayed. It convinces nobody. It is a completely abstract statement. But if you make it part of Lenin's whole system, then you show up Stalinism for what it is, in the whole context of Eastern Europe.

Again: why did L so passionately deal with it. Because... saw this as one of the developing manifestations of monopoly--in Europe itself. It was not any more a Russian phenomenon. This, we, today, can make a lot of people see.

In view of all this some of L's statements: If Finland wants to go let it go; scratch a Bolshevik and you find a Great-Russian chauvinist, etc., these acquire terrific impact.

Isn't it clear that an important part of Lenin in 1914-1917 must take up fully the self-determination?

But monopoly and democracy. Yes, monopoly and democracy. Now a peculiar something is emerging here--this is the sort of thing that gives no peace to the mind.

The economic movement was to monopoly, state-monopoly. But where L separated himself from Bukharin is his political struggle which appears to run DIRECTLY OPPOSITE to the economic movement. There is the Economist point that L refers to and you and Grace have talked about it in regard to Capital.

The economist is the one who takes the generalisation as absolute, but does not see the concrete! (Take it easy; we have a hard road to travel) Why is the concrete in such constant opposition to the abstract generalisation? Because of the very nature of categories, opposition, transcendence, etc.:

Watch it: Imperialism, Monopoly is a capitalist category. The generalization is a capitalist generalization, it must be. Now Hegel had his opposition between World-Spirit and Nature. We have our class struggle. So that the new opposition to the new phenomenon, monopoly, the concrete class in opposition, must appear at the beginning, before the transcendence, to be in absolute opposition to the generalisation. Hence Lenin: capitalism is progressive in Russia, but we must fight the capitalists. Unification of nations is good, but we must fight it, etc. We have said this before, but we have not put it, in logical, i.e., dialectical terms. What was it that Lenin was whooping about: This is it. This is it. That's the thing. We have to make that as clear as day, in such a commonplace thing as democracy, monopoly, self-determination, state, etc. And we have to do it so that the workers can understand. Workers? Yes, workers. They should be able to understand the Introduction. (I can't stop to say why I am so positive about this. Another time.)

To go on. The generalization is Monopoly. The concrete (in self-determination) is opposed. The new unity is a higher unity which encloses both opposites. But this new unity is what--it is not an economic unit in the sense of capitalist "economy" at all. It is an organisation of peoples, democratically organized and democratically united.

Now be ready for some leaps. The real opposite to capitalism is democracy. The socialisation of labor is a capitalistic form whose complete expression is democracy--democracy is its truth. Now even where Lenin in Russia has to accept capitalism, and even where he says: maybe the independent state will be a bourgeois state, he has a tight, an absolutely unbreakable grip on democracy as he interprets it (I am ashamed to put that in, but you'll forgive me.)

Now Imperialism; State and Rev. Self-Determination--not only the means against them but the end is the substitution of democracy for bourgeois determinations--the energies of millions; the form in which all this emerges are to be expressed is vague. You can now see, and must make the reader feel what the Soviets mean to him.

Socialization of labor, or more precisely planning cartels; unity of nations; state above classes; nationalization, monopoly, state-monopoly all these are bourgeois categories, carried to their ultimate. The emerging category or categories, to use, to include, to sublimate, these must appear to break them up.

NOW.  
NOW.

Previously all struggles for freedom (most) seem to me to have been the same. (French Rev., American Rev.) But they finally broke up only to substitute another class domination. (Old stuff.) But the method was always democratic, in revolutionary struggle. But now, and this is

socialism, the method, becomes method and aim and end.

The whole thing goes deep into the Logic. I have not worked it out for the French Rev. yet, and I am sure Grace is going to jump joyfully on to the British Rev. when she has the time; but logically, the new category, arising from the concrete, is always in opposition to the fixed generalization. It dissolves the absolute. It does not go into the seats of the old, taking over. It smashes. It can do this because the old Absolute is a possession for good and all. The concrete while fighting to smash the absolute has in it what is important in the Absolute--the Monopoly, the centralization now exists in the workers. They cannot go back (except for a brief period & that is retrogression and ruin). And now you can see what Hegel means by saying the new must not be looked for as getting larger and larger. It is in violent opposition to the old but has identity with it--it is its Other.

Now the bourgeois is lost completely before monopoly, democracy, US of Europe, plan, etc. Today all serious bourgeois deal with these things. But they are stuck in the Absolute. They do not know how to break out. Some of them want to. Hitler accepted the Absolute and went straight to the end with it--the results we know. But imagine how if this thing is properly done, what a conception of Leninism and of democracy will arise in the reader's mind. And, funny, every died-in-the-wool Trotskyite, will read this, and will know in his soul that despite all he has read by Trotsky, he has never seen anything like this before. But it must all revolve around democracy, monopoly, etc. Bear in mind also "plan" and show "plan" is no more than the Absolute of Imperialism, of Monopoly. The real plan is the result of democracy. Why? Because where you have socialized democracy, plan is inherent--there can be no other system.

The working out of all this is full of possibilities, full. Now to a connected point. I am haunted by the little essay on Dialectics, Vol. XI, p. 81. Lenin here summed up the Notes. Opposition, L says, is "a law of knowledge (and as a law of the objective world):

He then gives a test--and --; positive and negative etc. Then he hammers away at mutually exclusive opposites, etc. and again (including mind and society).

Unity of Opposites	Self-Movement
Struggle of opposites	Absolute

All this must be worked in. Then he says: "The distinction between sophistry and dialectics is that in (objective) dialectics the difference between the relative and the absolute is itself relative. For objective dialectics there is an absolute within the relative. For -- sophistry the relative is only relative and excludes the absolute." Now listen to Stirling --Secret of Hegel.

Now this is a fine job. Work it out concretely with monopoly, democracy, etc. Work them out sentence by sentence if need be. And when that is done you have a broad opposition between Leninism and bourgeois thought.

Then and only then, we can refer to Bukharin, Kautsky, Rosa L, as people who to one extent or another failed to see the full dialectical movement and slipped off here, there and elsewhere. But I simply do not see this thing as mainly concerned with the struggle of tendencies.

Now back to p. 82.

1 6 → 6  
-6-

L takes the commodity and he works out how the singular is contained in the general etc. Then he says "in any given proposition we can (and must) reveal as in a 'cell'...the germs of all the elements of dialectics..."

Agreed? Agreed. Now here is a proposition.  
Imperialism is that stage of capitalism in which free competition is transformed into its opposite.  
And from there you are off.  
L says "Dialectics is the theory of knowledge etc.etc." And he says Plekhanov paid no attention to it.  
It is from where that L built up everything.

Third point.

Life consists of an immense variety of shades, transitions, etc. If you take one of these and develop it irrespective of its transitions, etc. you get a system, genuine, real, but false. It is not "a lot of nonsense." It is a sterile flower but it grows on the living tree. It is a single side made into an absolute. Now this too must be worked out concretely with Bukharin, Rosa etc. and the bourgeoisie.

Will go on tomorrow or soon  
J.

P.S. Just my letters, R. I don't want them sent except as I ask. You can send yours if you want to. Tomorrow or soon I shall get at this thing.

1656

Thursday June  
(near the end)

My dear Rae,

I have now been playing hide and seek with Lenin on Dialectics p.81, Vol.XI. I compare it with the section on Dialectics in the Essay on Karl Marx. Read them. There is a million years between them. That is the arena. I seem to see that L's best ideas came from reading the History of Philosophy. I see a lot of the notes from there in this summation. He seemed to put down there the things he had learnt since the essay on Marx. He was a good guy, L, he had every stage down in order.

(If you are in difficulties for L's concept of the progressiveness of capitalism, I can give you quotes. They are all in Vol.XI, and should be used, in summary, almost verbatim.)

Now. Reading L on Marx (July-November 1914) he singles out as Marx did 3 phases. Simple cooperation, Division of labor; large-scale machinery. L has added one stage more: Monopoly. That's all. And he has omitted one thing: the effect on the proletariat in production of monopoly, i.e. state-capitalism. That has been our task. But precisely because of state-monopoly, the psychological, political and economic become fused. I cannot help noting how nowhere does L really talk about the thing Marx made the climax of Vol.I--the degradation of the laborer. He speaks more about the high cost of living. This is to be born in mind as we try to see him in 1914, using ourselves in 1949 as the ultimate logical peak, the concrete inevitability of soc. so to speak which enables us to place him.

This is important, because L himself emphasizes the relativity (within the Absolute) of human knowledge, of how constantly new ideas are being developed, which bring us nearer to the Absolute truth. He posed state-capitalism and the Soviets. It was a new aspect of the absolute. But he only began. We are now working that out, analyzing fully state-cap; economic analysis; reaction of masses, state, party, etc. Bear these broad developments in mind. Trace the dialectic of each aspect --state, political economy; party, etc. through each stage. Then you will see L in all his fullness, and his inevitable limitations. In fact only in view of '49 can we really see what he discovered and what he stood for.

I am still saten up with L's rejoicing over his discovery of abstract and concrete. Abstract is the law, the generalization, the theory. The new abstract for L is monopoly, and all the shades of meaning, antagonisms, etc. he drew from it. Just for fun, look again at Vol.XI, p.748. The emphasis, the violence of the language is almost incredible. Again on p.750. The para. beginning "It is clear...."

All this is his abstract, his law, his generalisation, the new one. (Remember, by the way, that each stage of the Notion, say, each stage of capitalism is an absolute; and a tremendous knowledge of method is to be gained, by watching each stage, and seeing what happened to abstract and concrete then: Cap. at the time of the 1st Int. Cap. at the time of the Second, etc. etc. What was the relation then between abstract and concrete. That will help us to pin down L's great discovery. But I cannot stay here. I have bigger game in view.)

Now yesterday I insisted that we deal with this broadly, against the bourgeoisie and not tangle up the general public with wire-drawn disputes between Lenin and Bukharin, etc.) I suggested how these should be dealt with. By bourgeoisie I mean radical bourgeois, e.g. the Social-Democracy of today, or more precisely, the petty-bourgeois. But --I warned that

to get this right we have to trace the shades inside the movement clearly for each shade represents a facet of bourgeois ideas.

Now: who is Lenin attacking when he says: concrete not abstract?

In general he is theoretically raging against the people who will not even try to see the connection between opportunism and imperialism.

This is a strictly theoretical question.

But (again Vol. XI, 761) he says about opportunist parties. "There is not the slightest reason for thinking that these parties will disappear before the social revolution." And then says that they will probably play a greater role in the revolutionary crisis (I suspect, I think I remember another translation in Vol. XIX where the same article appears.) Here enters what he calls practice. If you go on with that article and a superb article it is (for us) you will see that he reinterprets the word mass. In the most violent manner he denies the very term mass organisation to the Second International. We cannot tell for certain, he says, what proportion of the masses will come with us. This is practice. The two together, the theory and the practice, make the truth at a given moment, i.e., the Absolute Idea.

- We have
- a) The Absolute, the struggle of classes
  - b) This struggle under capitalism
  - c) Its form, centralization of capital, socialisation of labor
  - d) Its new category. Monopoly with all its crimes
  - e) Monopoly is the transition. Pure theory this is.
  - f) It brings with it the Second International devoted to cap'm.
  - g) The new category of labor which is to negate this form of capitalism is unknown.
  - h) It can be found only in concrete struggle which is opposed (must be opposed) by the masses.
  - i) The Soviet solves this. Therefore the New International, the Third, will exist to represent the idea and as soon as possible the embodiment of the Soviet.

Watch something here. Lenin has made the most concrete analysis of the new category of capitalist system and the transitions, sides, etc. which flow from it. But what he has to propose seems entirely abstract. -- the masses will do something. This is a very contradiction. No wonder he is ridiculed. ((There is a whole lot of ideas contained here; objective and subjective--the use of the words. G perhaps will do something if she thinks it worth while.)) But L's analysis is abstract. He has pulled himself away from the whole, got his categories clear, pinned down the old dead categories and now is moving into his concrete, mass action. The Second Int. is a dead category--finished.

So far against capital.  
But L's program for the workers. That, too, is an abstraction, an abstract Universal. It can be summed up in the phrase: all types of struggle for a New International. Now L is very conscious (Vol. XI, p. 81) of the opposition between a sentence like the tree is green. He deals with it fully. Between his program and the concrete masses is another opposition. If there weren't an opposition there would be complete identity. The program therefore becomes a bridge from the concrete to a higher stage of the concrete, its realisation, as a concrete opposition and negation to the Second International.

Now once more, who were the others who did not see this. Rosa? Bukharin? I cannot help coming back to the theses that L was attacking and clearing



up the errors primarily of himself. Why had he failed to see the collapse of the 2nd Int.?

He had a) failed to analyze capital  
b) failed to see the connection of the 2nd Intl. with it  
c) failed to see this as an inevitable trend which was bound to grow.

He had accepted a series of abstractions, party, mass, revolution, etc. and had never contrasted these with the concrete struggle of the real revolutionary masses, these masses are one of the mutually exclusive fundamental antagonisms of the Absolute. He has neglected Marx's attitude in the struggle for the working-day. He had neglected Marx and Engels' consistent attacks upon the British bourgeois trade unions. 2,?

I cannot stay to tie this up to his analysis of Capital, his analysis of philosophy (Plekhanov), the things we have talked about.

Can we bring them all into these categories of abstract and concrete, concrete being always an ever-closer approximation to what constitutes the real, the genuine revolutionary masses. There is something unresolved here, but I am equally sure that I can resolve it. The essence of the matter is here tho. The thing begins with the mutually exclusive Absolutes, capital and labor; but these soon become capital at a precise stage, and the revolutionary masses. This needs constant redefinition. God help you if you live in the abstract, one type of (outmoded) category; or even when you draft your program, not recognise that this is and must be abstract in relation to the concrete struggle.

To be continued

J.

Here is an early letter I stopped at. About July 2.

Dear G:

(Received July 16)

Here is my miserable self once more - ~~still~~ digging at this gold mine, for gold mine it is. To get something out of the way: Whenever there is a false logical line it expresses itself politically in two ways, to right and to left. So Economism says no politics at all, but there was an economist trend which before 1905 proposed a general strike for socialism. This is always so. (Also a good dialectic can be traced with our increased knowledge, about the dialectics of Economism, 1905, 1917, 1949)

||| Now Bukharin ~~was~~ logically was doing exactly what Kautsky was doing. He was organizing imperialism. Only the proletariat was to do it. Kautsky went to the right; Bukharin to the "left." (no self-determination; no democracy etc.) And also no "free competition" in the program. Same thing, as a Left-Communist; and same thing in 1920.

||| We have to drive home the aspect of Bukharin in opposition to L's supple dialectic. The things you say are good; the extracts too. Now all that remains is to put it in logical terms. Best way to do this! By doing an absolutely merciless critique of Vol. XI, p.34. That is Bukharin and Hilferding but done by a revolutionary of unconquerable instinct.

I believe this page has plenty particularly the passages marked ||||

(And by the way on your notes on p.2, I see nothing "abstract" But that you will have to work out. By abstract I mean logical lines which make curves like this:

Instead of taking in all the material (or lots of it) like this:

The whole thing now can begin to revolve around Lenin's KM in 1914 and Imperialism and S & R and the Soviets. There are some important essays at the end of Vol. XI which sum up where he stood in 1914. Look at Vol. XI, p.738. Lenin of course always looked for basic causes, but between this and 1916 is a gulf. There is a grasp of one-sidedness (p.740) But see his analysis of opportunism and this is 1910. It is pure "Trotskyism."

Note again that we have to make the connection between Menshevism in Russia and opportunism in Europe pre-1914 and post-1914.

Now for a leap.

L before 1914 had a very abstract conception of capitalism on a world scale. I have written of this in my last of which this is a continuation. Before we name it bourgeois, Economist or what, let us try to organize it - for investigation. I assume:

- a) The false attitude to Capital
- b) The " " " Philosophy (Plek)
- c) The " " " Kautsky & Co.

I assume. I assume.

fundamental  
All are the same mistake: the same/logical error.

- All we have to do is:
- 1) point it out. (Ho! Ho! That's it. That's all, point it out)
  - 2) place it historically: period of capital and of labor movement
  - 3) place it logically
  - 4) show who held it, who changed, who did not change, etc.

Now again: why did they all do it, Lenin on the left, but nevertheless one of them.

-2-

They did it because of Understanding. ~~It~~ Yes, that old villain. Whenever there is serious trouble look for Understanding. Now Understanding can deceive us. He can divide into a Right-Wing (Bernstein), a centre (Kautsky), a left-Wing (Lenin) and the fighting can be sharp. But it is all Understanding. ~~What~~ Understanding? Understanding which at one time was the particular in which the Universal was closed. I hope there is no need to explain this, or say where to look, etc.

Now I think I should explain a few things here. What I have mainly in mind here is L's Notes. ~~That~~ after all is what all this is about. I am trying all the time to get clearly how the Notes and XI, p.81 show the transition from Lenin of 1914 to Lenin of 1917. The Notes are the abstract of what became concrete in Imperialism and S & E. But I am doing more. I assume the things that L denounces in the Notes are the things they all were doing, the things he says are good in the Notes are the things he did. Put all this down simply, straightforwardly, concretely, historically and we have a masterpiece; beside which not a Goddama ~~fuck~~ soul ever afterwards will dare to sneer at the Logic of Hegel. In addition to the marvelous demonstration of method. But ~~it~~ it must all be very simple, very concrete. Everyone must be able to read it as easily as the paper. That depends on how far we penetrate into it. We have to sweat. And aren't we? But we are coming out little by little. With which homily I return to our method, internal method.

More later.

J.

July 5, 1949

Dear J:

I would like to jot down some ideas which strike me rather sharply at the moment. Some of them, in fact most, are not particularly new, while those which are or appear so, are of course, tentative.

Hegel would never have emerged from Kant, if Napoleon had not emerged from and been anticipated by Robespierre. Likewise, Lenin would never have turned to the Hegelian dialectic from his previous philosophic satisfaction with Plekhanov if the revolutionist Kautsky had not been transformed into the social-abolitionist Kautsky. From this follows the fact that the method of thought of the dialectic is that which sees the negativity in the subject or the counter-revolution within the revolution itself, not from the right or from the old ruling class but from ~~the~~ one section of the revolutionary movement. The only true content to the dialectic as method is not birds, seeds, or mass struggle, - but revolution.

To me this throws a great deal of light not only on Lenin from 1916 to 1923 but also on the contemporary scene. It is the logical method on the basis of which Lenin from 1902 to 1914 and from 1916 to 1923 fundamentally, and strategically, opposed the Economists, the Mensheviks, the Liquidators, and ~~that~~ Bukharin - and only tactically formed united fronts with them (as contrasted with LT who was always strategically forming united fronts with all these but tactically opposing them).

From 1916 on Bukharin is the theoretical enemy, not Kautsky. Nothing new is contained in the polemics against Kautsky. All the new ideas are directed against the enemies within the new revolutionary movement of the Third International. The universal to be fought is not the peaceful ultra-imperialism of Kautsky but ~~the~~ imperialist economism of Bukharin - in all its different forms - draft program of the Third International, national question and self-determination, Brest-Litovsk (First form of socialism in a single country), nationalization of the trade unions. (I've got to re-read the whole discussion around "The Economics of the Transition Period"). I've just glanced through B's draft program for the 1924 5th Cong. of the CI and it is Economism to the core. It is as if 1917-23 never took place.

The importance of the dialectic as method of thought is the way in which it enables us to see this counter-revolution within the revolution itself, in other words, the actual dialectics of all revolutions. (I understand better now why Engels wrote to Kautsky that when the actual revolution begins, the most important question is not the economy). What obscures this dialectic is the struggle against the old ruling class which has already been cutswayed by the time the revolution begins. (The most striking example of this deliberate obscuration is of course the way in which the Stalinists today try to keep the masses in a state of permanent mobilization against monopoly capitalism and the agents of Wall Street). The deeper logical content of the theory of stages is involved here.

The moment the revolution begins, the counter-revolution seeks to legalize the institutions which have been created by the masses, i.e. particularize their tasks, transform them into fixed and isolated determinations. The method of thought of the counter-revolution is the particularization of the universal, carrying it to the absolute like a shot out of a pistol. The permanent revolution is the ever-undoing of this particularization. The particularization is merely the completion of a tendency already moving to this culmination within the old society. Bukharin's conception of the world revolution was 1) introducing on a world scale the particularization of the universal achieved in Russia and 2) imposing on the proletariat the completion of the economic tendencies of capitalism towards internationalization and organization. Much the same is inherent in the concept "only the proletariat can...and "only the world revolution can...."

It seems to me that when Lenin in the notes on the Logic was so struck by the Hegelian method that the truth is not in the immediate concrete but in the logical form what he was seeing was that the truth of the Social-Democracy was not in the fact that they betrayed (but) in the internal negative relation between the bureaucracy and the masses. And this internal negative relation is not fully appreciated until State and Revolution (notes for which he was already preparing while writing Imperialism)\*. In Imperialism, much of the analysis seems not very different from Bukharin's. What is distinctive, however, is that Lenin seems to leave the question open and not only because he was using Assyrian language for legal reasons. He just doesn't draw the conclusion that socialism is the appropriation by the proletariat of the centralized state organization. He seems to leave the particular open, so to speak, rather than fixing and isolating it. He hovers, so to speak, around the transition.

I have the feeling that when Lenin says Plekhanov only corrected Kant from the vulgar-materialist point of view, he is saying that Plekhanov only explained Kant, show his objective petty-bourgeois base and at the same time the objective base of historical materialism in the development of the proletariat under capitalism. Plekhanov didn't deepen, generalize, broaden this stand, i.e. didn't show that Kant only reached to the super-imposition of form on content, thus the proletarian revolution as an instrument to appropriate the economy, rather than the proletarian revolution as its identity of subject, method and content. And because he didn't deepen Kant positively, he couldn't see the counter-revolutionary contained in Kantianism in Thus, logically, one might see: revolutionary crisis (Robespierre)

Lenin, 1914, Teachings of Karl Marx - Abstract universal of developing contradictions of capitalism, developing masses, tactics of party in revolutionary struggle. (All this as positive contribution of 2nd International)

Lenin, 1915 - Essay on Dialectics - appreciation of idealism, and criticism of one-sided, exaggerated nature of idealism. First yet

Lenin, 1916 - Imperialism - particular not fixed and isolated as in Bukharin \*\*\* but

Lenin, 1917 - State and Revolution - concrete universality of Soviets, identity of subject, method and content.

\*\*because the true negativity of the 2nd Intl is not its defense of the imperialist fatherland but in its appropriation of the state to use against the proletariat.

\*\*\*Bukharin's ideas and the contemporary one-party state are the abstract universal of contradictions of capitalism, developing masses, leadership by party of revolutionary struggles - all carried to absolute.

\*When was the Bibliography written? Did you note that except for its reference to Imperialism, 1917, all references are to pre-1914 works, and uncritical of Kautsky, Plekhanov?)

-3-

I don't know whether you feel someth of this as ~~strongly~~ sharply as I feel  
t. You know how I am always attacking Bukharin and Schelling. Somehow or other,  
no matter what I am dealing with, the fact that Schelling arose between Kant and  
Hegel, always seems to be what concerns me. I have the feeling that Lenin's appreci-  
ation of the 2nd International is something like Hegel's appreciation of Kant. But  
the guy that Hegel just couldn't stand was Schelling. Kant's thinking was shaped before  
the Revolution. He was petty-bourgeois, utopian, etc. etc. but he contributed the  
principle of the self-determination of thought. Schelling was the one who was really  
counter-revolutionary, positivist with his shot-out-of-a-pistol-absolute.

vs. B and LT

Isn't Lenin like Hegel against Schelling when he insists continually on the  
concrete against the abstract? Didn't the Economists of 1902 seek to particularize  
the universal of the progressiveness of capitalism in Russia through the organization  
of the spontaneity of the masses under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie?  
And don't we have an analogous movement in the Imperialist Economists from Bukharin  
to Stalin? I know this has been said before in the Economism document and in the  
Negada document. All I am doing is drawing the threads closer together in terms of  
what we are doing now. The importance of the dialectic for VL having been as it is for  
us vs. the Economists and not against the SD Kantians.

One more thing that has been troubling me. <sup>in 1940</sup> LT's analysis of the relation  
between Stalin and the masses, was that: When the revolutionary masses are ~~in~~  
crowding the streets, Stalin is in the background. When they retire from the  
revolutionary arena, Stalin emerges into the foreground. That has been proved  
completely wrong by all that has taken place since 1942-3, and with it, LT's  
bifurcation of subject and object, spontaneity and organization. The fact today,  
which everybody knows, is that the Stalinists and the trade union bureaucracy betray and  
control the spontaneity of the masses. ~~The latest~~ detailing of this, both in relation  
to the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists, is a book by a Sidney Lens left  
Right and Center, which John and Rae had at camp and which I glanced through). You  
did a great deal with this in the Negada document and I wasn't completely satisfied.  
as you recall. I can't help feeling that there is a formal, seemingly abstract, but  
logical way to deepen this fact of control. There is an externality about the  
relation which keeps haunting me. Maybe we have to wait for the Season of the  
mass movement to reveal this logical content and show ~~the~~ the real internal-  
ity, just as Lenin had to wait for the Soviets to find the real truth of the relation  
between the bureaucracy and the mass movement. But I feel we can do something with  
it in this connection.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

As ever,  
G.

(Copy to W,G,R,F&L)

July 5, 1949

My dear William,

Here are two letters, A and B.

Your letter was a long stride forward. You have grasped the essence of the matter. Be ready 1) to do 20000 words on the Political Affairs C.F. number. It stinks; this at short notice. 2) Go on with the big article. If you want to send me an outline, do so. If not--~~OK~~ Suggestions, ideas, etc. for each or both can be sent to you (with copies). I would suggest that before you give any talks etc. you let me know what you propose to say. You. Because you are going to write, and also because what you say, I am sure, is carefully studied over. Meanwhile a pattern is shaping up, concretely, and all serious politicians, must be on the alert, and hold their tongues, watch their pens, and think hard.

This is what is happening.

1) I promised to write, or proposed to write on the Fr. Rev. months ago--hoping to bust open the Robespierre dictatorship, and sharpen unbearably the conflict between Robespierre and the masses. I mentioned Mathiez etc. Novack informed me that Beard was the same type etc. Everybody very enthusiastic (except me who a) had to do the work b) knew what was involved. I was merely enthusiastic.

2) Suddenly came the chance of doing the Leveller article. It was too good a chance to miss. I wrote one, and handed in the other. I didn't do so well with the second. I have it for revision--this month.

3) Novack and GB and I discussed a Negro number. N. says, on his own initiative: It is time we draw some conclusions about the bourgeois revolution. But he is to write an article showing the importance of the military dictatorship of 1864-1878 and the progressive role it played. He had in mind a) attacking the intellectuals who squelch democracy b) the American Stalinists who squelch democracy also. Now it is precisely, here that heads can roll and I don't want any of us to stick our necks out. A chick did that once and the result was--arroz con pollo, very good for humans but awful for chickens.

On an international scale the Stalinists and many intellectuals are pro-Crowell, pro-Robespierre, pro benevolent or progressive dictatorship, anti-mass. We are going to get them there. The first Leveller article has fixed that perspective.

But in the US anybody, including the Stalinists, screams democracy for ever. So that when you and Rae grumble, as you will, about N's support of the military dictatorship, and want to show, as your letter, so clearly shows, the dictatorship suppressing both the Bourbons and the Negroes, you can get into an awful lot of trouble unless you watch every step. When N wants to use the of the American dictatorship to gear at the die-hard democrats in the US, he is perfectly right--just so long as he does not ignore the masses against the dictatorship. It is a specific US phenomenon today, the extreme ones, want Federal FEPC, Federal anti-lynching, etc. to enforce democracy "from above". To get N. to see the thing concretely is going to be a job. I shall

handle it and hope for the best. He will not see it all, but we have to make him at least leave it loose, so that we are not limited, or forced to challenge him directly.

4) Unfortunately this is not all. It is only the beginning. Hence this letter. It is now fairly clear that up to 1914 Lenin and the others thought in much the same way (formally) as the Stalinists, etc. are thinking today. For them Jacobins and Cromwell represented the revolution; and so it did, to this day it does against reactionaries, or the "pure" democrats of 1914. But that breed today exists only in the US. Lenin & Trotsky (in bourgeois-dic. Russia) defended "the dictatorship". In 1949 "the dictatorship" is being defended by the Stalinists against "the left". They, and I am afraid, if we make one slip, the SWP, will use those quotations against us. The thing becomes particularly dangerous when in the study of Lenin and the Logic, the, in my opinion, the main job, is to show just how L left that kind of thought, and leapt into the Leninism that we know, Lenin of the III International. The whole thing, the whole thing, can come crashing down on our heads unless we watch every step, and even if we do, it is going to be difficult enough. State-capitalism is involved. For the only way to suppress the proletarian revolution is the dictatorship. The dialectical line from the bourgeois revolutionary centralized dictatorship to the state-capitalist dictatorship is very clear. It is all very well to scribble these things from Nevada. But I have been preparing in a letter to GN to suggest the point to him; now comes your letter, William, pushing the thing to an extreme, a very brilliant, very correct extreme, but extreme nevertheless. The Marcuse thing will just finish it. We will be accused of having "plotted" the whole thing and the mess will be copious. The SWP has a very sharp nose for games of that kind. The only thing to do is to tell GN pretty plainly in advance what is involved as far as the US revolution is concerned and the connection with 1649 and 1789. Before I do so, however, I want the whole business clearly understood, and I want replies to this letter, particularly from W and R showing concretely what is involved a) for a clear exposition of the Civil War, b) for our attack on Stalinism. Draw every point out to the limit. Unfortunately, I am not as familiar with the stuff as I am with 1649 and 1789. Be concise but be prompt and tell me all the dangers and problems for us. When I know those (give references etc.) I shall be able to talk to George or write to him as a start. Strange how everything ties up, and can tie up, still nor round around our backs. Guerin got himself in a fine mess for not getting his line clear. I can give you one hint in conclusion to help your ideas. Marx and Marx alone, never for one second, was ever in that trap. His method was simplicity itself. He said: they did fine; Robespierre was wonderful, Cromwell was super; but they were bourgeois; we tall Marxists find our ancestors in the revolutionary movement of those days. Will it work with the 1868 crisis? I don't know. Please write early.

P.S. I have got a long letter from Ras. Very very fine. Concrete. I recommend it to all--the slowest study. We have now, clearly defined stages of internal work ahead of us. Some time tonight I shall define them precisely--I have them in mind. The remarks I ask for in this letter need not be detailed; brief indications will do. But daylight on Marcuse is beginning to appear.

1666



(Handwritten notes and stamps)
   
 July 6, 1949
   
 Dear J:

The 100th anniversary of the storming of the Bastille inaugurated the beginnings of monopoly capitalism riding on top of a boom—and the launching of the Second International as the expression, in the turbulent '90s, of the general opposite to capitalist private property. The aim of this international of labor was two-fold: (1) "political and economic expropriation of the capitalist class" as the ultimate or abstract aim; and (2) the "socialization of the means of production" as the immediate opposite to "private property".

Before the decade's end and the rise of Bernsteinism (economic "coalitionism") and Millerandism (political coalitionism) —just 3 short years after the 2nd was begun—the largest party in the international with the outstanding theoretician of the Int. writes the Erfurt program and draws from Engels the following two-fold criticism: (1) planlessness is not the characteristic of capitalism once trusts have been born; and (2) no good can come of abstract characterizations of state and concrete blurring of immediate slogans for struggle against the precise state of Germany. (I know of no complete translation of the Engels letter; perhaps Grace has it in the Gesamtausgabe and can translate it) To these two direct criticisms can be added the third indirect one included in the same year's (1892) introduction to the new edition of Engels' Conditions of the Workingclass in England, the substance of which is not the aristocracy but the bourgeoisie.

Engels' 2nd criticism of the Erfurt showed itself immediately not only in relation to German ruling class, but to the international working class when, despite the International's declaration for international labor solidarity with American proletariat's fight for 8 hour day through general one-day strike, the German party limits itself to indoor meetings on the Sunday following May 1.

The '90s close with the final defeat of populism (in Russia through the unity of Marxists with striking workers as against Narodism; in America with trustified capitalism's triumph over agriculture and alliance of more accurately subordination of labor to farmer radicalism), the defeat of the first phase of cartelism which tried to take advantage of favorable book conditions to fix prices so that the 1893 crash was the more drastic, and the expulsion of anarchism from the 2nd Int. The Second Int. never drew as clear a line to the right as to the left and reformism, i.e. petty bourgeois reconciliation with capitalism remains as blood of the blood, though a bastard, of a strata of labor.

The turn of the century opens with the first billion dollar trust ~~trust~~ which brings us to the second, and permanent feature of cartelism as not mere price-fixers but regulators of production and of labor over whose primitive organization it won a decisive battle. Monopoly capitalism, on its road to state-monopoly capitalism "picks up" imperialism.

1667

At the same time Russia first reaches progressive capitalism. At the turn of the century the young Lenin is a strictly Russian Marxist. He will prove that the home market for Russian capitalism

is created through expanded production and not through "realisation of surplus value in a foreign market", and will draw his conclusions very concretely: "The progressive, historical role of capitalism may be summed up in two brief postulates: increase in the productive forces of social labor and the socialisation of labour." (I, 255) Socialisation of labor here means: (1) collective character of prod. vs. ~~individual~~ individual character of appropriation; (2) concentration of prod. both in agric. and in ind.; (3) "squeezing out of" feature of personal dependence: "Compared with the labour of a dependent or bonded peasant, the labour of a free labourer is a progressive phenomenon in all branches of nat. eco." (I, pp. 257-8); (4) mobility of population; (5) predominance of industrial centres against rural idiosyncrasy; (6) increased need of union among population against capitalists; and finally (7) all these changes "cannot but bring about a ~~profound~~ profound change in the very character of the producers". (I, 258). At the end of the century, then, this Russian Marxist ends his Development of Capitalism in Russia on the note that this backward country worsens the conditions of producers who "suffer from capitalism as well as from the insufficient development of capitalism." (I, 259)

The great dividing line in the development of the productive forces comes in 1905. Trustification, imperialist conquest and wars have brought with it the organization of the proletariat as well as the "backward peoples" on a new, higher plane. The Zulu rebellion may not compare with the Russian Revolution, or the formation of the IWW but the development of the productive forces, the struggle of capital and labor, is shown to be not a matter of mere theory but of very real life. Already the Second Int. misses the whole significance of 1905; that in fact is the beginning of the end; the Russian Revolution does not even appear on the agenda of the 1907 Congress. Rosa Luxemburg is the only one who creates a new category out of the creative energies of the Russian proletariat, but she will turn this general strike ~~into a spontaneous organization of the masses~~ or spontaneous organization of the masses into an absolute way of overcoming bureaucratic leadership. 1905 transforms Russia into a bourgeois monarchy in the same manner in which the Paris Commune transformed France into a bourgeois republic. Lenin does not fully grasp the Soviet but he fully grasps that only the proletariat, even in a backward absolutist Russia, can lead the peasantry in the democratisation of a land. (Krupskaya mentions that before 1905 Lenin studied only the labor movement of the West, half envying them their republican form of government; after 1905 he studies also the general European governments and sees them as enslavers of capital in a very concrete sense.) Imperialism will now proceed along with rationalization, as against only concentration, of production, both in Germany and in America, but this is in an embryonic stage, and is completely obscured by the conspicuousness of developing imperialism.

Basle is more of an accident than a logical conclusion of the dominant tendency in the Second Int., which parallels the "peaceful" development of capitalism from its laissez faire to its monopoly stage. Or, more precisely, it is the logical abstract end of the petty bourgeois' horrors of war and "hope"

1668

that it could "frighten" capitalism into maintaining the "peace". It will become however the concrete beginning of the new forces of true internationalism. But not to rush ahead. The theoretical root of the Second is best expressed by Victor Adler who thinks the "crime of war" would bring about "automatically—I say automatically!—mean the beginning of the end of the rule of the criminals." (Rise & Fall of 2nd Int., p.120) The key word is, of course, "automatic". That sums up the Second's conception of the inevitability of socialism, inevitability of capitalism's collapse, the historical tendency of capitalism accumulation, the abstract, abstract, abstract words that ended in the concrete Second's incorporation into capitalism and hence collapse.

Now then Lenin pre-1914. We have already seen him as a Russian Marxist. On the international field Kautsky is his leader. The criticism of the Erfurt program, even though published a decade late, does not leave an impression on him. In the field of philosophy he is the follower of Plekhanov. The Economics Doctrines of Karl Marx not only remains unchallenged but, although Russian capitalism is more like Volume II of Capital than Vol. I and Lenin never flounders in market underconsumptionism, he yet accepts as one democracy and freedom of competition. He has rejected Luxemburg's "third persons" but he seems content with Bauer's abstractions. But the revival of the labor movement in 1912-14 sends Lenin to reread Marx and Hegel. In July 1914 Lenin begins an essay on Marxism (It is important to note that whereas he was previously satisfied with Kautsky and even Bogdanov and hesitated writing an "independent" abstract, he now is anxious to do so.) It is an absolute in relation to Imparialisim or/and State and Revolution, but let us not forget that it is a new absolute. For the first time in the writings of Marxists since the death of Marx and Engels philosophy is not made into a separate "aspect" of Marxism, but is treated as a component part. But, although integral, Hegelian dialectics is not seen as a unity of opposites, and Marxian dialectics is merely contrasted to the evolutionary doctrine of development. Lenin is still worried about "the consistent extension of materialism to the domain of social phenomena" and does not see the constant technological revolutions as the breaker-up of social relations. Monopoly is still seen only in agriculture and absolutism in politics and in rent seems limited to that field while what is still presupposed in industry is "complete freedom of competition." Capitalist cartels, syndicates and trusts are still seen merely as manifestations of "large scale production" and not the new category he will discover soon. But the essay is not finished till November 1914 and Lenin does grasp hold of British monopoly demoralizing the workers and creates a "bourgeoisified proletariat" and the opportunism of the Gov. S.D. and not only in Russia as result of backwardness or the old concept of petty bourgeois as individual, peasant, or small groceryman type of thing. But inevitability remains abstract.

*Ilyin*

1670

August 1914. The capitalist world in chaos. The Second International collapses.

Just yesterday I finally got a hold of the idealist Ilyin's book on Hegel and when I noticed its title "The Philosophy of Hegel as a Doctrine of the Concreteness of God and of Man", was on the verge of complaining when the very first sentence of the work struck me as the essence of what Lenin saw in Hegel in 1914. The sentence: "The first and fundamental thing that one who wishes adequately to understand and master the philosophic teachings of Hegel must do is to explain to one self his relation to the concrete empiric world." And a little below: "...the term, 'concrete' comes from the Latin word, 'concretere', 'Crescere' means 'to grow'; 'concretere'—~~coalesce~~, to arise through growth. Accordingly, to Hegel 'concrete means first of all srashcheniye (growing together)....

"The concrete empiric is something in the order of being (Sein), something real (Realitat), actuality (Wirklichkeit), something existing, (Existenz), something byvaniye (Dasein). In its totality, this reality forms a world, a whole world of things (Dinge, Sachen), existences (Existenzen), realities—the 'objective' world, a realm of 'objectivity'. This real, objective world is also the concrete world, but only the empiric-concrete."

Now it is this type of empiric-concrete world that Lenin, in reorganizing his whole method of thought, went searching for in the study of imperialism and the why of the collapse of the Second. The moment he looked at the world with the new Marxian-Hegelian eyes he saw that the empiric concrete world of imperialism, was something quite different from the catchword, imperialism, that all Marxists, including himself, had been playing with the catchword, imperialism, without seeing that behind it was a new absolute, MONOPOLY. Had any one done with MONOPOLY what Marx had done to COMMODITY? Categorically no; he writes his aphorism as he reads Hegel: "No Marxist of the past 1/2 century understood CAPITAL....." He himself had merely applied what Marx had written in Capital to the specific country, Russia. But this new phase of capitalism, which Marx had not lived to see, —dialectics means LEAP and he was ready to go into the "patience, suffering, labor" of the negative.

Behind the new empiric concrete there is a notion—and thus he for the first time separates himself from the "incompleteness" of Hilferding's definition which he now (1916) sees as the basis and all of Basle. Now then let us see his new definition. (NB THE TRANSLATION IN VOL. V IS WRONG ON THIS POINT. It reads: "The concentration of production; the monopoly arising therefrom; the merging or coalescence of banking with industry; this is the history of finance capital and what gives the term 'finance capital' its content." I had not been using that translation so did not note it. The Russian reads ((and a similar translation appears in the Vanguard Press edition)): "The concentration of production; the monopoly ~~arising~~ growing out of it; the merging or coalescence of banking and industry—that is the history of the rise of finance capital and the content of its notion."

*Notes*

I need hardly tell you that there is a world of difference between the words, "term", and "notion". Finance capital isn't just a term; that's what it was to Marxists before 1914; but Lenin post-1914 saw Monopoly and that is the content of the new notion.

Now he has now absolute and he will shout it to the housetops of the world. Imperialism is MONOPOLY. A syndicate, a cartel, a trust is MONOPOLY. Free competition has become transformed into its opposite, MONOPOLY; it has not been transcended; it coexists with it; but it is its opposition at the point of TRANSITION to a higher stage. Because this new phase of capitalism shows capitalism "rotting alive" the most profound differences because bourgeois democracy and reactionary monarchy become insignificant. In truth when commodity production transitioned from freedom of trade and competition to monopoly, democracy ceased being integrally part of bourgeois world. MONOPOLY in economics cannot be divorced from MONOPOLY in politics, and democracy must therefore become the property of the proletariat. You have done a magnificent job here, Jimmy, and I repeat parts of it only to enable me to make my transition along the lines I had been working out when I had stopped at monopoly in economics cannot be separated from monopoly in politics.

I shall now proceed my own economic path. What law of motion does he draw out from this new absolute, monopoly capitalism? He says the tendency of monopoly is to decay and stagnation. Now Marx drew from his ~~own~~ tendency to decline in rate of profit a certain conclusion: degradation of the proletariat. Lenin draws from his tendency of decay and stagnation two things: (1) Decay and stagnation, rotting alive, abolishes differences in political forms and democracy can remain alive only if the proletariat transforms into its absolute; (2) Decay and stagnation means deprivation of liberty and self-determination of nations acquires a new "URGENCY". He tells Junius Democracy is not an absolute, but the proletariat will use it not only as a method, as a form, but a new content. Democratic mobilization of masses means including broad masses BROAD MASSES BROAD MASSES THE ENTIRE POPULATION to struggle with capitalism. It will be February 1917 before he will also, say, on the basis of the "material" given him by the Soviets, and also to run the state "to a man" for soviet is not just a form but the CONTENT of the dictatorship of the proletariat which is full proletarian democracy.

But not to rush ahead. He is analyzing something concrete, imperialism, and he founds Engels, and "simply clutched", as Krupskaya tells us at the attack on the general, abstract, and the demand for the concrete, concrete, concrete. Now here is how he uses it to distinguish himself from other critics of imperialism: "But 'general' arguments about imperialism which ignore, or put into the background, the fundamental differences of social-economic systems, inevitably degenerate into absolutely empty banalities..." (I, 75) It isn't just imperialism, it is MONOPOLY CAPITALIST imperialism. Now the new relationship arising from national and international monopoly--relations based on division of world among Big Powers means a change in that makes self-determination "feasible" under capitalism. Moreover, it has given the proletariat a new ally--as great an ally as the revolutionary peasantry is the oppressed nation; from Ireland to Poland to the Negro in the United States the socialist proletariat can

come unto the historic scene.

Back to our concrete and absolute new category ~~MONOPOLY~~ MONOPOLY. Is socialisation of labor now an opposite? Note the definitions of socialism of labor, 1914: (1) Monopoly is socialization of production; so is interlocking; (2) technology is socialized (that in fact CONCRETELY gives it its decaying character; watch US; (3) commodity production is undermined for basis of financial manipulation and oligarchy is socialized production; (4) monopoly or socialized production has not overcome crises; on the contrary crises increase as result of concentration and monopoly; (5) banking is universal bookkeeping--a form of socialized distribution of means of production; finally (6) it is a transition to something. Now that is the key. Under commodity production, in development of Capitalism in Russia, socialization of labor was the "mission of capitalism", the end, the aim. Under imperialism, monopoly capitalism, socialization of labor is a transition. To what? "Organized" capitalism? He rejects that. Taylorism? He omits that? World capitalism? Present contradictions exclude that. It is a transition to something. The class struggle will decide.

We finally come then to the two mutually exclusive opposites: capital and labor. But it isn't capital and labor "in general". It is concrete. It is the specific stage of monopoly capitalism which has "bought off" the working class, its upper stratum, which turned out to be the "bulwark" of the Second and caused its collapse. Back to Marx and Engels. And here Lenin makes an outline of the article he intends writing on Imperialism and the Split in Socialism, and in it appears the following: Engels especially NB: to let yourself down lower to the masses killed workers, to the masses."

1858  
1892

We know how he lingered over this in the actual article, how he found what Marx had said in 1858 and how the whole period, 1858 to 1892, fought the bourgeoisified English proletariat. Lenin has found his connection: MONOPOLY, British monopoly in that case; "that is why opportunism could prevail in England for decades". This Labour aristocracy must be smashed and a return made to the masses. Truth is always concrete; we must end with Kautsky's sophistries on the "masses" and see the mass dialectically: "Engels draws a distinction between the 'bourgeois labour party' of the old trade unions, the privileged minority, and the 'lowest mass', the real majority, and he appeals to the latter, who are not infected by 'bourgeois respectability'. This is the essence of Marxist tactics!" If we wish to remain Marxists then we must go down lower and deeper to the real masses." (I,762)

Before 1914, he had rejected Luxemburg's explanation of imperialism and her theory of 'third persons'. Now he rejects also: Hilferding's 'incompleteness' Kautsky's ultra-imperialism. (I feel certain that Lenin modeled his "critique of imperialism"---that is attitude of various strata and classes to imperialism,---on Hegel's three Attitudes to Objectivity, and I have asked Grace to work this up Bukharin's imperialist economism & Trotsky's US of Europe.

1672

Now, if I may tabulate what we have found.

① Lenin pre-1914 sees nothing new in imperialism. He was going to cast his polemic against Luxemburg in the east of his dispute with the Narodniks: production versus market, not masses versus aristocracy of labor. *As he put it later, pre-1914 the Marxists were playing with the catchword, imperialism, and saw neither the notion nor the concrete.* Post-1914 Lenin "clutches" Engels' attack on abstract and demand for concrete, and links the concrete imperialism to MONOPOLY.

② Lenin pre-1914 sees no new phase of capitalism--cartels, syndicates, trusts, are just forms of large-scale production. Post-1914 Lenin grasps a new category, MONOPOLY, a whole phase of capitalism which appeared after the death of Marx and Engels and which none of the Marxists saw till the world toppled over their heads.

Lenin pre-1914 sees socialization of labor as an end, an aim. Post-1914 Lenin sees socialisation of labor as a transition to something higher.

③ Lenin pre-1914 sees opportunism as due either (1) to backwardness of Russia, or (2) "peaceful" character of capitalist development. Post-1914 Lenin sees opportunism as result of a stage in the development of capitalism, MONOPOLY, creating an aristocracy of labor which is bulwark of Second and which must be destroyed along with capitalism. He sees a new division, a break-up of labor into lower-, deeper, unskilled masses and bourgeois proletariat.

④ Lenin pre-1914 sees Self-Determination as a sort of principle of socialism. Post-1914 Lenin sees imperialism creating an URGENCY on the question of self-determination as a result of the new relationship between oppressed and oppressor and also within oppressor nations due to division of world among Big Powers along with not merely an exploitation of "agrarians" but advanced Western Europe.

⑤ Lenin pre-1914 sees the 3 constituent elements of Marxism as 3 separate "phases" of Marxism. Lenin in 1914 brings about unity in these elements but dialectics remains a superior instrument to evolution. In 1915 dialectics becomes the theory of knowledge, with unity of opposites not as a sum of examples, but as "the recognition (discovery) of the contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies, in all phenomena and processes of nature (including mind and society)." He sees self movement in the creativity of the proletariat, and moves toward "clutching" at the Soviets of 1917 as the new type of democracy to replace what decadent bourgeoisie had lost and what will become the beginning of the new social order.

Dear Rae - yours of the 6th was wonderful.  
The long book is just in  
Russian. I looked at it.  
Not much. 3rd Period Stalin.  
I'm revised. - G.

July 9, 1949

Dear J:

A few more notes before I go into the more strictly philosophical analysis of the relation between Lenin and Bukharin, in terms of Spinoza, Leibniz.

I have made rather extensive extracts from Bukharin's Draft Program of 1924 because it seems to me to be to the Soviets and the Russian Revolution what the 1871 Program was to the Paris Commune. The document itself is only about 32 double-spaced typed pages (8 1/2 x 13) and each of the paragraphs below the subheads merely repeats what is in the subhead more or less, so that Bukharin's thinking and method of thinking stand out pretty well, just from the extracts.

Some general points:

- 1) The creative power of revolution, ~~is~~ this essence of revolution as Lenin saw it in State and Revolution - that is completely missing from B's program. He speaks as the scientist, the administrator, with the "mighty task of development of science" as his goal. This economism was inevitable in the RR as it was inevitable in the Paris Com. Marx's Crit. and Engels of Erfurt were the first attacks on Statification and Economism.
- 2) The state plays ~~an essential~~ role with him as it did with Lassalle. Note the statification of the trade unions. Organization of labor is his aim. The state is the instrument of freedom. Its leadership will do the job.
- 3) Monopoly for him is never a subject with its own internal ~~static~~ duality. It is always "monopoly of". His aim is to make common what has been monopolized. From the ranks of the working class are to be called the new administrators - a new set to administer the old machine.
- 4) Self-determination and the national struggle were not to be means of development of new creative energies and revolutionary forces but a necessary adjunct to the defense of RR.

Now a couple of points on Lenin.

In the current In Pensee, Georges Cogniot has a long article on the 40th Anniversary of Materialism and Emp-Crit. Last month they printed an article on it by SI Vavilov, Pres. of the Acad'y of Science of the USSR, the general point of which was that Lenin maintained in 1908 the necessary materiality of atoms, electrons etc. which is the basis of modern science and of dialectical materialism. This month they emphasize Lenin's insistence in 1908 on the reign of natural law, "the materiality of the world, the movement as form of existence of matter, reality of laws of movement, the character primordial of matter and the secondary character of consciousness, the role of matter as source of sensations and representations, essence of human thought as product of matter at its highest organization and as product of social history." All this pre-Kantian materialism was in Lenin of 1908 at a time when world philosophy had moved to Kant and beyond, and to the pragmatism of monopoly capitalism.

In March 1914, Lenin wrote a 3 page article on "The Taylor-System, the Enslaving of Man by the Machine". The point of the article is very simple: "All these powerful achievements are directed against the worker, because they lead to his ever greater oppression and subjugation and thereby are limited to the rational reasonable division of labor within the factory....What a mass of labor is wasted today due to the disorder the chaotic character of the whole of capitalist production....The Taylor System prepares unconsciously and against the will of its inventor - that time when the proletariat will ~~take~~ the whole social production in his hands and institute ~~his~~ his own commissions consisting of workers in order correctly to divide and regulate the whole social labor.

1674



Free Sel...  
-2-  
1675

large-scale production, machines, railways, the telephone - all this gives thousands of possibilities, to decrease the working time of the organized workers by a fourth and give them thereby a fourth larger higher well-being than today. The workers commissions will be able with the help of the trade unions to ~~enforce~~ these principles of a reasonable division of social labor as soon as the latter is liberated from its enslavement by capital."

They all thought this way before 1914.

There was developing efficiency, rationalization, socialization of labor in the objective world - which they <sup>contemplated</sup>, understood, explained, just as Kant did. Like Kant, they were inconsistent empiricists because they also had an abstract concept of freedom, an abstract concept but one which went beyond the old Theodicy. They abstractly envisaged a universal which was a concrete unity - i.e. socialism (as Kant did in his Critique of Judgment). To describe in some way this abstractly envisaged concrete unity they abstracted for their subjective needs the character of organization, plan. And this which the bourgeoisie could only achieve incompletely, they leading the proletariat were to achieve completely. (See Lenin Notes, p. 44)

In the final section on Essence (Causality) and the beginning of the section on Notion, Lenin breaks with this kind of inconsistent empiricism. He sees the limitations of the scientific method, the category of causality to explain the relation between mind and matter. Freedom, subjectivity, notion - these are the categories by which we will gain knowledge of the objectively real. These constitute the eve of the transformation of objective idealism into materialism. What has to be overcome is not the personality, not the transcendental unity of apperception but the empiricism of taking the given concrete to be the real. The latter leads to psychological idealism. Objective idealism, on the other hand, the notion, free-creative power, the personality, the apparently abstract - all these lead to materialism. What Marx said of Feuerbach, as Hegel had previously said of Kant, Lenin is now applying to his own past. At the period of revolution, there is in your mind any residue of an independent actuality confronting the subject, an independent substance with its own inner-necessity. You do not think independent actuality as having all its substantiality in the passage (Smaller Logic, Sec. 159). Then in thought you will do what Kant did - dismiss as being what was pronounced to be figments of thought and declare to be superfluous... that which it recognized as truth" (L, p. 226); and in practice you will restrain the proletariat from smashing up the state machine and instead simply to appropriate it, appropriating the expropriators.

Note that in the first few pages of the notes on the Notion, Lenin keeps reminding himself that Notion came out of Essence which came out of Being. It is a higher stage. He emphasizes (p. 49) that when you have reached the stage of the Notion, you don't have to worry about the subjectivity of the notion of the universal. It is impossible that these are not objective. Not the connection but the transition. (p. 48) I think that the German word for connection is Zusammenhang and the German word for transition is Ubergang. I haven't checked. But it is as if he were saying: Don't stay in the realm of Essence, inner necessity, connections. Get into the realm of Notion, freedom, revolution. All the connections are in the subject at this stage, all the socialization is in the proletariat. Then "as the simple value form, the individual act of exchange of a given commodity with another already includes in undeveloped form all major contradictions of capitalism - so the simplest generalization, the first and simplest forming of notions (judgments, syllogisms, etc.) signifies the ever deeper knowledge of the abstract world connections. Here it is necessary to seek the real sense, significance and role of Hegelian Logic. This NB." I may be wrong but I have the feeling that he is sensing here on the one hand a certain plunge into freedom that a generalization gives you, the objectivity which is inherent in it - and on the other hand, the first act of revolution.

0/55 14  
in mind  
in general  
simplest  
for  
simple  
Notion freedom  
rev all  
power  
power

*to new way*  
*plunge into freedom*  
*Free*  
*Opposition*

I am writing these notes with the Logic and with Lenin's notes on the Notion before me. In both you sense this plunge into Freedom. You have to sense it and to feel that every great step forward in philosophic cognition was made only when a new category, a new way of making the plunge into freedom became possible. It is at this point when the subject is creating freely a new opposites (the opposites of thought and being) that the counter-revolution imposes again a quality upon it, reducing it to indifferent particulars, or modes of the Absolute, or Moments, to be ordered or organized. Not that there is anything accidental about this counter-revolution. It is inevitable so long as the subject is not the concrete universal, containing within itself the totality.

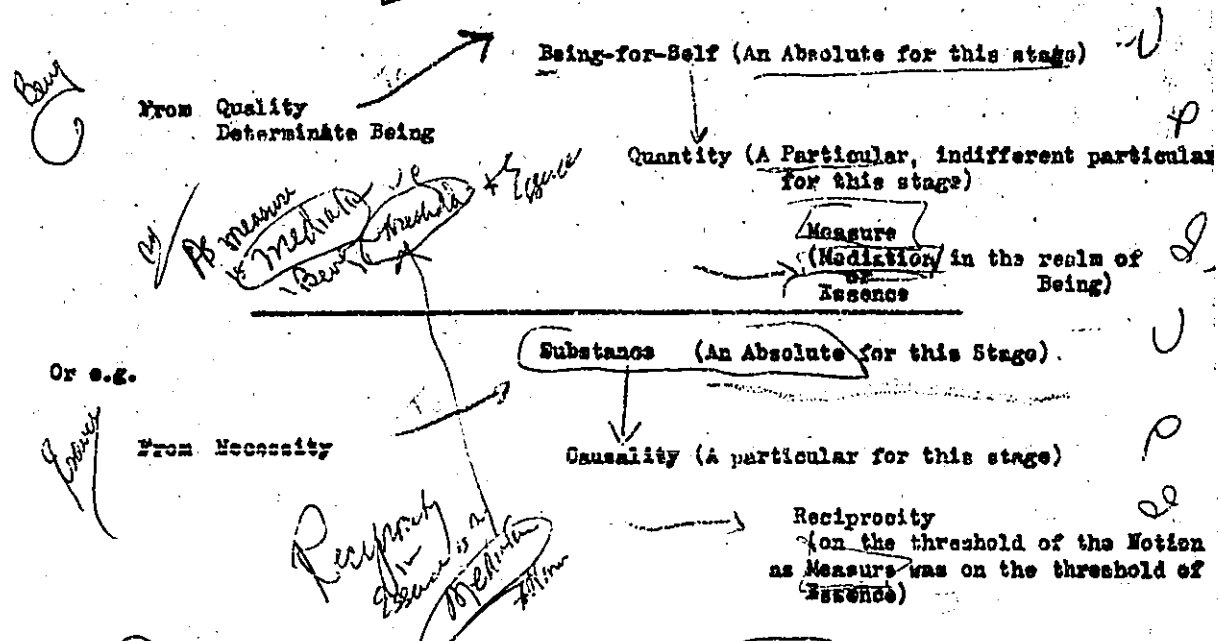
To get to the stage of freedom, the subject has already had to go through:

- 1) Being-for-self which was organized as many ones
- 2) Essence which was organized as opposition
- 3) Ground which became essence and appearance
- 4) Actuality which became necessity
- 5) Substance which became causality

*That union of?*  
*Class struggle*  
*Defeat of the bourgeoisie*

All these stages of the self - unable to be concretely universal, and hence *concretized* contemplated as immediate being, and then mediated, reflected, as essence - these which were preparation for the self - are now behind. All that objectivity is now in the self, and we come to its free creative power.

What I am trying to say here is not at all precise, but I feel quite sure that it is on the right road. The Logic moves this way: E.G.



Kant is the more or less indifferent no-existence of the absolute and the particulars, of reason and understanding. That is why he can state his antinomies and paralogisms first from one side and then from the other, seeing nonetheless a dialectical relation between them instead of, like Leibniz, a pre-established harmony.



July 15, 1949

My dear Grace:

Your letter on Bukharin disappointed me. Some of the material was precious but the whole thing seemed to me off the track. Remember. You are now doing the counter-revolution with the revn in terms of the Logic. What Bukharin is ~~me~~ more or less know. What is required is to show in terms of Larger and Smaller Logic that this happens at ~~every~~ big leap into a new stage. It is fine when you give a general survey that clarifies everything. But for the time being that is enough. Spend a week if need be showing how ~~Marx~~ sees this as a permanent movement - Cromwell, Napoleon, Stalin. Get the logical movement of these in logical, strictly logical Hegelian terms.

Another thing I must warn all of us against. We will not be able to write freely, e.g. bring in Engels on Schelling, etc. (I give this only as an example) We have to prove everything out of the Logic, Lenin's own writings writings of Plekhanov, Bukharin against Lenin and such like. We cannot stir out of that. We have to pin them down to: Lenin said on Dialectic (the passage ~~xxx~~ in ~~xxxx~~ July-Nov. essay on Marx. In 1915 he said (Vol. XI, p. 84) The difference is ~~so~~ and so. Then they say yes or no. If not they will murder us. Nobody is going to be given extensive treatment in which to create confusion. Later I shall detail the set pages in Lenin that we have to deal with (there will be others of course that you all will choose) But our opponents whoever they are will be faced with chapter and verse and what ~~we~~ say those precise ones mean.

I am for example working on the last chapter of the Larger and on the Hist'l Tendency of Cap. Accul'm. and I am staying there. Intensive work, not extensive. I regret to say that I haven't done much. A mass of ideas but they are not coming out and I had to stop to do Jewellers and the review. But the ideas are there I know and I shall get them out. They are very valuable ones.

J.

Dear Rae:

- 1) The Dlym book doesn't seem obtainable - either from Traus, Masel or Rakovsky.
- 2) How about <sup>your writing</sup> paper with holes in it for my files - ~~is~~ like this.
- 3) Can you give me more details on Lenin and Bukharin's "Transition Period Economics"?

G -

July 10, 1949

Dear Ji:

"Who," asked Lenin in the beginning of the Doctrine of Essence, "would believe that this (movement and self-movement, ~~r~~) is the core of 'Hegelianism', of abstract and abstruse (difficult, absurd?) 'Hegelianism'?"

That one sentence sums up pre-1914 Marxism, for if Lenin, who, among many other activities, took time out to write a 400 page book on philosophy, is first now (1914-15) gleefully shouting "I found the core of Hegelianism and it is that precisely which Marx and Engels have grasped and purified and we must do the same—it is clear, painfully so, that dialectics simply was no part of Marxism, 1889-1914. As he will move into the Notion, he will move from internal connection to transition and from ~~transition~~ unity of opposites to complete freedom. We might break up the period 1914-1917 into two and say that from Aug. 1914 to Feb. 1917 Lenin lived in the realm of essence, and with the coming of the second edition of the Russian Soviets he lived in the realm of notion. Of course he takes up the unity of opposites in imperialism and in the disputes on self-determination, but it is the unity of opposites within the notion of capitalism; he has not yet concretized the mediation; he is for civil war and break-up of the capitalist state but he can only use generalities for the new society. With Feb. 1917—when he recognizes the Soviets as the mediation and at the same time sees that the opposition between method—proletarian ~~revolution~~—and aim—socialism—has been overcome and proletarian revolution and soviet state is content and method and form and all can be summed up in the one expression "to a man" he arrives at State and Revolution or method is pure notion.

Now let us detail these two periods in Lenin's development. It is the first chapter of Capital which he says you cannot fully understand without the whole of the Logic. He then shows the logic of Capital to consist of Marx's beginning with simple being, a commodity, and by a dual analysis --inductive and deductive, or historical and logical--arriving at the essence that this exchange of commodities contains a social relationship. He refers us to the forms of value, which both logically and historically, develop from the simple elementary form to the general universal form, money. He says further that the syllogism, the singular is the general, U-I-I, has already been applied by Marx in Ch. I. But what was the upshot of it all? Wasn't it the fetishism of the commodities which indeed contains not only the history of capitalism but its notion? Lenin in fact will underline the fact that Capital is "The history of capitalism and the analysis of the Notion summing it up." Now while you stick with His Tendency of Cap. Acc, I want to linger one more moment in Ch. I for that last section of it shows the notion both of capitalist ideologies (they have found the secret of labor as the source of all value but cannot tear off the fetishism of commodities) and the proletariat who can strip off that veil because as "freely associated men" they can treat, regulate and consciously plan production.

The only other concrete thing Lenin refers to in his notes is the "current theory of knowledge." He says that the

1679

Hegelian-Marxian theory of knowledge is the knowledge which seeks to understand the truth of Being; the other, the Kantian, Machian "etc." (It would be interesting to find out how he had in mind with the "etc.") try to soften the truth or reason in order to elevate faith. Concretely, he had decided that the truth of the Being of Imperialism is Monopoly, while Kautsky had glossed over that truth in order to shadowbox with the "evil policy" while Bukharin had glossed it over, and hence tried to substitute a different truth for it, namely the "piratical state" which must be fought without any mediation, thus underestimating the importance or rather significance of proletarian state. Both opportunism and anarchism wish to be "immediately in the absolute" as Hegel would say. Here is how Lenin combats Bukharinism with his newly-acquired Hegelianism: 1) concrete analysis of every particular historical situation ("Marxian dialectics demands" it); 2) showing the relationship between economic and politics in the epoch of struggle for socialism; 3) the connection between struggle against war and against opportunism; 4) showing how the unity of opposites works out concretely, and how it is imposed in a wrongly syllogistic form; on the one hand counterposing democracy to imperialism while on the other hand capitulating to the latter!

First, Lenin deals with Kievsky's "basic error in logic" (Bol. & W., pp. 225-6) when the latter contends that because imperialism is a repudiation of democracy, "hence" democ. is "impracticable" under capitalism; and because "only" socialism can be "opposed" to imperialist war, "hence" it is a deception to advance democ. slogans under cap.. Lenin shows that while imperialism transforms democracy into an illusion it "at the same time generates democratic tendencies among the masses, creates democratic institutions, accentuates the antagonism between imperialism... and the masses." He shows further (p/227) that the slogan of civil war for socialism is a means both of ending the war and the connection between our struggle against the war and the struggle against opportunism. And when he turns from Kievsky, to Bukharin, Lenin sums up (p. 231) "Here is the 'chief reason' for his (B's) misadventure: he cannot solve the problem how to connect imperialism with the struggle for reforms and with the struggle for democracy—exactly as 'economism' or blessed memory failed to connect capitalism with the struggle for democracy."

A very definite change has occurred in Lenin's conception of democracy. His schema was from absolutism to bourgeois democracy. The Soviets of 1905 was a form, a proletarian method of struggle against absolutism which showed that it could, with the mass support of the peasants, overthrow absolutism, contrary to the liberals who are willing to compromise with the monarchy. But still the content of the revolution remained to establish bourgeois production. Now the war comes and monopoly capitalism shows itself to be no different than Tsarism or Junkerdom and this monopoly of politics as well as economics makes the bourgeois republic just one of many democratic demands. Democracy is a state but democracy is also a mobilization of the masses to fight the state. It is a mobilization not only of the proletariat but broad masses as the Irish Rebellion showed. The urgency therefore that the fight for self-determination assumes in the

-3-

imperialist epoch a particular urgency. Moreover because imperialism means a division of the world among the big powers, the "competition" between them (free competition has become military rivalry) makes possible such a struggle as a concrete one. The reference to the dialectic are very pronounced in all his articles on self-determination. There is in them both the opposition of abstract and concrete, the inter-relationship between all facets that is, as true a feeling of totality as is the economics of imperialism itself, and where from imperialism Lenin comes out with the slogan of civil war—that is how the transformation of free competition into its opposite monopoly will be resolved—he comes out from his fight over the state with the all-important democracy which has translated from bourgeois democracy—a government, a parliament, universal suffrage—to proletarian democracy—a true majority on its way to including the population "to a man" and thus become transformed into full freedom or socialism.

The climax to this first war period of development of Lenin is Jan. 1917 when he delivers the lecture on the 1905 Revolution and says the next time the revolution comes it will be socialist, and soviet is not merely form but content, class content, that is, not parliament but working body. But, as is seen from the first telegram to Kollantai, the first day of the soviets he still thinks of mere combination of legal and illegal work, more or less republic than. But on the second day the LEAP is made. It is broadened out, broadened out, broadened out, masses, initiative. We are entering the Nation. It is not only connection, but transition, and then the heroism of the commandos and freedom.

Now I would say that the masses showed in life that the relationship between concrete and abstract, between ideal and real, the impulse to self-movement, the unprecedented initiative, the individual full development. The how in each case gives the true answer. For example, the how surplus value is realized gave the answer expanded production and hence he had no concern with markets. The how competition was transformed into monopoly—socialization of production—suddenly revealed socialization as a bourgeois concept and whereas before the answer to concentration and centralization was socialization, organization, the how absolutism was overthrown shows the answer to be revolt and reorganization. Soviet is a new type of state, a new type of democracy and it is that which he will proclaim in APRIL when he says the bourgeois state cannot be dissociate from bourgeois democracy and therefore the old slogan is dead and outlived and the new democracy means a new transition which will take us from majority to all, from democracy to freedom, from state to withering away of state, from equality to full development of each and from this he will never change.

6-8-7

There is another point I should like to tackle but I haven't all the links. Imperialism was a product of monopoly capitalism and in turn produced a new absolute, state monopoly capitalism. Now he looks at Germany and he says: well, here it is and look at the damned superstructure, it is Junkerdom; now it only, etc. Then he writes State and Revolution and he says: on the basis of the state monopoly capitalism, even just on the basis of a trust for that matter, Engels saw plan; the question is who, and the answer universal control. But an opposition still exists: it is true, he never wearies of saying, the masses to a man, not "they". But still both aspects are born within the same imperialist shell and he contracts only politics, the economic basis remains the same. Without going to trade union debate, we would show the "to a man" on y as an abstract universal; should we leave it at that?

Bukharin is the enemy of course, the counter-revolution within the revolution, from imperialist economics to economics of transition period, which is bureaucratic economics; from Brest-Litovsk to "socialism at tortoise pace" it is a "pure" example of we suffer not only from the living but from the dead, in this case, the dead being the outlived capitalism stretching for its absolute of concentration "in the hands of one man" which cannot be ~~more~~ negated except through subjective forces which must at that point become objectivity at its highest moment for the self-development of man alone can become motive force of truly human society. I am not sure of this but it seems to me that to show how subjectivity enters ties in directly with the dialectic of the party, and in its we will see both the withering away of the party with the state with democracy, and the shell that wants to hold on and strangle the new and which will be right within the revolution.

At this point too many raw ideas are floating about, and we have expanded so much that I am not sure I have a view of the whole. It seems to me that it would be around about now to meet and discuss and then to draft. But if you think I should try a dig at it now, I will, but I feel rather incomplete.

*Yours*



July 25, 1949

Dear J:

The contradiction in Lenin between the practicing revolutionary dialectician and the thinking Kautskyan is the contradiction of Russian society whose singular development ~~from~~ from feudal monarchy even to bourgeois monarchy was through proletarian methods of struggle. Lenin's philosophic leap from materialist evolution to dialectic revolution coincides with the Russian proletariat's coming of age ~~from~~ through methodology (St. Petersburg Soviet, 1905) to unity of methodology and content (1917 Soviets). Both Lenin and the Russian proletariat "reflect" the development of Russia whose method of production did not "match" its non-bourgeois imperial rule. That is, while world imperialism rested on monopoly capitalism, Russian imperialism rested on semi-feudalism while its isolated bourgeois methods of production was in fact in ~~fact~~ conflict with Tsarist imperialism. To make the methods of production worthy of imperial rule was beyond the capacities both of Tsarist autocracy and real living Russian capitalists. The revolution in production necessary necessitated a revolutionary class which at this stage of ~~world~~ development could not be dissected into a method and a content.

So far we are treading on familiar ground, but here delimitation, transition and leaps over gaps are needed to concretise this abstract absolute of ours. For instance, Lenin could be both a practician revolutionary and a thinking Kautskyan because the concrete and (NB, as Lenin would put it) revolutionary answers to the problems raised by Russia's development were bourgeois answers, answers that flowed from the economic content of Russia's coming revolution. The division between method and content paralleled the actual development of the Russian economy on the one hand and the Russian proletariat on the other hand. When the proletariat made its leap from isolated soviet to soviets as the dual power that would soon become a new type of state, it grounded Lenin's leap into his April Thesis so firmly to itself that Lenin was able to speak very simply: "I 'calculate' solely and exclusively on the workers, soldiers and peasants being able to tackle better than the officials, better than the police, the practical and difficult problems of increasing the production of foodstuffs and their better distribution, the better provisioning of the soldiers, etc. etc." (VI, p. 43)

It is as simple as all that: the practice of the proletariat and the peasantry demands a certain type of preaching of socialism. Note the stages in his April Report: (1) the purely practical measures of the peasants demands the nationalisation of the land/ "Private ownership of land must be abolished. This is the task facing us, for the majority of the people are for it. To accomplish, we need the Soviets. It is a measure that that cannot be effected with the aid of the old govt. bureaucracy." (VI, p. 101) (2) We preach socialism. (3) The miner practices ~~it~~ it. He is not interested who is his president; but how to run production and distribute bread. That same thesis moves us from monopoly to state control and the difference between that and workers control in the same manner as his thesis on imperialism moved us from bourgeois to proletarian democracy. Let us once again follow through both developments.

1683

First to be noted is that out of Imperialism flowed the

new urgency for self-determination as a fight which will bring out broad masses in the fight with the imperialist bourgeoisie which would in turn bring the socialist proletariat on the historic scene. Out of the socialist proletariat on the scene, the Soviet type of state there would flow not only proletarian democracy but proletarian internationalism. The schema of movement then is from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy and from bourgeois national and racial internationalism (imp.) to true proletarian internationalism. That will first find its full expression in the 1920 thesis: "proletarian internationalism, demands, firstly, the subordination of the interests of the prol. struggle in one country to the interests of the struggle on a world scale; and, secondly, it calls for the ability and readiness on the part of the greatest national sacrifices for the sake of overthrowing international capital." (X, pp. 235-6). This is the logical development of self-determination which, prior to Aug. 1914, meant freedom of competition and rule of home market, post-Aug. 1914 meant prol. democ. and Nov. 1917 means prol. internationalism.

But to return to the historical development and not rush through logical conclusions. State and Revolution is the next stage of development from April Thesis. Now this pamphlet may (and no doubt was) written against the opportunist perversions of Marxist teachings of the state and the re-establish of the eye of the proletarian revolution of the necessity to smash up the bourgeois state machinery. But it was also written to complete Lenin's national development. There is a schema of movement here which is active as the schema of movement in objective development. The core of Hegelianism he finds in 1914 to be movement and self-movement. Then as he comes to the Notion (p. 72) he summarizes: "Briefly the dialectic can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. Thereby is the kernel of the dialectic grasped but that demands explanation and development." This "explanation and development" was done not abstractly, but concretely.

First, he created his new absolute when he integrated Marxian dialectics as part, inseparable, of Marxism, and his essay on Karl Marx resulted, altogether too abstract. But once it was set down it began to move. The next concrete study he moved into—Imperialism—Lenin was fully armed with Marx a philosophic method. In turn the concrete transformation of competition into its opposite, monopoly, brought forth a new generalization. "There is not a single phenomenon," he writes Junius "which cannot under certain condition be transformed into its opposition." This transformation is the transformation of comp. into monopoly; ~~for~~ it is the transformation of imperialist wars into civil wars and imperialist politics into democratic politics. The relationship between socialism and democracy in the epoch of imperialism brings forth another application of Hegelian dialectics—manifoldness, many-sidedness, totality. In "The Collapse of the Second Int." Lenin demands "a many-sided investigation of a given social phenomenon in its development." Unless you see it "in its development," he warns, that dialectics is transformed into sophistry. That counterposition of dialectics to sophistry is present both in the actual notes on Hegel and in articles on self-determination both against P & B as well as RL.

In his philosophic leap note also the difference in his Notes on Science of Logic where the exhilaration over the discovery nearly muffles any criticism of Hegel, and those on History of Philosophy where he becomes a sharp critic of Hegel and Plekhanov and by the time he formulates these in those 3 superb pages called On Dialectic he hits also at Engels. Moreover, the unity of opposites, movement and self-movement have now been broadened by the "Singular is the general" and knowledge is a circle of circles. When he writes "Each fragment, segment, section of this curve can be transformed (transformed one-sidedly) into an independent, complete straight line which then... leads into the quagmire" he is fighting the opposition within the revolution: Bukharin. And when he says that philosophic idealism is not groundless; "it is a sterile flower undoubtedly, but it is a sterile flower that grows on the living tree of living, fertile, genuine, powerful, omnipotent, objective, absolute human knowledge." (XI, p.85) he is the full dialectician. ~~It~~ It never again separates itself from him.

Note for example that when he moves from fighting with the Marxists on self-determination and moves toward socialist revolution in Russia, he writes that both the revolution and the counterrevolution helped form the "precise self-determination of all classes" in Russia. This "precise self-determination" he lists in his Letters from Afar as "Arming of the proletariat-- all else is lie." When February comes, the bourgeois revolution is completed in an "original" manner. This original manner is the way in which the generalization of the "bourgeois democratic revolution" has concretely worked out. The "how" here is the transition which is both concrete (the mechanism why the old slogan must be given up) and universal (the mechanism or the new individualization of the universal): "Who can say whether a special 'rev.-dem. dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' detached from the bourgeois govt. is now still possible in Russia" (VI, p.40) And since it seems non-detachable from govt. or state and state is an instrument of oppression, and the transformation of the instrument of oppression of the majority (the masses) into that of a minority (the capitalists) would require democratization mobilization of the masses, a revolution to smash the old state machinery, therefore the fight for democracy is the fight to smash the state. State and Revolution simply must be written now. The proletariat is also readying to make this connection between democracy and revolution in the annals of history.

We need ~~to~~ linger for one more concept though before we move on to S & R. And that is the question of "control. In his April Thesis he brings out two factors from 1891 criticism of Erfurt program: (1) Engels's emphasis that planless ceases with trustification, and the corollary to it (2) "Monopoly in general has evolved into state monopoly. Objective conditions show that the war has accelerated the dev. of cap. which advanced from capitalism to imperialism, from monopoly to state control." State control is of course bourgeois control and when he therefore elaborates the practical measures the peasant and the miner, each in his own way, is taking against the govt. He is moving from X "state control" to "workers control" in the same way as he moved from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy.

The Universality of Socialism will assume the Particularity of Soviets and concretise itself into the Individuality of population "to a man". State and Revolution at the same time moves the "workers control" over the capitalist to universal control which is the foundation of socialism and "wither away" becomes it becomes "administration of things". Lenin moves slowly here, following Engels closely, and not forgetting dear old Hegel. He says that Socialists used to treat Engels' statement "put an end to the state...as the state" as if it were a "Hegelian Weakness" (VII, p. 18) "As a matter of fact, however, these words briefly express the experience of one of the great proletarian revolutions, the Paris Commune...As a matter of fact, Engels speaks here of the 'abolition' of the bourgeois state by the prol. rev., while the words about its withering away refer to the remnants of the proletarian state after the socialist revolution." Lenin comes back to the criticism of Erfurt. He repeats plainness has ended (p. 63) but we must not forget that capitalism remains and "wage slavery is the lot of the people even in the most democratic bourgeois republic," (p. 19)

Again, very simply, he "applies another dialectical law to the state which is more democratic "but still a state machine in the shape of the armed masses of workers who become transformed into a universal people's militia.

"Here 'quantity is transformed into quality': such a degree of democ. is connected with overstepping the boundaries of bourgeois society, with the beginning of its socialist reconstruction. If, indeed, all take part in the administration of the state, capitalism cannot retain its hold. The dev. of cap., in turn, itself creates the prerequisites that enable indeed 'all' to take part in the administration of the state." Lenin then shows that becomes of this control of production and distribution can be established overnight. There is your first phase. Compare with the actual 1917 revolution and watch the schema of the real movement from smashing of state to workers control and from workers control to Soviet Council of National Economy, never varying however that the activities of the Peoples Commissars can only proceed when the initiative is FROM BELOW and the Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Govt. can only exist because of the creative work of the masses from below and TO A MAN. ~~The schema of movement from workers control to workers administration, or beginnings of the reconstruction of society is the harder job than the smashing of the state and the true movement from essence to subjectivity and freedom, and this point is emphasized in the last of Lenin and in his fights with Bukharin (From Revision of Program--very, very crucial debate--to Left-Wing Childishness) he bawls B out for praising him only when he describe the break-up of the machinery "The petty bourgeois in a frenzy may also want as much," (VII, p. 377) ~~and~~ "failing to take note of the other, more important feature, the construction of socialism. The movement is completed, the contradiction overcome.~~

1686

From here to development of the whole significance of Lenin & Logic is a long ways to go yet, and I would feel more certain if I were to do that after a full-dress discussion of the

July 29, 1949

1687

Dear J:

I tried to get you on the phone but didn't succeed. Therefore I am dropping you this note to convey to you two things which have suddenly descended upon me with an overwhelming clarity.

1) When Lenin reaches the chapter on the Absolute Idea, he is completely at home. You can feel it in his comments and in his selections. That is only partly because he has gone through the whole and reached the end, so to speak. To think that that was all would mean an idealistic conception of the relation between theory and practice. It seems to me that the reason he felt so much at home here was that this had been what was organic to him in his revolutionary practice in Russia. That is why he is on home ground, so to speak.

and the bourgeoisie reformer

2) The final chapter is directed, not against the reformists, but against the counter-revolutionists within the revolution. The essence of the latter is: THEY REGARD THE REVOLUTION AS A TOOL, A MEANS, WHICH GETS RID OF ONE CORRUPT AND ESTABLISHED & NEW CONTENT. This new content established through the method as tool then acquires "an external determinateness" (p.469) which is reflected upon externally, i.e. organized. *That is what the liberal anti-Tharnt revolutionary bourgeoisie wanted to do with capitalism, i.e. with labor paid at value.*

1) Just before Hegel moves into the Absolute Idea he finishes up with Kant and Fichte.

He says (SL 234-235) that once action has superseded the subjectivity of purpose, once will has taken steps to make the world what it ought to be, in the process of will itself, the finitude and contradiction which are involved necessarily in will as ought, are abolished. We enter upon the unity of the theoretical and the practical idea, so that form of life which is the activity of the Notion. What else can this be except the revolution! Dialectic and history, so to speak, here leave behind those who think of the good only as possible, who remain in the realm of ought.

See

He says it even more strongly in the Larger Logic, p.464-5. "Presupposition in general is here transcended, that is, the determination of the Good as an end which is merely subjective and restricted in its content, the necessity of realizing it by subjective activity and this activity itself. In the result mediation transcends itself; the result is an immediacy which is not the reconstitution of the presupposition but rather the fact of its transcendence. The Idea of the Notion which is ~~merely~~ determined in and for itself is thus posited no longer merely in the active subject, (but equally as an immediate actuality; and the latter conversely is posited as it is in Cognition, as objectivity which is veritable.) Hereby the individuality of the subject, with which it was affected by its presupposition, has disappeared; it is thus now as ~~free and universal~~ self-identity: for it the objectivity of the Notion is given, and immediately present for the subject, just as much as the subject knows itself to be the Notion determined in and for itself. In this result then COGNITION is reconstructed and united with the Practical Idea; the actuality which is found as given is at the same time determined as the realized absolute end, not however (as in inquiring Cognition) merely as objective world without the subjectivity of the Notion but as objective world whose inner ground and actual persistence is the Notion. This is the Absolute Idea." (italics in original German)

R

\* "as obj. world without suby - 147, Notion as obj. world whose inner ground & actual persistence is 14 Notion. This is 12 ff to

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the final leap.

This is the latest, the highest, the final immediacy. And precisely for that reason, Hegel would not be Hegel, the dialectic would not be the dialectic if at this point precisely he did not show you the negativity inherent in this Absolute.

First, he says, let there be no question about it: (Italics in German orig)

"The Absolute Idea, as the reasonable Notion which in its reality coincides only with itself, is the return to Life by reason of this immediacy of its objective identity; but on the other hand it has equally transcended this form of its immediacy and contains the highest opposition within itself."

I pause a moment for the last part of that sentence to sink in.

"The Notion is not only Sein but also is free and subjective Notion, which is for itself and therefore has personality. - the practical and objective Notion, determined in and for itself, which, as person, is impenetrable and atomic subjectivity + while at the same time it is not exclusive individuality, but is, for itself Universality and Cognition, and in its Other has its own objectivity for object."

Don't mix this up with Being-for-Self in the realm of Being, he is saying, see with bourgeois individuality.

"Everything else is error and gloom, opinion, striving, caprice and transitoriness; the Absolute Idea alone is Being, imperishable Life, self-knowing truth, and the wholes of truth."

Is it too much to think that us and Lenin would have substituted the word Revolution, permanent revolution, every time Hegel used the word Absolute Idea.

Having established this, Hegel tells us straightforwardly (there is no chapter in Hegel as straightforward as this, as if he too by the time he reached here was completely at home) that he is not going to review all the stages by which this Absolute Idea has been reached but "What remains (therefore) to be considered here is not a content as such but the universal element of its form - that is, the method."

He is going to tell us how all revolutions move by negativity and hence what is the difference between going along, developing with this self-developing negativity of the revolution, and between that which was Lenin's method, and the method of counter-revolution.

He begins very moderately to introduce you to the latter. "His content is assumed as given to method, and is assumed to be of peculiar nature, then, in such a determination, both the method and logic in general are a merely external form."

Such an assumption, he says, has been proved by the whole course of the Logic, to be untenable: "It has turned out, (not) that some given object could be the foundation, to which the absolute form would be related as a merely external and contingent determination, but on the contrary that the form is the absolute foundation and ultimate truth, thus the method as emerged as the Notion which knows its own truth at the Absolute, both subjective and objective, that is as the pure correspondence between the Notion and its Reality, as an existence which the Notion itself is."

He goes on to say that up to now we have understand what the Notion is but now we see that the Notion is everything and that its movement is the universal and absolute activity, the self-determining and self-realising movement. Hence the method must be recognized to be universal without restriction, to be a mode both internal and external, and the force which is utterly infinite, which no object can resist insofar as its presents itself as external and as removed from and independent of reason, while also it can neither have a particular nature as against it nor fail to be penetrated by it."

I can't resist typing out some of this. It moves so easily. Also W and F and I don't have a copy of the EL so far as I know. But I won't retype the whole chapter.

Then again he contrasts the revolutionary dialectical concept of the Method with ~~the~~ what I call the counter-revolutionary concept of the Method.

"In inquiring cognition the method is likewise in the position of a tool, of a means which stands on the subjective side, whereby the method relates itself to the object. In this syllogism the subject is one extreme and the object the other, and by its method the former attaches itself to the latter, but does not therein, for itself, attach itself to itself. The extremes remain distinct because subject, method and object are not posited as the one identical Notion." Hence ~~in this type of cognition, the object merely achieves an external determinateness through the Method.~~

Note that he is talking here about Method, i.e. the form of the Absolute Idea, i.e. the new stage of identity of theory and practice which we have reached, and not just about previous forms of cognition.

(1) It is absolutely necessary that the Method begin with abstract universality, abstract self-relation, the simple and universal, the in-itselfness of the Absolute. (469-472). Don't be hesitant about beginning there arbitrarily with categorical unconscientiousness (469).

(2) But, "The concrete totality which is the beginning contains as such the beginning of progress and of development. As concrete it is internally differentiated; but by reason of its original immediacy the first differentiations are various. The immediacy, however, as self-relating universality and as subject, is also the unity of these various forms. This Reflection is the first stage of advance, the emergence of difference, judgment, determination in general."

That is, you have got to see the differentiation within the Revolution, for that is after all what we are dealing with. The word for ~~advance~~ above is "Weitergehen" which literally means "proceeding further." You can't proceed any further unless you recognize this internal differentiation. The alternative there is that it takes up again equally externally from the concrete that which it had left out in the abstractive creation of the Universal.

That is precisely what Leibniz and Schelling did. Getting to Being-for-Self- and the Absolute Idea like a shot out of the pistol, they then turned around and began putting into this bourgeois individual (Leibniz) and this revolutionary identity (Schelling) the scientific prejudices of their time - Natural science (Leibniz); Sociology (Schelling).

Against these, Hegel reaffirms what he has said in (1) and (2) above, calling them now "this equally synthetic and analytic moment of the judgment, by which the original universal determines itself out of itself to be its own Other," and says this is to be called the dialectical moment.

I will leave out the couple of pages where he deals with dialectic as sophistry. They are not integral to the argument.

He begins, p. 475-bottom, to review again this form of the Absolute method. "Any first term considered in and for itself shows itself to be its own other." (In the German original the word universal comes before first so that it read "a universal first"). "Taken quite generally this determination may be held to mean that what first was immediate is thus mediated and related to an Other, or that the Universal is as a particular."

The Nevada document.

"The second term which has thus arisen is accordingly the negative of the first and (if we allow in advance for the further development) is the first Negative. From this negative side the immediate has become submerged in the Other, but the Other is essentially not the empty negative or Nothing which is commonly taken as the result of the dialectic; ~~it is the Other~~; it is the Other of the first, the negative of the immediate; it is thus determined as mediated and altogether contains the determinations of the first!"

Hegel knew that in the developing negativity of the revolution, you didn't have to worry about the restoration of the pre-revolutionary society.

(I know that I am repeating much of the Nevada document here but it is necessary for the flow)

With the first term, it was necessary to see the Other in it, the negative in it. With the second term, ~~the~~ the dialectic moment consists in the realizing of the unity which is contained in it. (A77) If you can't see this unity, it is because you can't see the internal contradictory character of the determinations contained in the first negative or second term. And the reason you can't, is that you have allowed the contradictory content which lies before it to drop into the sphere of sensuous representation, into space and time, where the contradictory terms are held apart in spatial and temporal juxtaposition and thus come before consciousness without being in contact. The abstract revolutionism with which Schelling began, the positivism with which he viewed the differentiations and determinations arising from the first immediacy made him end up with a monotheistic God. "This thought makes its its fixed principle that contradiction is unthinkable." Whom else could he have been thinking of except Schelling? Certainly not Kant and Fichte. "In point of fact formal thought does think contradiction but immediately regards it and with the empty assertion of that principle passes over to abstract negation."

For the rest I think I need only end with some abstracts. Why stop here?

"The negativity which has been considered is the turning point of the movement of the Notion. It is the simple point of negative self-relation, the innermost source of all activity, of living and spiritual self-movement, the dialectic soul which all truth has in it and through which it alone is truth."

"The second negative, the negative of the negative, which we have reached, is this transcendence of the contradiction, but is no more the activity of an external reflection than the contradiction is; it is the innermost and most objective movement, by virtue of which a subject is personal and free."

Note: you cannot have this second negative as internal and dialectical unless you had the first.



"This negativity (the second), as self-transcending contradiction is the reconstitu-  
tion of the first immediacy, of simple universality.....this result is truth. It  
 is immediacy as well as mediacy; but it is not properly comprehended by forms of  
 judgment like (the third term is immediacy and mediation' or 'it is their unity);  
 for it is not a quiescent third term but as this unity, is self-mediating movement  
 and activity. As the beginning was the universal; the result is the individual,  
the concrete and the subject; what the former is in itself, the latter is now equal  
 for itself; the universal is posited in the subject. The first two moments of the  
 triplicity are the abstract and false moments, which for this very reason are dialecti-  
 cal and make themselves into the subject by virtue of this their negativity."

"The method of truth too knows the beginning to be incomplete because it is  
 beginning, but also know this incomplete term in general as necessary, because  
 truth is only self-consciousness, through the negativity of immediacy." (484)

Then follows the paragraph beginning "That impatience whose only wish is to  
 go beyond the determinate (whether in the form of beginning, object, finite, or  
 in any other form) and to be immediately in the absolute, has nothing before it  
 as object of its cognition but the empty negative, the abstract infinite".

I hope this (see J's letter, July 11) now seems integral to the whole movement  
 of the Absolute Idea.

"The pure immediacy of Being, in which at first all determination appears to  
 be extinct or omitted by abstraction, is the Idea which has reached its adequate  
 self-sufficiency through mediation, that is, through the transcendence of mediation."

This movement through immediacy, and mediation, and return to immediacy and  
 then against mediation, is thus the whole movement of the Logic.

I begin this with a note, but the thing has carried itself through five pages.  
 It was not my "external reflection" but a kind of self-movement.

As ever,

1-6-9-7  
August 16, 1949  
Handwritten signatures and initials

Dear J:

I think it is time that I wrote down some of the ideas and problems that I have been thinking about during the last few weeks, even though there are still some areas in which I see the light very dimly.

The first point which throws light on the Logic, Lenin and contemporary politics is: We can assert categorically that Hegel had two main enemies - the two forms of idealism.\* These are:

- I. Subjective idealism - the 2nd attitude of thought to objectivity
- and II. Intuitionist idealism - the third attitude of thought to objectivity

The first is the school of the right idealists or reformists. The second is the school of the left idealists, abstract revolutionists or "positivists." It should be noted here that in the decade after the turn of the century the factional fight between these two schools and Hegel raged. There are innumerable books, letters, etc. to document this. Hegel, as we know, represented what we can call the principle of permanent revolution, or self-movement by constantly developing negativity. We can elaborate this further by calling it a conception of development which is always at its goal and which is nevertheless in constant self-movement by negativity. It is therefore in opposition to: reformism - for whom the goal is always in the future and abstract revolutionism - for whom, once the goal has been reached, there is no more negative development or mediation, and all that is required is an organization of what has been accomplished.

As we know the movement of the Logic is from the:

- Universal - immediate unity of opposites, the indeterminate
- to the Particular - Mediation of opposites, first negation, determination
- to the Individual - Unity of opposites or negation of negation in which the subject is an immediate which has overcome mediation.

In order that this general movement should immediately have a less esoteric meaning, we can roughly characterize these three stages as:

- Universal - immediate unity of opposites or given situation which is the result of a previous revolution
- Particular - Critical period of opposition of forces, or mediation and negation in preparation for a revolution
- Individual - the revolution itself

No matter whether you look at the Logic as a whole, or at any given section of it, this is the structure and movement. Thus:

Being - Universal		Being in General - Universal
Essence - Particular	or	Determinate Being - Particular
Notion - Individual		Being-for-Self - Individual

\* A footnote is necessary here on Hegel's attitude to Empiricism or the first attitude of thought to objectivity. Hegel doesn't conceive the empiricists as serious enemies. He recognizes that empiricism once had a contribution to make (SL#38) in making man feel at home in the world, but throughout his work he only slashes in passing at any who would remain with the immediacy of sense-perception, mistaking it for truth. The fact of the matter is that after the French Revolution (i.e. in philosophy after Kant) non-critical attitudes to society play no important role in social development.

For the first section of the Logic, Wallace probably describes the process as clearly and simply as anybody can:

U "If Being... is truly apprehended as a process, as a becoming, then this tendential nature, or function, or vocation implies a result, a certain definiteness which we missed before.

P "Somewhat has become; or the indeterminate being has been invested with definiteness and distinct character. The second term in the process of thought therefore is reached. Being has become Somewhat; and is real, because it implies negation,.... Reality is ~~xxxxxx~~ determinateness, as opposite to mere vagueness. To be real, it is necessary to be somewhat - to limit and define. This is the necessity of finitude: in order to be anything more and higher, there must come, first of all, a determinate being and reality. But reality, as we have seen, implies negation; it implies limiting, distinction and opposition. Everything finite, every 'somewhat' has somewhat else to contrast, narrow and thwart it. To be somewhat is an object of ambition, as Juvenal implies; but it is only an unsatisfactory goal after all. For somewhat always implies something else, to which it is in bondage. The two limit each other; or the one is the limit of the other.... Such is the character of determinate being. It leads to an endless series from some to other, and so on ad infinitum; everything as a somewhat, as a determinate being, or as in reality, is for something else, and that again for some third being, and so the chain is extended... And so the same story is repeated in endless progression, till one gets wearied with the repetition of finitude, which is held out as infinite..

I "Thus in determinate being as in mere being we see the apparent point issuing in a double movement - alteration from some-being to somewhat else and vice versa. But a movement like this implies after all that there is a something which alters; which is alterable but which alters into somewhat. This somewhat which alters into somewhat and thus retains itself, is a being which has risen above alteration, which is independent of it; which is for itself and not for somewhat else... The new result is something in something else; the limit is taken up within; and this being which results is its own limit. It is Being-for-self - the third step in the process of thought under the general category of Being. The range of Being which began in a vague nebula, and passed into a series of points, is now reduced to a single point, self complete and whole. This Being-for-self is a true infinite which results by absorption of the finite."

From this <sup>general and true</sup> conception of the movement of the Logic from U to P to I, certain broad generalisations can be drawn:

(1) The ultimate, the goal to which the whole logical development moves, is the revolution, the individual, and these are Hegel's chief concerns. Individuality, revolution, self-determination, self-activity can all be regarded as more or less equivalent terms so long as we realize that there are stages of revolution, individuality, self-determination and self-activity (For this reason the less controversial term personality might be substituted for individuality)

(2) Individuality and revolution is the result of the overcoming of particularity. It is a self-relation arrived at by negation of negation. This process of U-P-I cannot be over-emphasised. The diametrically opposed conception of idealist philosophers - which lurks in ambush for everybody who doesn't have this process clear - is that the individual is a mode, a limitation, a negation, a determination (i.e. the first negation) of the universal and therefore finite. This is the philosophic root of all totalitarianism. See SL #193 and LL II, p.167

3) Since precisely this achievement of self-relations in the revolution, all stages of the succeeding revolutions must and can be looked for precisely at those nodal points in the Logic where individuality overcomes particularity.

"All revolutions, in the sciences, no less than in general history, originate only in this, that the spirit of man, for the understanding and comprehension of himself, for the possessing of himself, has now altered his categories, uniting himself in a truer, deeper, more inner and intimate relation with himself." (Hegel)

So much for the movement of the Logic in general. There is also, however, what we may call the polemical movement of the Logic, i.e. in terms of the conception that Hegel was fighting the Right-wing Reformists and the Left-wing positivists. Like all historically oriented polemics, this conception of the Logic enables us to penetrate more deeply into it.

Prior to every leap into subjective freedom, Hegel deals with the Reformists in one form or another, i.e. with those who are caught in particularity or determinate Being and seek to get out of this particularity by counterposing to it the abstract universal. These people are caught in the "ought" or bad infinite. (See the long excerpt in the Nev. document, pp.94-99 from which I quote only one passage here: "The infinite - in the ordinary sense of bad infinity - and the progress to infinity, are, like Ought, the expression of a contradiction, which pretends to be the solution and the ultimate. This infinite represents the first exaltation of sensuous imagination, above the finite into Thought, the content of which, however, is Nothing, or that which is expressly posited as not-being; it is a flight from the barrier, which, however, neither collects itself nor knows how to load back the negative to the positive. This imperfect reflection has completely before it the two determinations of the true infinite - the opposition of finite and infinite, and the unity of these; but it fails to reconcile these two thoughts; either inevitably evokes the other, but in this reflection they merely alternate." (LL, I, 164) (Note, LL, II, 67, where Hegel says "Infinity..is contradiction as it appears in the sphere of Being")

After the leap into subjective freedom, Hegel mentions the reformists only in passing, e.g. p.176 LL. After the leap, what he is concerned with are those idealists who take up an attitude of abstract understanding to the achieved individuality or negation of the negation. Thus, e.g. Larger Logic, I, p.175; the polemic against Leibniz.

By Leibniz's attitude of abstract understanding to the achieved individuality (prototype of all such attitudes to the revolution) or what Hegel calls Leibniz's conception of "the absoluteness of abstract individuality", the following is meant:

The category of Being-for-Self (which is the first emergence of individuality or self-determination) means that the Other has been reflected into the self, i.e., that the self is no longer limited by others but has other as its own content. (LL, I, p.171. The self is therefore independent. Such independent selves Leibniz called monads.

Immediately, however, Leibniz was confronted with explaining how these independent monads were related to one another. Instead of seeing these selves as negatively developing ones which would represent a new particularity and therefore the need of another synthesis and leap into freedom (the development in the Logic through Quantity to Measure and Essence), Leibniz stopped with these independent monads and sought to relate them through God as the Monad of Monads or the principle of organization (called by Leibniz the pre-established harmony). The result is

the independence of the monads, or the revolutionary achievement, becomes subordinated to their harmonious relation in the Monad of Monads, or the counter-revolutionary organization. As Hegel explains in the History of Philosophy, there are in Leibniz two views of the monads - one, as spontaneously generating its representations, and the other, as a moment of necessity. And the latter wins out: "Before God the monads are not to be independent, but ideal and absorbed in him." Thus we have a perfect example of what Lenin in 1915 called philosophical idealism - "a one-sided exaggerated extreme development (inflation, distention) of one of the features, sides, facets of knowledge) into an absolute, divorced from matter, from nature, apotheosized."

It should be emphasized here that Leibniz is not "responsible" for the transformation of Being-for-Self (the Individual) into Many Ones and therefore the dialectic of quantity (Q). Quite the reverse. Leibniz's theoretical and therefore political crime is precisely the refusal to recognize the inevitable negative development (i.e. transformation into particularity and therefore negation of negation at a higher stage. Because he stops at Being-for-Self, of the independence of the individual as the final revolution, he will need an external third party to perfect the revelation. On the other hand, from the organic movement, the transformation of quality into quantity will emerge Measure, a new synthesis, and from that Essence, which is the leap from this synthesis. (Note that Measure is Essence in the realm of Being). Thus from the above we have:

Quality - U  
 Quantity - F  
 Measure - I (but still in the realm of Being)

Using this analysis of the Logic of the realm of Being as a springboard, I believe that we can show an analogous pattern of development in the other realms of the Logic.

As for the distinction between the different major sections of the Logic, I have been thinking that in addition to seeing the Realm of Being as the method of thought of the market (i.e. commodities, transformation of use-values in exchange-values, etc) and the realm of Essence as production, it is necessary to analyze the major stages more fundamentally in terms of the development of human freedom. (See LL, I, 350, and SL 98 where Hegel indicates the variety of realms in which the method applies). Thus it seems to me that in the Realm of Being we can see the development from abstract individuality (Being-for-Self) through the particularity of political equality (Quantity or indifference to quality) to the synthesis of political democracy (Measure). And in the Realm of Essence we can see the development from labor as the principle (ground, classical political economy, law of sufficient reason) to the mediation of economics (substance and necessity). I have in mind here the way in which 1) Marx links liberty, Equality and Bentham with the market and 2) the basic conception which he had of the ever-deepening (increasing concrete universality) development of human freedom - from Christianity to political democracy - to which we can at least add, since the emergence of the 2nd International - the concept of economic or industrial democracy - and perhaps other stages of freedom.

In this connection what Wallace says in the Prolegomena on "Being for self" representing "the sentiment of universal war - the bellum omnium contra omnes", the polemical attitude toward others as the very basis of Being-for-Self, is a key.

My best to Constance and Nob. Hopes to see you soon.

From Wallace as just think, c.p.e. law for prolegomena and As ever.  
 TO Medicine economist Leg from Wallace Benjamin  
 TO Dev - Human pol from Wallace Benjamin

August 25, 1949

Everybody

Dear Friends:

I could not do a stroke at camp; and here at Northp't I have had two or three days only. I propose therefore to write a composite letter.

I. Million

The analysis and proposed plan are superb. That is the only word for it. The only thing I see now is to avoid phrases as Negro is "vanguard of revol'n.", etc, avoid also too many references to the contemporary scene. They should be few but telling, they should illumine the historical past and need no proof.

Now in regard to method. Your problem is, at the same time, to give a new interpretation and destroy him (including the latest war election pamphlets). State your conclusions and new facts boldly. Be sparing of too many quotes to prove your points. Be bold, clear and give only indispensable and unchallengeable quotes. Spend quotes etc. on Apthaker and the rest. Tear them to pieces systematically. You are not on trial. They are. Try and make the articles each more or less self-contained.

Now I have asked John D to do some reading on the Civil War. William should write to John giving him the details of what I want and where to look etc. I want a mass of material of the self-activity of Negroes before, during and immediately after the C.W., and the same for the white petty-bourgeoisie and the proletariat; and the influence of these activities on Lincoln, general policy, military policy etc. The best place to look is a systematic combing of contemporary writers. Without this we (and particularly, I) face trouble. My classes on the contributions of the French masses to the Revolution met a bitter sullen hostility from some comrades and a critical coolness from others. But they got nowhere in face of the mass of evidence that I had with me. This evidence must be systematically piled up. It means patient reading for months. But without it we are in difficulties.

Re W's complaint about my bawling him out for nothing, I shall reply in time. W's very letter, however, is an example of what is wrong and must be corrected. He does not say "Jimmy, something seems wrong here. What is it?" and then, when I fail to reply satisfactorily, make his protest. He says instead: "Usually, you are right but this time you are awful." If anyone is usually right, then when he seems to be all wrong is the time for his usually right to be borne in mind. It is not so important as to need frantic replies by me. I shall take it up in time when I am ready.

2. Lee

We shall meet in N.Y. Meanwhile I recommend a close study of Grace's latest letter on U.P.I. After much trouble and patient work, we have it at last. The basic structure. That is it. I am absolutely confident, and the working out of it is but another, perhaps the best, of what we owe to Grace's special training and ~~instinct~~ instinct for philosophy. We shall build the whole thing on that. I do not like the phrasing in the letter - too much revolution, and too little of the patience and suffering of the negative, but the root of the matter is there.

I want Rae in particular to think of the following:

- 1) On the R.T'y of C.A., M'x describes a) centralization/ b) socialization of labor.

But as we decided socialization of labor substituted for centralization is bourgeois. The neglected taken-for-granted thing is "the growing revolt." Now the revolt has been an integral part of capitalist production. Please, dear friends, stay here and ponder. The revolt has marked every stage of capitalist progress. Please tabulate the three stages. Simple coop'n; manufacture; heavy industry. The revolt caused the changes to advanced methods; the revolt saved the life of the country. But each revolt caused a greater centralization, exploitation, socialization; and greater organization, both objectively and subjectively, of the proletariat. Note also that simple cooperation is the first stage; the end is socialist cooperation. The revolt is the means. /File this up with Grace's letter. The Soviet is (the latest) form of revolt. This is the dialectic what we need, of Capital. Working at Imperialism I found in the end I had to go back to Capital; and the secret of Capital is in the Logic. And again, do not prove. Just let the whole thing be internally consistent, simple and direct. Let the opponents do the squeaking and squalling.

2) The second point (and there are only two) is the relation between thought, abstraction, generalization, e.g. value, and the objective connections. Grace has said some things about it. It preoccupies Lenin in the notes. I believe in preparation for our discussions, we should make a serious attempt to clarify this and relate it to U.P.I. I don't want to go into it here, but I want to say this much. Lenin based everything in 1917 on the Soviet. Socialism, republic, d's dictatorship of p't and P'try, all these were formulae, generalizations, abstractions. The Soviet was the concrete, the only way by which the collapse of Russia and the progressive handling, I should say, revolutionary reorganization of nationalizations etc. could take place. Socialism was looking at them through the windows. There was no other socialism. This is not quite in the same category as value; all major contradictions contained in exchange of commodities, etc; but I think it is all of the same piece. If we get this right we have everything.

I believe that R should concentrate on the first and G. on the second, but R should think about both because she has Capital in her head.

As for G, all I can say is that she needs or should have a well-deserved rest (two days). The solution of that problem is really something. The only genuine appreciation I can show, the highest, is to propose that you solve the relation between the abstract, the generalization, and the concrete.

J.

If it will please the public, you will be glad to know that I now have the Fr. Rev'n all worked out, all, completely; and the thing that has been haunting me for three years or more is now laid to rest. The key is the relation between politics and democracy. The sections carried direct dem'y to the extreme; achieved miracles; but never worked out anything approaching the economic form by which the emancipation of humanity was to be achieved. The contradiction is between the Rights of Man and the length of the working-day. But enough. Later I shall do a detailed criticism or rather annotation of G's latest letter.

August 29, 1949

Everybody

1698

My dear Grace:

I want you to get from R the very latest date she will be in N.Y. I do not return until the Monday after Labor Day weekend. We plan to come in with F and L. I would not want to break up the stay here. We shall need one good day, perhaps some few hours the next day.

Now for my last notes. They will consist of comments on your August 16th letter.

1. Avoid the straight transference of political terms: e.g. "reformists", "counter-revolutionists", etc. Start now to avoid them.
2. Prepare to be able to show why H had to accept world-spirit. We have to show his faults.
3. Wherever possible use Lenin and Lenin's quotes to build up the presentation of the Logic (I touched on this yesterday)

We shall have to do some bold statements of our own and therefore the quotes must be select, unmistakable.

Now page 1:

Para. 7: "Universal, immediate unity...revolution." I do not like the word revolution. I prefer "leap" or some inoffensive term. Politically, it is a revolution. Aufhebung (a big one) is the term, isn't it?

Same para: "Individual - the revolution itself". I can't accept that phrase. The term as I think of is the concrete, the actual, the emergence of something new. But whatever you use, keep away from revolution.

Page 2 :

Para. 1 Wallace describes "as clearly and simply and anybody can."

NO, 1000 times NO.

You have to do better than that. The paragraphs are, for the ordinary man, unreadable. Unreadable. We, you, will have to describe the process more simply. And here a big point. We write for the average intelligent worker.

I know this seems monstrous. But we have to. They will understand. Simple, bold, direct. Philosophically, historically, they are ready. They understood Capital. They will understand this. The responsibility is ours.

End of page: "philosophical root of all totalitarianism." H.

Page 3:

"All revolution in the sciences...." A beautiful quote. Why? Because of the "truer, deeper." It ties in with Lenin's criticism of the criticism of Kant. That is one of our key points.



The last paragraphs on the page are a mixture of good exposition and difficult Hegelianism. As you think it over, bear this in mind. The classic example of negation of negation in Marxism is in the Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation.

Private p'y is the theme.

- 1) self-earned private p'ty.
- 2) Capitalistic private p'ty. This develops by centralization and socialization. There takes place a new expropriation by the immanent laws
- 3) Then comes the bursting asunder and we have individual property based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era, cooperation and possession in common.

This is the negation of the negation. We return to the Universal but now completely fulfilled.

Let us add here that simple cooperation, manufacture, modern industry are stages of determination. You can, if you like, build up Universal, Particular, Individual around this. But it is the type of thing. For the Judgment, use as a model Engels on the Dialectic of Nature.

Now page 4 "distinction of different parts of Logic." We have to be damned careful here. There is no doubt (to me) that Being = early society up to capitalism.

Essence = capitalism to the classical philosophy.  
The Absolute Idea is the Method.

Hegel I see as the last of the philosophers who "interpreted" the world. The thing, however, is to change it. Hegel could discover no more than the method, the this for him was a prelude to action (in a subordinate way). But Marx could not stop at exposition of the "Notion." For him the "Notion" was directly connected, linked to action, and action by masses of men, not the few philosophers. Capitalism, therefore, had and could have no "Notion" in the sense of the Method. Marx's final and completed "Notion" of Capital is revolutionary political practice. He goes along with Hegel a long way and there they separate, Hegel to the philosophers, Marx to the workers. Marx has "broadened, deepened, corrected" Hegel in the way we know.

I cannot agree with your para beginning "As for the distinction between..."

E.G. in Being you see the development from abstract individuality through political equality to political democracy (a synthesis) Maybe. Maybe. But start right now ~~starting~~ avoiding the practice of making Hegel write as if he had politics in mind. He insists that he had ~~got rid of all concreteness~~. If even you are right, that for us means trouble, trouble, trouble, trouble. Hegel has in mind scientific method, mathematics, Nature, etc. etc. To make it all "revolution" serves no purpose. We shall apply it to politics, to society. (I am wondering if we can make some general applications to the history of science. But that may be too much and is not here strictly necessary.) What is running through my head is if we cannot make UPI apply even to the development of Capital, Vol. I.

Now for some random notes. Bear in mind simple sentences such as "Robespierre in his policy of.....reproachets Will." We need not invent many. M'x has a lot. Just a sentence to drive the Logic home. (And I note again that in those early writings M'x in talking about political and real emancipation seems to me to have the logic in mind all the time.

Again UPI. Remember Lenin on Marxism 1914 and I on dialectic in that essay; then I on Dialectic 1915 and his next conception of socialization, etc. I take it he is getting ready to tear the guts out of those, the new Lenin and the old. What about being able to state these in broad terms of UPI. Just think about these.

Lenin is very insistent on not taking a "one-sided view" He never wasted a second on what was not concrete. Obviously this was an error he knew and feared. Abstract and concrete. Isn't "abstract" merely the essence of Bukharinism? I do not mean a point to point equality, correspondence in all these things. But logically all these fundamental problems and all serious deviations must or should be seen at least as a tendency in one of these basic divisions.

Now back to something I had started and not finished. Is Being the mode of thought "of the market." I see him tracing modes of thought leading up to the market mode all seen in the light of his finished method. But that type of thought a) can be used on low levels b) is still used by backward classes or their philosophical or political representatives. The thing, however, is to show its historical developing character, dialectics, etc. Just as Marx sums up thousands of years in Section I in terms of developing concepts of value and labor. Make much of M's statement that it took 2000 years for men to discover the truth about value, etc. AR

Very hard work must be done to be able to state simply and briefly why Hegel thinks the discoveries of Greek philosophers (Being-for-Self etc) recur and have validity for Leibniz etc. A blanket statement like "market" pins it down. Being into Essence is commodity into Capital. We enter into Capitalist production, from pre-capitalist production. If you don't like this, be prepared to attack it.

Again. Have you fitted Synthetic Cognition and Understanding into the general scheme? For Hegel they were a constant, recurring agency. I leave to you the distinction in treatment between the three divisions of the Logic.

Let me sum up where I am heading.

Lenin's method up to 1914 for socialism was or contained the elements of

- a) misunderstanding of particular
- b) Understanding
- c) Synthetic cognition
- d) abstract for concrete etc.

He broke with it. The others went on with it, even the most revolutionary. This as I hope you see is dynamite. But we have on our side truth. That is much. Also we have the points he made, so joyfully, the criticisms of the past, the consciousness that he had discovered new things and was dropping off the old wrong ones in which he had shared.

Always remembering that he had developed his Marxism with the aim of a bourgeois revolution.

Now let us characterize logically the pre-1914 mistakes. Let us write a study of the Logic that will show the mistakes in abstract that I was making.

Take one example and in this in my opinion is involved the whole of the Logic: The Soviet.

Pre-1914 they all saw socialism as an organization of economy, etc., etc. In 1917 I saw it as the Soviet, a concrete form in which to build a new state and a new economy. Nobody saw that before. That was concrete. All the rest was bad UPI; Synthetic Understanding, abstract, etc. etc.

Do a profound UPI around that. At least think about it. The Soviet was a new category. The Soviet was a concrete, a new, ~~new~~ an individual, a negation of the

particular. Somewhere around there is our problem, our problem, ours.

To write this using material which our enemies will. Doing all the deepest theoretical work around this material, bringing all the log logic to bear on this.

Everything must now wait until we meet.

J

(We are well but just beginning to feel we are here)

P.S. I have no plan for discussion. Everyone brings what he thinks is important and or important for him and our first session will take up these. The general outline I propose is very clear in my mind and can be agreed to, modified or a substitute proposed.

J.

1701

Aug. 30, 1949

Dear J:

Please forgive the disorganized form this letter will of necessity bear. I am trying to get down in rough some of the ideas which have been bobbing in my head in preparation for our discussion, and would rather it "write itself out" than wait for a logical order to give it form.

First, there are three developments in Lenin's approach to dialectics. In 1900 he is in prison where he has finished "Dev. of Cap. in Rus." and he begins to read Hegel, Kant and the "French naturalists". The result is an "organization plan" which is consummated in 1902 in "What Is To Be Done?" (This little fact ought to be worth something to us when we get down seriously into the dialectic of the party. Why did I never before note that he read philosophy--probably for the first time (as the works previously, both What Are the Friends of the People & Cap. in Russia, seem to show only a second-hand knowledge of ~~xxxx~~ dialectics; he mastered Capital and relied on Marx for his logic as well.)--just before he worked out the party?)

In 1908 he rereads and the result is Materialism and Empirio Criticism; a certain "degeneration" you might say to have to return to elementary epistemology but unavoidable because concretely the counter-revolution in Russia brought god-seekers right within its ranks.

1914-16 there come the magnificent philosophic notebooks and from them on nothing, absolutely nothing, fails to bear the stamp of Hegelian dialectic.

The more I read Lenin's notes the more I am led to the objective situation, or objective world-connections as he would call them, and the deeper I get into the dialectics the softer I get to my "enemies": first it was Plokhancy who began to make sense, at least within historic context; then I began to appreciate Luxemburg's attempt to find a fundamental economic cause for imperialism. Well, now, now I am even ready to forgive LT his permanent revolution. 1903 is such a damned important year! It was too abstract and definitely did nothing for him; but it was an expression of what the proletariat was preparing. Something was in the air. Lenin creates a category: the party. LT creates a category: the permanent revolution. And in 1905 the Russian proletariat bursts forth. What they did is lost both upon Lenin & Trotsky, although the former, being the concrete "feeler" sees, if not the Soviets, at least the counter-revolution. Indeed the counter-revolution--"betrayal" of liberal bourgeoisie, establishment of bourgeois monarchy, penetration of bourgeois ideology into Marxist party--taught him more than the revolution. But here precisely is where hindsight should make us go back to this objective world-connection, with new sight.

At every stage in the development of capitalism (indeed in development of humanity at all stages, but I am interested here only in capitalism) revolts occur, first they may be blind protests, but I doubt since the Luddite riots they ever were just blind. No, in each case the workers not only revolted but created a new "form" of how it would run society. It is defeated and little

-2-

parts of the program "stolen". That is how capitalism moves on. This, in turn, defines the character of the labor movement. The capitalistic stamp of the labor movement is that of the defeated revolt.

Soviets arise in the first period; trade unions in the second. Let me put it another way. In the first period--in the period of ~~revolt~~--the proletariat shows an entirely new mode of life, a truly human way of living, producing, enjoying. It smashes the old to smithereens and says, Here is how it should be done, soviets, not factory slavery; soviets, not bureaucratic hierarchy; soviets, not standing army; soviets, not monopoly of education. Now that is true in every period, long before the Russian proletariat in 1905 gave it its distinct form and class content. For example, even as far back as the 1820s in America the workers organized themselves simultaneously in unions and labor parties and demanded not simply higher wages but higher education, and then even when they had to compromise and organized unions, it was on the scale of K of L, that is a social organization. The unions as a business organization reflected in the stages of capitalistic production, that is, only after the defeats, does the labor movement reflect the movement of capitalistic production, and that movement too is what the capitalists "stole" from the workers. When the turbulent '80s had gone and the heart-breaking '90s sounded the full triumph of big capital--even then the workers rose merely not to ever higher heights, but to new horizons, new categories. Such a new category was 1905 when the Russian proletariat showed how society can look. Once that is defeated, the counter-revolution runs high not only in Tsarist Russia but on a world scale and it is that the genuinely capitalistic law of motion, unhampered by revolts, reveals itself and heads directly for WW I.

Now the pre-1914 Marxists thought that this law of collapse would bring the revolution automatically and from then on no one needs worry about socialism. I will not stop here to show that the "growing revolt" is what gave capitalism its movement (I believe it can easily be established in cooperation, manufacture and machinofacture, and I will try to be prepared for that in the discussion) but wish merely to limit myself here to two things: (1) technology; (2) competition. Somewhere Marx says that technology sets the mode of production, etc. etc. & this has often been repeated, but what has been forgotten is that that same paragraph states that a true history of technology would show it was not great men who discovered, but great masses. The names we all repeat in a bourgeois manner--from Watts to Edison, from Bessemer to Ford--built no foundation and Andrew Carnegie summarized the bourgeois attitude perfectly when he said "Pioneering does not pay." Marx moreover points out that even after the discovery has been made (that I believe is in Vol. III) and "applied", it doesn't actually operate till after the workers in the factory have applied. He let the capitalists get away with nothing, but we merely state such and such is only in the pilot stage as if the inventor merely completes it abstractly, instead of the inventor without labor, etc. etc. The second thing is: when is the invention introduced? ~~again~~ Again we have been bourgeois in our answer; we have said competition forces him to; but Marx shows that competition is only a reflection of declining rate of profit, and it is ~~only~~ also only

a reflection of growing revolt. A labor saving device is introduced to get rid of rebellious labor, to simplify operation so that women and children can be introduced into the factory and meanwhile the worker is always grumbling: why do it this stupid way, when this way would be better, and all this the great dead machine soaks up into its brain and the voice of the worker is lost. When we have worked this out completely, we will see that the growing revolt has been as much forgotten as the smashing of the state machine.

Let me add one final example in order to be able to bring in who is Marx's enemy. When capitalist production "moves on its own", it is promptly overcome by stagnation and parasitism. You see when the Chartist movement met defeat in 1848 English production moved on to its "golden age" and sclerosis set in immediately although it did immediately bow to "Yankee ingenuity". Now this golden age in turn corrupted the proletariat, the higher strata. Marx said they were bourgeoisified, but he ignored them and their leaders (he went looking for lower strata instead). They were not the real enemy. The real enemy was Lassalle. Why? It is not only after the plunge to freedom that the positivist and not the reformist is the main enemy. The impatience of the ~~main~~ calm-looking positivist to get "immediately to the absolute" means forgetting these unskilled workers and playing around with--Bismarck. Lassalle saw the unions and their opportunism; he was such a "revolutionist" and abhorred them so that he even invented the theory of the iron law of wages to show they could not accomplish anything for the proletariat; while he set off to "capture" the state to bring in socialism in hot-house Bismarckian fashion. Lordy, how we keep repeating the mistakes of the past; can't you see in him Bukharin? That is the law, the law of thought and the law of activity.

I have tarried too long here and forgotten Lenin in 1914 as he moved from official Marxism to true Marxism. He clutches on to Engels's criticism of the Erfurt Program (Where were all the "loyal" Marxists in 1901 when that 1891 devastating criticism was finally published? There is something in that of the movement of capitalistic production.) and especially ~~max~~ so to the statement on concrete vs. abstract. L's philosophic notebooks are permeated with that and the references are all to value and Ricardo and Hegel and Kant. Now, Marx accused Ricardo not of being abstract, but of being "violently" so instead of going to higher and truer abstraction. But before you can go higher, you must go lower. You must explain how the abstract theory of value works out in the concrete phenomena of the market. Don't yell: Value is the essence; price is merely the phenomenon; show how the two unite. First, you have to introduce further distinctions into value,  $c/v$ ; then you have to show that rate of  $sv$  and rate of profit are not identical ("violent abstraction") but, on the contrary, the manner in which one is transformed into the other, means only  $v$  is creative of  $sv$ , etc, etc. In other words, before you can explain the phenomena of the market, you must go to the higher abstraction of a theory of surplus value and you thereby have both the logical development and the concrete distinctions, oppositions, and you need not "spirit away"  $c$  but rather emphasize it. Everything lies in the how; just as how  $s.v.$  is realized, showed not market but expanded reproduction, so how ratio of  $s.v.$  becomes rate of profit will show, on the one hand,  $c$  ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ever expanding but producing naught, and  $v$  ever shrinking but producing all that is produced.

You say that every time you reread Imperialism you are led to Capital, and every time you reread that you are led to Logic. Yes, and I am immensely impressed with L's statement that the whole of the Logic must be understood before the 1st chapter of Marx can. There is movement there that not only explains the being, pre-bourgeois society; it explains the being, the essence and notion. Marx begins with Sec. 1 or dual character of commodity; then in Sec. 2 he deals with the essence or dual character of labor; in Sec 3 he returns to being, but in the forms of value are not simply cast, but rather from the elementary form of value to the universal form he "plays" on the highly dialectical I-P-U; and finally in Sec 4 he deals with notion. First he ~~maximally~~ tells us that the whole fetishism arises from the form, ~~which is the~~ the fantastic form which makes relations between people appear as an exchange of things. But immediately thereafter he states that the very discoverers of the theory that labor was the source of all value are as mystified by the form. Moreover, there seems to be contradiction in his materialism, a shifting of ground, when he explains Aristotle's failure to get to the common substance of all difference use-values because he lived in a slave society, whereas free labor has to assume the fixity of a popular prejudice" before you can see straight; and at the same time he says Smith-Ricardo lived in the latter type of society and still did not "understand"; only "freely associated men" can.

Now it seems to me that they did not understand precisely because they were men of Understanding--the old man you so masterfully revealed in the Nevada document. I was led to Hegel's Second Attitude to Objectivity, where Hegel shows that empiricism, in common with metaphysics, "elevates the facts included under sensation, feeling, perception into the form of general ideas, propositions or laws"... "Empiricism therefore labors under the delusion, if it supposes that, while analysing the objects it leaves them as they were: it really transforms the concrete into abstract." and finally: "So long then as this sensible sphere is and continues to be for Empiricism a mere datum, we have a doctrine of bondage..." (#33)

"The battle of reason is the struggle to break up the rigidity to which the understanding has reduced everything." And "freely associated men" consciously regulating" their production seeing the future in the present can "break up the rigidity" and strip off the mystical veil and thus we get to the notion not only of the bourgeois but of the proletariat.

All this Lenin saw as he read Hegel and when he came to write Imperialism, he included his Critique, or attitudes of thought (classes) to objectivity (imperialism). Now the outline of the book (pp.197-8 of Notebooks on Imperialism) reveal this:

IX. Critique of Imperialism

1. Critique--the general idea
2. Apologists (Fabians)
3. Petty bourgeois democrats
4. Kautsky vs. Hobson (Kautsky & Spectator, NB)
5. Forward or backward?
6. Free competition vs. duties, dumping, etc.
7. Export into dependent countries.
8. Ultra- or inter-imperialism?
9. Pol. traits of imperialism (diplomacy) (reaction)

(national oppression)."

(Incidentally, Ch. X or last chapter entitled "Historic place of imperialism" was originally entitled: "X. Generalization. General significance of imperialism.")

Now of the 9 subtitled. 4 (in which #8 on ultra imperialism is included in the one on Kautsky) are included, and after the definition that he is here dealing with attitudes of classes to this phenomenon which is so overwhelming that not only small & middle but every very small capitalists have made a wholesale transition to the side of imperialism, and this moreover is true not only of the possessing classes but permeates also the working classes, he settles down to the 3 attitudes:

- (1) Subjective idealists, or bourgeois scholars who defend imperialism and (a) obscure its complete domination, & (b) its profound roots while (c) they emphasize only details and reforms.
- (2) Syclical, frank imperialist who admit absurdity of reforming.
- (3) Petty bourgeois critics, with which is merged Kautskyism who tells capitalism what it "ought" to be, the pious wish of those who, not "recognizing" the ground of imperialism is capitalism (trusts) itself, try to contrast imperialism with free competition and democracy as if it were a matter of choice and policy instead of the inevitable result of concentration; that is, they forget the qualities of imperialism". Now I will not further stress the parallel to Hegel here, but I do wish to bring out that in the outline of this, as of all works following, is the unity of opposites and the fact that every single thing without exception can be transformed into its opposite, and only on the basis of a higher unity can struggle for socialism continue concretely. Thus in these Notebooks, he takes up also Panikoff and even where he defends him against Kautsky he writes: "The formula (the struggle for socialism) is incorrect. The struggle for socialism consists of the unity of the struggle for immediate interests of workers (in correspondence to reforms) and struggle, revolutionary, for power, for expropriation of bourgeoisie - for overthrow of bourgeois govt. & of bourgeoisie."

And so Lenin had left even Lenin of 1914 behind when he still wrote that socialisation of labor "is bound to" lead to revolution.

It is 3 a.m. and I am tired so instead of continuing in this disorganized way I will leave it to our discussion. But one final thing I do wish to state here regarding Grace. Her last on U-P-I was magnificent and I dropped her a note on that as soon as I received. The reason however I wish to re-record it here for everybody is that until this correspondence on Lenin's Notebooks I did not fully appreciate G's philosophic contribution, whereas now I breathe so freely on that fact that I am "for" her even when you are "against". That is to say, at this stage in my own development she is such a brilliant clarifier (what a hell of a word) that even such overly glib letters as the one on L's State and Revolution and the not deep enough Schelling-Bukha; in were a great aid to make me dig down concretely.



September 4, 1949

Dear J:

I shall write this letter along the lines that I had been thinking and working before I received your last letter - and hope that some of the points you raised will be dealt with ~~it~~ within this framework. In particular, I am putting off for a day or two the intensive working on the R.F. of C.A. until I get back my copy of Capital in German.

First, in general, some "extensive" remarks on the abstract and the concrete. I don't think that I have to belabor the point that for Hegel, the presumed "concrete" sense-data or products of imagination are nothing but pictorialized generalizations and abstractions or images of the abstract universals of understanding, e.g. flower. Lenin caught this clearly and with it made his break from the "explanations" of Plekhanov. (See Notes, p.17:

"the procedure of knowledge reflecting on experiences which first perceives determinations ~~and~~ in the phenomenon, next makes them the basis, and finally assumes for their so-called explanation corresponding fundamental materials or forces which are supposed to produce these determinations of the phenomenon." (L 193)

(By the way, the emphases are all in the German edition of Hegel which Lenin used. In the Johnston and Struthers translation no attempt was made to follow Hegel's emphases).

Nevertheless Hegel always began with a universal, e.g. Being as such, Essence as such, the Notion as such, using Universal as the immediate identity of the concept with itself. What distinguishes these universals from the generalizations of abstract understanding is that each of them is a new category, a leap, a beginning, which is the result of a previous process of UPI and therefore in turn the beginning of another process of UPI. (Here again Notes, p.49, of Lenin:

"The forming (of abstract) of notions and the accompanying operations already include the presentation, the conviction, the consciousness of the law of the objective world connections. To single out causality from this is nonsense. To reject the objectivity of notions, the objectivity of the universal in the particular and in the individual is impossible. Consequently Hegel considerably more profoundly than Kant and others investigating the reflection of the movement of the objective world in the movement of notions. As the simple value form, the individual act of exchange of a given commodity with another already includes in undeveloped form all major contradictions of capitalism - so the simplest generalization, the first and simplest forming of notions (judgments, syllogisms, etc). signifies the ever deeper knowledge of the objective world connections. Here it is necessary to seek the real sense, significance and role of Hegelian logic."

These new categories arise at certain moments in history when men have the conviction that they are already in full possession of the truth. (I whisper in an aside that these are moments of revolution and that only revolutions can produce such universals). It is at these periods that an overwhelming experience - "the consciousness of the law of the objective world connections" - is transmuted into new categories of thought, or knots, crystallizations, coagulations (See Nevada document).

What makes thought not Understanding but Reason is that these categories are a result of a movement and themselves move. It is not that the Understanding thinks different categories from those which Reason thinks, but that Understanding makes determinations and maintains them. (Logic, I, p.35,56). It is the process

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the path, Der Weg, Die Bewegung, the transition, the Uebergehen, as Lenin kept insisting, which takes the categories not one-sided, not abstract identity, not abstract but concrete.

*Begin*

Another extensive word about Der Weg, the process. It is not a movement in general, not just a growing, or a developing in general (as if it were merely quantitative expansion from something already existing). (See Logic, I, p.359, Notes, p.22), but a movement through contradiction, through UPI. I want to emphasize this, not only because of Hegel's and Lenin's insistence, but because it has given me a lot of trouble. I wonder if you recall my writing you while in Paris that I felt Oh's insistence on the negation in the proletariat needed more ~~clarification~~ clarification. It has taken me more than a year to be able to state baldly without any hesitation that if you don't see negation in the proletariat itself, then you can't see self-movement in the proletariat but must derive all its movement from external reflection. ~~The self-movement of the proletariat to second negation, unity of opposites, negation of negation, is only possible because of the self-movement to first negation. To hold fast this contradiction in the proletariat and yet not to be dominated by it (the core of Hegel) - it was not until I formulated through my own groping the movement of UPI, op of first and second negation, that I could actually feel comfortable about this negation in the proletariat. You probably have grasped this before, but for myself I can say that for the first time, I can virtually feel the wheel in my head moving from first to second negation and feel that I have substituted reason for faith (See Lenin, Notes, p.9)~~

With that as general beginning I want to try to describe the movement in the Realm of Essence and show how I think the revolt is integral to it.

The Logic in general, as we have seen, is divided into:

- Being - Universal (the broad sweep of Marx in H.T. of G.A.)
- Essence - Particular - first negation
- Notion - Individual - second negation \*

Essence is the internally self-contradictory movement of capitalism, the movement through constant determination and transcendence of determination. This movement in turn has its own concrete UPI.

- Essence as such or Show - U
- Determinations of Reflection - P
- Ground - I

Essence as such means that it is not in the ~~was~~ immediate Being but through mediation, or in general by a process of distinguishing between essential and unessential that truth is reached. Essence in general is this process of mediation.

The determinations of reflection give the particular way in which this process develops, i.e. through Identity, Difference and Contradiction - where Contradiction is the I of the Identity as U, the Difference as P. (You recall the way in which Marx distinguishes between Opposition and Contradiction in the first paragraph of the essay on Private Property and Communism. I shall have to do something on an analysis of the strict logical structure of these early essays)

But it is Ground which has been intriguing me, as Being-for-Self intrigued me in the Realm of Being. Ground, the negation of negation, is the affirmation that it is the self-or subject which in this process of mediation and transcendence of mediation (Logic, p.71) The English translation can't convey the sense of leap that you get with the second paragraph on that page. (By the way, Vera in a French

translation of the Smaller Logic in 1857 (translated Grund as Raison d'être.) To me that Ground, the process of self-identity in negativity, is nothing more or less than the revolt of the proletariat, the leap into universality at the beginning which is going to become true subjectivity and concrete universality with the Notion. It is there from the very beginning and it is only because of that self-movement through negativity that all further determinations in the Realm of Essence develop.

I don't want to say too much here about the fact that Ground is for the Realm of Essence what Being-for-Self was for the Realm of Being. But the analogy has to be made because it is through the analogy that we also see the difference between Ground and Being-for-Self. If Being-for-Self was abstract individuality, abstract subjectivity, Ground is subjectivity, individuality as self-mediating, self-negating identity. The particularity which emerges from Being-for-Self, i.e. One, quantity, etc. is not a process but a point, so to speak. The particularity which will emerge from Ground will be a process of self-mediation and contradiction, i.e. stages of revolt.

The Ground, however, which is negation of negation, or Individual, is at the same time an abstract universal. It must therefore determine itself as particular. What is of interest to us is the way in which this particularity develops.

Existence - Thing  
Matter

Descartes  
Hobbes

Appearance - Law

Hume and then Kant

Essential Relation -

Whole and Part  
Force and Manifestation  
Outer and Inner  
The Absolute

Kant and Fichte  
Schelling

All of these categories which the abstract understanding, stuck in the realm of Being, would regard as substratum, are in reality the categories in which the philosophers sought to capture the essence of Ground or of revolt. Unless I am very much mistaken the movement of Capital, not to mention of political economy, can also be seen in this development of these categories - all hypostatizations (as the philosophers say) of the revolt of the proletariat.

I haven't worked out this in detail. I have been spending the last couple of weeks going over a half-dozen times the movement in the Realm of Essence, to capture if I could, the movement itself. What I have in mind is the emphasis:

1) on Ground, as a movement not only through opposition but through contradiction (Hence not only first but second negation from the ~~subject~~ outset). This sticks in my mind because concretely I know that the greatest illumination for me and for everybody I talked to in France was by stating simply that passage from State and Revolution which quotes Marx's letter to Weydemeyer in 1852.

2) on the fact that the movement from Thing (through Substance and finally to Subject (the Notion) are all stages of the self-determination through negativity of Ground. What we have to avoid, in other words, is thinking of Thing as if it were One (in the Realm of Being)

3) Hence these stages as constituting what Hegel calls a Becoming toward the Notion (EL, II, 157), i.e. a development (in philosophical terms) from presupposition of an underlying Thing or substratum) to an absolute self-mediation or substance

(which substance is an absolute self-mediation but nevertheless not yet subject because 1) it remains a presupposition and 2) because it is actually a neutralisation of opposition (as measure was a neutralization of multiplicity) and 3) because it is an Abgrund for individuality (L.162).

4) Hence it is not only the opposition in capitalist society which develops it but the self-transcending Ground as revolt.

Worthy of note here is the sharp change <sup>that</sup> takes place at appearance, i.e. between Existence and Essential Relation. It is at this point that you had the first big crisis in developing capitalism which manifested itself philosophically in Hume and then in Kant. I believe it is here that the transition from Absolute to Relative ~~Surplus~~ Surplus Value becomes necessary. Certainly it is here that the finitude of capitalism explicitly emerges. From that point on you have the infinity of the progress to overcome this finitude which moves through Kant to Nietzsche until Schelling establishes the Absolute to try to overcome it.

All this is very schematic. I hope to be able to fill it in more when I go into the H.T. of C.A and the concrete analysis of the Absolute Relation to Reciprocity. It has taken me a great deal of trouble to get the movement and I have therefore stated it in the terms which are closest to the philosophical surface.

One more thing about Abstract and Concrete because I don't quite understand the apparent difference between us on the Absolute Method. Marx's most telling blow at Hegel is that he re-instated the existing positivism, i.e. at the end of his work, he still finds it necessary to go outside, to Nature, and therefore to external reflection, for content and the objectification of the Absolute which had been reached by the dialectical development of thought. In doing so, Hegel falls into the same fatal error for which he had attacked understanding, i.e. the retention of the antithesis between Subject and Object, thereby revealing that the historian of philosophy even when he gets to a concrete universal has to go to external reflection for content.

Insofar, however, as we are stage by stage going to use the absolutely revolutionary movement of Hegel, i.e. the dialectic of negativity but showing this not as way or manner, but in the concrete revolutionary development, then when we reach Absolute Method, we will reach the permanent revolution, to the extent that the historian of the mass movement can do so and the historian of philosophy cannot. I don't think there is a real difficulty here, but that the question will be cleared up in the actual execution.

As ever,  
G.

*[Handwritten signature]*

3/14/50

Dear J:

My dear Marx is always on the spot. Yes, he was in the very latest mine strike. It now turns out that among the additions in the 1872 edition was the transposition of a long footnote on miners into the text itself; you will find it on pp. 541-551. As soon as I get down at least some notes on the literally dozens of books I have read on coal in these past two weeks, I will put it away for a while since there seems to be no chance for an article. Or I may decide to write a rough (very rough first) draft anyway and then just let it lie with you and me in that condition until we get ready to rework. In the meantime I will return to work on CAPITAL. (You can keep the minutes as I am being permitted the branch copy; but please do find JB's MS. Will see you get all current material possible.)

Meanwhile some gossip. You noted in the minutes that the initiative for the tri-state discussion was not from P'gh., but from Youngstown where people with higher trade union status of either El or me reside. Frank had to come to town about his leg yesterday and so dropped in and told me that they now have a letter from Youngstown asking "Red" to come down there to speak to the Ohio branches, and P'gh. would be invited too. Naturally he accepted. There is no doubt that both "Red" as a new member and the importance of the strike and relief actions has made Youngstown more than wish it was closer to Morgantown; an actual tie-up that-a-way is being built up.

Have not heard from George, but did see that minutes seem to have set the contents of the FI for a solid year!

Heard from WL whose comments prove pretty useless; in any case here is the one concrete suggestion for what it is (or is not) worth: "Your friend should write up the Melville part separately & circulate it for criticism among specialists; I have grave doubts about his symbolic interpretation. Otherwise, he thought few people "would have the patience to plod through the overlong prospectus" and hence he could give no suggestion either as to publishers or people with money. John is now finishing it and will let you have his comments in a week or so.

Back to coal for a minute; I could deal with it either in the context of a full century, 1849-1949 (the first strike and union occurs in US 1849), or restrict myself to the two WW when all the technological changes occur. The crisis in coal, you know, began in 1924, not 1929. It seems many "friends" of miners as well as the coal barons thought that technology would eliminate the union since it would eliminate that independence of the miner and make him a button pusher even as it did the factory operative who was not organized (1925). The interlude of newness however lasted but a couple of years and the strikes recurred ever more sharp and in fact the initiative comes from the most mechanized mines, as it came in this very latest one. There is no richer mine for Johnsonism than a real mine.

Best to Connie and Nobbie

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See p. 6 in Hutches

Koyne 99

Please return promptly

June 7, 1960

Dear J:

Instead of writing section 3 of the development of Marx's Capital, dealing with the Structure of Capital as it evolved in the '60s, formally, I decided, after all, to revert to letter writing. This will give the chance to be very discursive so that all details, whether or not there is a direct connection of the event with the logical development of the theory, can be mentioned and be present before our eyes when we get to rewriting strictly logically.

Marx best of all expressed the start of the '60s: "In my opinion, the biggest things that are happening in the world today are on the one hand the movement of the slaves in America started by the death of John Brown, and on the other the movement of the serfs in Russia" (1/11/60) By the following year the movement of the slaves had become the Civil War, and Marx, having finished with his reply to Vogt, began, or rather "continued" with the Critique. This first draft of Capital was written between August 1861 and June 1863.

1862-3 are crucial years in the construction of Capital. The first letter in 1862 which deals with the work asks about the various categories of workers: "Can you not write me about all categories of workers (except the warehouse)\* in your factory, for example, noting their mutual proportions?" Marx goes on to explain Engels that this is necessary for his book in order to show that in machine production the division of labor as described by Smith does not hold true. Let us jump immediately to the manner in which he analyzed the division of labor and distinguished from Smith's conception in 1867 since this takes us directly into the factory and will explain his continued insistence in the next year's (1863) letter on machinery, its year and year; accumulation and its reproduction; the worker's precise activity in the factory and in agriculture; Marx's running to take a course in machine shop work and his connection of rent with the organic composition of capital, all of which made him "turn everything around", discard Critique, and give us Capital.

Marx says that because Smith wrongly identified the division of labor in society with that in the factory he missed the following sharp distinctions: (1) while the division of labor in society is between commodity owners; each being independent; the connection between detail laborers in the factory is that only in common can they produce a commodity. (2) while the division of labor in society is brought about by purchase and sales of separate branches of industry, the detail operations in the workshop is brought about by the sale of several workmen to one capitalist; (3) while division of labor in society implies dispersion among many independent producers, division of labor in workshop implies concentration of means of production in the hands of one capitalist; (4) while chance and trick caprice play a part in distribution in society in the workshop "the iron law of proportionality subjects definite numbers of workmen to definite functions; (5) while in society competition is the only recognized authority "Division of labour within the workshop implies the undisputed authority of the

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capitalist over men that are but parts of a mechanism that belongs to him." Anarchy in the market and despotism in the shop mutually condition one another, even as in earlier forms of society the "authoritative plan" of the administrative caste was the rule: "Side by side with the masses thus occupied with one and the same work, we find the 'chief inhabitant', who is judge, police, and tax-gatherer in one; the bookkeeper who keeps accounts of the tillage and registers everything relating thereto another official who prosecutes criminals....; the boundary man...; the overseer who distributes the water from the common tanks for irrigation; the Brahmin....; the schoolmaster....; a smith and a carpenter....; the potter....; the barber, the washerman... the silversmith, here and there the poet who in some communities replaces the silversmith, in others the schoolmaster." (351, IP)

(6) But while division of labor in society is common to all kinds of economic formations, that in the workshop is the particular creation of capitalism alone.

The reason I went into this detail in what we know from Capital is to emphasize the precision, the concreteness of his theory, and the fact that the change in structure began against the background of civil war with the categories of workers and continued to remain with the proletariat in the workshop. Let us return to 1862 and follow him. That letter was written on March 6, 1862. On June 18, 1862 he follows with a letter on Darwin, "Remarkable that Darwin in the animal and plant kingdom reveals anew his English society with its division of labor, competition, opening of new markets, 'inventions' and Malthusian 'struggle for existence'. This is the Hobbsian bellum omnium contra omnes, and this bears a resemblance to Hegel in his Phenomenology in which civil society is described as the 'spiritual kingdom of animals' while with Darwin the kingdom represents civil society." (Rus. ed.) That same letter says that he has finally worked out the rent theory and revealed the falseness of Ricardo's theory. Also he is working on Quesnay's Tableau Economique, that is, is working out his theory of accumulation. Some letter! (Yet it does not appear in English)

Before we get the details of his rent and accumulation theory in August, Lassalle visits him, Marx tries to show him the importance of the civil war in America but Lassalle will not be drawn into it. Marx reports to Engels on July 30, 1862: "As to 'America', it, says he, is completely uninteresting. The Yankees have no 'ideas'. 'Individual freedom' is only a 'negative idea; etc. and such similar old, long rotted speculative rubbish." (Incidentally, the English "C.W. in the U.S." translates "completely uninteresting" as "interesting"!)

As soon as Lassalle leaves, Marx writes (August 2, 1862) Engels his new theory of rent. The letter is of course well known to you but I wish to go over it in detail and I hope you'll bear with me so that I can get in the new light in which I see what appeared familiar before and yet the relationship between the rate of profit and the theory of rent escaped me before.

Watch then with me the method of his explanation of his theory of rent. The first thing he mentions is the division he had introduced into the concept of capital: constant capital and variable capital, and what he emphasizes on the question of constant capital is that its value reappears in the value of

*Handwritten notes:*  
 \*  
 Marx  
 8/2/62  
 (circled)

C/V as 27/30/57

the product.

Next Marx explains the distinction between the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit, the emphasis once again being on constant capital, that is that equal exploitation of workers brings about different rate of profit since the rate of profit is surplus value to total capital. In other words, the organic composition of capital is decisive. Or, to put it another way, it is not competition, an outside factor which brings about the average rate of profit, which is of the essence, but what is of the essence is that which is of the very organism of capital.

We must internalize this immediately or fall into the pitfall of the Marxists of the "past half century" who had not understood Marx's Capital, as Lenin said with such a start in 1915. "Competition," writes Marx "does not therefore make reduce commodities to their value but to their cost price, which is above, below, or equal to their value, according to the organic composition of the respective capitals." Competition that is being a market, not a production phenomenon, cannot effect value. We understand that and therefore the very next paragraph appears so easy, but that's where the pitfall is:

"Ricardo confuses value with cost price. He therefore believes that if absolute rent existed (i.e., a rent independent of the different productivity of different kinds of land) agricultural produce, etc. would always be sold above its value because it would be sold above its cost price (the capital advanced plus the average profit). This would overthrow his fundamental law. So he denies the existence of absolute rent and only assumes differential rent."

The pitfall is/acknowledge: well, of course, price is different from value but since it is also the phenomenal expression of value and in their totality all prices must equal all value, therefore it doesn't really matter. That would mean that you sink into the violent abstractions which have Ricardo a prisoner. It isn't true that it doesn't matter. It isn't even true that it affects only the capitalists. It affects production. Marx goes on to say that what we must keep before our eyes is the organic composition of capital "which does away with a mass of what have seemed hitherto to be contradictions and problems." Then he says if we assumed the "not agricultural" capital to have an organic composition of 80c:20v, and that of the "Agricultural capital" to be 60c:40v, and since s.v. comes only from v, then agricultural product, assuming 100% exploitation, would be 140, and industrial product, 120. But the farmer must sell at value, instead of cost price because "landed property prevents the farmer, the equivalent of the brother capitalists, from adjusting the value of the product to its cost price. Competition between capitals cannot enforce this. The landowner intervenes and extracts the difference between value and cost price." In other words here we have the solutions of problems which will reappear in the 20th century in a new form: that of monopoly, "imperfect competition" and what is known as the "stickiness of prices."

And now hold on to your seat for in dealing with these problems in the realm of agriculture and absolute rent, he



gives the answer to what will become very obscure over again in the 20th century with its distorted view of nationalizations, plans and collectivization. He says for absolute rent to disappear not even nationalization of land is needed (though in another place he says that would be a neat way of solving it but that the bourgeoisie has grown too old to carry out this mission which is really its problem); all that is needed is a technological revolution of such a scope as would make the organic composition of capital in agriculture equal that in industry!

work  
of

"If the proportion in agriculture equals c 80 v 20 (as assumed above) absolute rent disappears. There only remains differential rent..."

Now after solving his problem he says "Here you have--roughly for the thing is rather complicated--the criticism of Ricardo's theory. This much you will admit, that attention to the organic composition of capital\* does away with a mass of what have seemed hitherto to be contradictions and problems...." And here the English translation stops. The date is 1934. Collectivization of agriculture equals "socialism."

Q

But the original letter does not stop there, but continues significantly in a manner similar to his analysis of the concentration of capital in the hands of "a single corporation". Here he says: "Factually landed property can disappear also in the case where the capitalist and the landed proprietor are united in one person etc."

"But here I cannot stop to consider these details."

However, one precious statement he still does make here, after showing differential rent to be nothing more than superprofit existing in any sphere of industry which functions under better the average conditions: "Only in agriculture this gets a base since it has under it such a solid and (relatively) basic foundation, as different degrees of natural fruition of different sorts of earth." Doesn't this sound like the objective basis which certain ideas get (as state capitalism and Stalinism) and which turn it at one and the same time into a fetishism and the counter-revolution?

To have disclosed the secret of rent in the organic composition of capital (Until my new grasp of it I had never been able to explain why the Theory of the Law of the Decline in the Rate of Profit finds its place in Vol. III which deals only with forms of appearance, with the sole exception of the concluding part) meant that the solution of the landed property lay not so much in a second edition of the bourgeois revolution in which the proletariat would participate, but rather in the relations of production in agriculture itself, in which the agricultural proletariat does not merely "participate" but is the whole of it.

\*

In any case we know that from now on, 1962, his old concept of the structure of Capital, as 1) Capital, 2) Landed Property, 3) Wage Labor, is entirely superseded, and landed property is relegated to Vol. III as a concrete form "growing out of the movements of capitalist production as a whole". (It also means, for us ~~participating~~ living after WW II, while the colonial world is in turmoil and China after some decades of civil war still has vitality to challenge the US and the UN, the theoretical answer to the empty abstract permanent revolution of LT, but I cannot stop to work it out here.)

MS

Now let us return to the second point he had made in this first letter explaining his new theory of rent. He had mentioned, first, the organic composition of capital, and, secondly, Ricardo's confusion of value with price. We can see now that it would be entirely inadequate, in fact philistine-like, to satisfy ourselves with the statement that since price is only the phenomenal manifestation of value, and since in their totality all prices equal all value, therefore it is really of no great import. To have made a distinction between value and price where Ricardo saw an identity meant all sorts of new developments out of this split in the category for while form is "only" the manifestation of essence, it is also in opposition to essence, and yet it is also notion, the universal form. And this distinction of value and price will affect not only the structure of Capital "in general", but it will return to taunt Marx even after the publication of Vol. I in 1867 and will be responsible in such great measure for those changes in the French edition. In the week intervening, ~~Marx~~ while Lassalle who had visited him had left, and while awaiting Engels's view of his new discovery, argued with Engels as to his pessimism on the American civil war:

"I do not at all share your view on the American civil war\*. I do not think that all is up\*.... In my view the whole history will soon take another turn\*. The North will finally begin to carry on the war seriously and will thus need revolutionary means, throwing over the leadership of the border slaves statesmen.\* One regiment composed of Negroes would call forth miraculous influence on the nerves of the South." (Incidentally, the English translation of the letters on the C.W. is very poor; also the stars in this passage as throughout this letter signify that Marx used these English expressions originally all of which is missing in English translations also in the letter on Capital, and misses much thereby.)

I keep emphasizing the Civil War in the US because the very same letters which deal with the new discoveries on organic structure, cost and price, categories of workers, reproduction and accumulation deal with the civil war, and all of this we will have to work out more precisely, as some will also deal with the form of bourgeois rule which will get repeated in the Paris Commune, and the 2nd edition of Capital. Marx in 1862, while he argues with Lassalle from a completely opposite angle, and with Engels from a somewhat restricted militaristic angle, Marx writes "It seems to me that you let yourself be swayed a little too much by the military aspect of things.... The manner in which the North wages war is only to be expected from a bourgeois republic.... To be sure, it is possible that it will come to a sort of revolution in the North itself first." And again: "As regards the Yankees, I am assuredly still of my previous opinion that the North will finally prevail; certainly the Civil War may go through all sorts of episodes, even armistices, perhaps, and be long drawn out." All this in September 10, 1862, and when Engels persists in sending the pessimistic news "Of course like other people I see the repulsive side of the form the movement takes among the Yankees; but I find the explanation of it in the nature of 'bourgeois' democracy. The events over there are a world upheaval, nevertheless...." (10.29.62

On August 20, 1862 he asks Engels to come to London since "I have overturned so much of the old that I should like preliminarily discuss with you these points... One of these points which as a practical man you will no doubt know..." is wear and tear of machinery which he connects both with the accumulation fund and the rate of profit. So we now have the following new points: (1) theory of rent (2) the organic composition of capital in (1) and (3) distinction between value and price, and (4) wear and tear of machinery. He now (Jan. 28, 1863) feels he can finish the book. He writes Kugelmann: "The second part is at last finished, apart from making a fair copy in the final polishing for the press. I will be about 30 printed sheets. It is actually a continuation of Part I, but will appear independently under the title Capital, with A Contribution to the Critique of Pol. Eco. only as a subtitle." But he no sooner gets to the rewriting, and approaches the part on machinery when he meets new problems.

1863 begins with his writing to Engels (1/24/63) "Approaching the chapter of my book on Machines I find myself in great difficulty. It has never been clear to me how the self-acting mule changed the process of spinning, or, more correctly---inasmuch as still earlier ~~with the same~~ steam power had been employed in what, then, does the interference of the motive force of the spinner express itself in relation to the force of power?"

Four days later he follows it up with: "The question is as follows: of what was the work of the so-called spinner comprise before the invention of the self-acting mule? I understand the self-acting mule, but I do not understand what preceded him. enlarging  
"I am ~~adding~~ presently the chapter on machines. There are many problems there which I had evaded (obscured) in the first draft... In order to clarify myself I reread in full my notebooks (extracts) on technology and am attending a practical course (experimental only) for workers... I understand the mathematical laws, but the simplest technical reality demanding perception is harder to me than to the biggest blockhead."

While he is ~~xxx~~ taking the practical machine course the Polish insurrection bursts forth and Marx writes Engels (2/13/63) "One thing is clear: in Europe once again there has ~~opened~~ more or less fairly opened the era of revolution."

A few months later Marx has worked out his entire theory of reproduction and on July 6, 1863 sends Engels his Tableau Economique. It is shortly after this, on August 15, 1863, that he writes how he has had "to turn everything round": "...when I look at this compilation now and see how I have had to turn everything round and how I had to make even the historical part out of material of which some was quite unknown, then Itzig really does seem funny to me with "his" economy already in his pocket..."

7/6/63  
revised  
Kugelmann  
x Historical

-7-

Now let us see the "everything" that he has had to turn round. (We will have to go by Engels' preface to Vol. II and Leontiev's "Marx's Capital.")

On August 1861 Marx began his Capital, or rather his continuation of the Critique. He worked on it two years; here ~~was~~ is the structure of the magazine:

(1) pp. 1-220 (Notebooks I-V) and again pp. 1159-1472 (Notebooks XIX-XXIII) are matters which comprised Vol. I, "beginning," writes Engels with the reformation of money into capital and continuing to the end of the volume, and is the first draft of this subject." (Vo. II, p. 8)

Now what happened in the big gap, between pp. 220 to 1159? The big gap is divided into two:

(2 1) pp. 220-972 (Notebooks VI-XV) comprise The Theories of Surplus Value.

In other words, he is following the structure of Critique and just as he followed each category, commodity, money, with excursions on the theory of it (history to him then means history of theory), so he now follows the chapter on capital, that is the transformation of money into capital, not yet the actual process of production, with theories of surplus value.

BUT there is one change, Notebook 5 had already begun, as Leontiev tells us, p. 102, "a detailed examination of the technique of capitalist production, which he continues in Notebooks XIX and XX." In other words he had begun the technique, just reaching the process of production, and broke off to write the theories. The date therefore becomes very important. Leontiev claims that he wrote the whole Theories of Surplus Value in the short period April to August 1862. Let us not forget that that is the period he began to write those letters on rent and categories of workers, and followed them with those on machinery.

(2 1) Now pp. 973-1158 (Notebooks XVI-XVIII) take up questions to be dealt with in Vol. III, capital, rate of profit, etc.

It is at this point that he begins to see things differently Notebook XVIII, that is the last of those with subjects dealing with Vol. III, and before he returns to Notebooks XIX-XXIII or those continuing with subjects covered in Vol. I, he writes a new variant of Capital. It will be substantially what will remain in 1867. It was written at the end of 1862. Here it is:

"First section: Process of production of capital to be divided in the following way: 1. Introduction. Commodity, money. 2. Conversion of money into capital. 3 Absolute surplus value: (a) Process of labor and process of increase of value; (b) Constant and variable capital; (c) Absolute surplus value; (d) struggle for normal working day; (3) Simultaneous working days (quantity of workers employed simultaneously). Sum of surplus and rate of surplus value (magnitude and degree). 4. Relative surplus value: (a) Simple cooperation; (b) Division of labor; (c) Machinery, etc. 5. Combination of absolute and relative surplus

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value. Correlation (proportion) between wage labor and surplus value. Formal and real subjugation of labor to capital. Productive and unproductive labor. 6 Conversion of surplus value back into capital. Primitive accumulation. Colonial theory of waterfield. 7. Result of the process of production. The change in the appearance of the law of appropriation can be given under 6 or 7. 8. Theories of surplus value. 9. Theories of productive labor."

Note well #7 "Result of the process of production. The change in the appearance of the law of appropriation can be given under 6 or 7." This is the famous "Chapter 6" which I am always quoting which was meant to be the original end of Vol. I, and to which I'll return in a moment. It is clear that "6 and 7" are not part of Vol. I, but are the Theories of S.V. or Book IV.

There is no doubt that when he continues with Notebook XIX or with material for Vol. I, that this new concept of the structure of Capital predominates and it is in these circumstances that he writes the famous Ch. 6. That will have to be translated by us in full as an appendix to our book. Here I wish only to recapitulate 2 points: (1) its structure: It is divided in 3 parts thus: (1) Capitalist production is the production of surplus value. (2) It is, finally, the production and reproduction of the whole relationship thanks to which this direct process of production is characterized as specifically capitalist. (3) Commodities as products of capital, of capitalist production." And (2) The labor process as the process of alienation, which can be seen from "the very simple elementary form of value" or the necessity to augment it or "process of augmentation of value" which is dominant, and yet how ~~important~~ decisive in it is the negative element of it: "This is the process of alienation of his own labor. The worker here from the very beginning stands higher than the capitalist to the extent that the latter goes with his roots into this process of alienation & finds in it absolute satisfaction while the worker as its victim from the very beginning rises against it and perceives it ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~..." It is expressed here every bit as actively as he did in the early 1843 MS, with the added value that it is not abstract but very concrete. Moreover, here too is something we have (not yet analyzed) and that is that the commodity is not a product of the market but "in the process of production there arises the commodity". The direct connection here is that the two-fold character of labor makes the product a commodity, and the market only expresses that.

Now with this new conception he puts the MS 1861-3 away and begins rewriting all over again. "Between 1863 and 1867," writes Engels in the Preface to Vol. III, p. 11, "Marx not only completed the first draft of the two last volumes of Capital and made the first volume ready for the printer, but had also mastered the enormous work connected with the foundation and expansion of the International Workingmen's Association."

Just as the first draft was written while the Civil War in America and the insurrection in Poland are in full swing, the second draft of Capital is written at the same time as the founding of the First International.

MS 1861-3  
MS 1863  
MS 1867  
MS 1868  
MS 1869  
MS 1870  
MS 1871  
MS 1872  
MS 1873  
MS 1874  
MS 1875  
MS 1876  
MS 1877  
MS 1878  
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MS 1897  
MS 1898  
MS 1899  
MS 1900

We know Marx in the Preface to Capital:

"As in the 18th c. the Am. war of independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle-class, so in the 19th century, the American c.w. sounded it for the European working class." And while the civil war was still in progress we know that it is the English working class which prevents the English bourgeoisie from intervening on the side of the South, and that it is the agitation both of the English proletariat, and the French, and the emigres in London reacting to the civil war which make the revival of the working class movement take the leap to international organization. Marx is right there and in his inaugural address to the First he summarizes the period from the defeat of the 1848 revolutions to the present (1864). For us tracing the different structures of Capital what is important are the two points he mentions as showing that it wasn't only a period of defeats, but also of gains: (1) The movement of the workers that brought about the enactment of the Ten Hours Bill, and (2) the fact that "however excellent in principle and however useful in practice, cooperative labor, if kept within the narrow oricle of the casual efforts of private workmen, will never be able to arrest the growth in geometrical progression of monopoly, to free the masses, nor even to perceptibly lighten the burden of their misery!"

In 1865 he "works like a horse" (Letter, 5/20/65) but does not finish rewriting, and he forbids the publication of "Value, Price and Profit" or his debate with Weston so long as Capital itself is not yet ready. The only other letter that year that deals with Capital (11/20/65) he asks Engels about the weekly wages of spinners, and in the same letter comments: "For the full exposure of the English hypocrisy there lacked only after the American war - Irish history and the Jamaica butcheries!" The revolt of the West Indies Negroes becomes part of the history surrounding and sending out "impulses" to Marx rewriting Capital among the lines of his new structure.

But the decisive thing that happens during this period is the study of the Blue Books and the one new element comes from the working out of the Working Day. On February 10, 1866 he writes Engels that he is so ill that he could not work on the strictly theoretic work. "For this my brain functions extremely weakly." But historically I developed a part about the "working day", which had not gone into my first plan. That "sickness" is some leap, for it ends once and for all the conception of history of pol. eco. as history of theory, and makes the only history in Capital the history of production relations. 3 days later he complains that "Although the MS is ready, but it has such a gigantic scope in its present form that no one besides me, not even you, could publish it." (This letter to Engels is in English; the one on the Working Day is not.)

By the end of that year, 10/13/66, we have the full structure of all volumes: "The whole work falls into the following parts:

- Book I) Process of production of capital.
- Book II) Process of Circulation of capital. whole
- Book III) Forms and aspects of the process as a
- Book IV to the History of theory.

In the rest of that letter to Kugelmann he deals with his new analysis of commodity, with which I dealt in the previous section.

What remains now is not any change in the basic structure of Capital, but the "additions" which he considered of such "scientific value" that he wanted readers to study them in the French edition, even if they had read the original first German edition. We have spoken of them a lot, but separately, as we needed them, that is either of concentration and stratification, or forms of value, but now let us take them as a whole. Before that one word should be said and said firmly as to the parts of even the first volume of Capital which have not yet been published. These are:

1) Chapter 6, or original ending of Capital, Vol. I, which he had changed both for logical and scientific reasons, as well as the fact that he felt himself "on the verge of the grave" (Letter of 4/30/67 to Meyer) and must have been impelled to include all theory into the first volume for fear he'd never live to finish the other.

2) A Chapter on the Form of Value which contains the manner in which he rewrote the section between the first and second editions; we have the first version and the final version, but we do not have his notebook on it, which, as Lenin puts it "the central content of which is the investigation of the forms of value and represents a rough draft of the variant of the reworking of the text of the first edition while preparing the second edition." (Arkhiv Marks-Engelsa (II, VII), 1933.)

3) Notebooks VI-XVI of the Theories of S.V. which Kautsky had evidently left out entirely.

Now these god-damned Stalinists keep talking of these works, and when they liquidated Riazanov they accused him of "hiding" them, but they themselves fail to publish all these years! They published a single one, the Ch. 6, and that only in German and Russian, and said Riazanov should not have commented so much, etc. and gotten busy publishing more of the archives, but since then they have done nothing except revising of course.

Without these basic works, and only working by deducing from seeing first and last version, without seeing the reworking itself, here then is what happened between 1867 and 1873. (And in the background and later very much in the forefront we remember that the Paris Commune was born, and just as in the Civil War in France he keeps repeating that that is the political form at last discovered to work out the economic emancipation of the proletariat so in the Congresses of the First, he emphasizes: (1) that what he writes is what the workers themselves "with their right instinct in Baltimore worked out, and (2) "One day the working class must hold political power in its hands in order to establish a new organization of labour." (Speech to Hague Congress).)

I'm getting very tired and since I'm writing all this without so much as a rough draft or notes before me this must be a very disorganized letter indeed. In any case I'll hurry to the conclusion, hoping this hurried part to take up again soon

First to be considered since even our present English edition does not have the final form of Capital is the change in the structure itself. It concerns:

(1) Part I does not have 4 sections in the final edition but only 3 sections, the "Fetters of Commodities" not constituting a separate section (but part of Section 3).

(2) Part III II, The Transformation of Money into Capital was finally considered by Marx as one chapter, with 3 subheads, instead of 3 chs.

(3) Part VIII, The Primitive Acc. of Capital was converted by him, as integral part of Part VII, all of it, except the last ch., constituting 1 ch., the last ch. the end or final ch.

It should be noted that I am not merely considering the French or 1875 edition but the 1883 edition on which Marx was working while he died. Even the "One Kerr" edition which is the best English edition since then, although it retains the miserable translation, it lists the important changes does not mention all of them. Those it does mention are: (I'm dealing only with major points, not stylistic or minor points)

(1) the large section added by Marx on the capitalist mode of appropriation, pp. 640-4, which includes: "So long as the laws of ex. are maintained in every act of ex.—taken by itself—the mode of appropriation can be completely revolutionized without in any way affecting the property rights which corresponding to commodity production."

(2) the section in acc., pp. 697-8 that includes the famous "In a given society the limit would not be reached until the moment when the entire social capital was united in the hands of either of a single capitalist or a single capitalist company." And the equally important addition part in it is that whether the centralization "is accomplished by the violent method of annexation" or "by the smoother method of joint-stock company formation—the economic effect remains the same."

We are acquainted with Engels's footnote as to American trusts but not the Karl Kautsky 1914 (before WWI broke out there was a "popular edition" of Capital by EK) notation to the same parage of centralization as a single capital. The KK footnote reads:

Since that time the economy of cartels has spread throughout Europe, and in America the form of trusts has become factually the form of big capital in general."

(3) Since my interest in coal, I have been attracted also to one of the minor additions, dealing with the latest discovery (1874) or revolution in the process of puddling in the coal and iron industry which has "caused a great extension in the instruments of labor and in the amount of material which could be worked with a given amount of labour... This is the history of all the inventions and discoveries which arise as a result of accumulation. This addition does not appear in Kerr edition, but does in D.T.



Finally we turn to the Afterword to the second edition (Why, pray, is that omitted from the English?), written by Marx on January 24, 1873, and including all of the material of the ~~2nd~~ ~~preface~~, ~~as well as~~ the following:

"I must first of all point out to the readers of the first edition the changes introduced into the second edition. The more precise subdivisions of the book are visible immediately. The additional footnotes are everywhere noted as additions to the second edition. As regards the text itself, the most important are comprised in the following:

Ch. I, 1 - the analysis of value from the analysis of equalization, which every ex. v. is expressed, ~~and done~~ is done with great scientific accuracy, and also it is directly shown in the first edition the simple designated connection between the substance of value and the ~~negatives~~ determination of the magnitude by the socially necessary labor time. Ch. I, 3, "Form of Value", is entirely worked over, which was necessary as a consequence of its ~~first~~ exposition in the first edition. ~~The last part of the first chapter "Commodity Fetishism" etc. is changed to a significant degree. Ch. III, 1 ("Measure of value") has been carefully looked over, since it was done carelessly in the first edition, ~~and~~ and readers were referred to the exposition of the given topic in the "Critique, Berlin, 1859). Significantly reworked was Ch. VII, part 2."~~

*Refuted*

(I do not have the 2nd Rus. ed. at hand, but I believe that Ch. VII really means Part VII, section 2. It must mean that since that is in the part in Accumulation and we know that most of the changes introduced in 1883 too were in that part).

Now that I have all the "data" out, I should find it easy to return to the logic of form. For now that will do. Good night.

*R*

*The starred phrases were written  
- English by Marx himself -*

1724  
1/24/50

Dear J:

Let me get some notes regarding the structural development of CAPITAL off as an interlude between the other phases of our work. In a very large sense, of course, Marx's labors on his chief work can be said to have begun when his very first impulse to understand "the material interests" of his day took shape in his Economic-Philosophic MS of 1844-45. At the same time CAPITAL is the achievement of a decade of study: (1) the 1840s which closed with the monumental Communist Manifesto saw the first systematic presentation of the economic theories in his Poverty of Philosophy, 1847, and the first precise presentation of the domination of dead over living labor in his Wage Labor and Capital. ~~was~~ This period also included something we have never seen: a work to be called "Critique of Politics and Pol. Eco." which Engels urged him as far back as 1/20/45 "Try the sooner to finish your book on political economy, even if in many respects it does not satisfy you." And which Marx, in 8/1/46, explained that he had not yet reworked because "it seemed to me extremely important to lay the premise for my positive exposition of the subject by a polemical work." (Rus. ed.; the polemical work" refers to his and Engels' German Ideology. (2) The 1850's concluded with the Critique of Political Economy. (3) In the 1860s he wrote many variants of CAPITAL, beginning with "Ch. 3" of the Critique, ~~and~~ writing all of the 4 books of Capital in draft form, and the finished VOL. I. (4) The 1870s saw the 2nd (French) edition of Capital, the completion of Vol. II.

Whereas it is not possible to trace the difference between his Critique of Politics and Political Economy of 1845 and the Critique of Political Economy, 1859, it is very easy, at least structurally, to trace development between 1859-73. It begins in Jan. 14, 1859, with his letter to Engels in which he announces "I have ~~now~~ thrown over the whole doctrine of profit as it has existed up to now. In the method of treatment that by mere accident I have again glanced through Hegel's Logic has been of great service to me..." He then conceives the bourgeois economy to be presented ~~thus~~ in 6 books: I. Capital; II Landed Property; III Wage Labour; IV State; V. International Trade; VI. World Market. That first plan shows, furthermore, that ~~what~~ I Capital is quite different from Capital, I, as we will know it. He states that it will contain 4 sections: A. Capital in General, B. Competition, C. Credit and D. Share Capital. THAT IS HE CONCEIVES OF WHAT WILL GO INTO VOL III WHICH WILL DEAL WITH "FORMS OF APPEARANCE" as part of Book. I.

The conception of the 6 books ~~to be published~~ remains until the publication of the Critique. However, there is no reference to the 4 sections of the 1st book. Instead, just the first section Capital in general is expanded into 3 chapters: 1. Commodities, 2. Money, 3. Capital in general, of which but the first two chapters are published as THE CRITIQUE. It is important to note that each of these chapters has appended notes on the theories of the subjects dealt with, thus: A. Notes on the History of the Theory of Value, and under Ch. II: B. Theories of the Unit of Measure of Money, and C Theories of the Medium of Circulation and of Money. The importance is that when he

1724

~~begins, immediately after publication of the Critique, to work on "Chapter 3" which will lengthen out to the 4 books of CAPITAL, he will follow that same structure. The distinction between that structure and the final structure of CAPITAL is not only ~~made~~ that history of ~~theory~~ every major theory will not interfere with the dialectical development of the ~~theory~~ theory~~

begins, immediately after publication of the Critique, to work on "Chapter 3" (which will in actuality lengthen out to the range of the 4 books of Capital) he will follow the same structure. BUT THIS STRUCTURE WILL BE CHANGED, not merely in order to put ~~all~~ all theories "at the end" in a separate book, but for the more important ~~reason~~ and actual reason that nothing will interfere either with the dialectical development of Marx's own theory nor with the actual development of capitalist production for whatever history will be included ~~within~~ within the body of the work itself, will be not the history of theory but the history of production relations arising out of technological development and resulting in the struggle of the workers for the shortening of the working day.

*Lange*  
*Engels*  
*Marx*

The new method which allowed free movement of the material itself Marx was to describe in 1870 (6/27) "Herr Lange wonders that Engels, I etc. take the dead dog of Hegel seriously when Buchner, Lange, Dr. Duhring, Fechner, etc. are agreed that they --poor dear have buried him long ago. Lange is naive enough to say that I 'move with rare freedom' in empirical matter. He hasn't the least idea that this 'free movement in matter' is nothing but a paraphrase for the method of dealing with matter --that is the dialectic method."

*19*

But before we can ~~fully~~ fully comprehend the meaning of this, let us go back and follow through with the first plan. The continuation of the Critique, in Manuscript Form, as he left it after working on it from August 1861 to June 1863, consisted of 1472 pp, divided as follows:

- (1) pp. 1-220 and pp. 1159-1472 begins with the transformation of money into capital and continues through with the material more or less as we have it in Vol. I of CAPITAL.
- (2) pp. 220-972 contain The Theories of Surplus Value or what became Book IV of CAPITAL.
- (3) pp. 973-1158 deals with capital and profit, rate of profit, merchant's capital and money capital or topics dealt with in Vol. III of Capital.

\* The first thing that strikes is that material that was to go into Volume II is not yet present. But by far the more important element is that the break from pp. 220-1159, when he was to resume material for Vol. I, is taken up, first with other theories. That is to say as soon as he finished the part of the transformation of money into capital and before he began to describe the actual process of production, he began to argue, so to speak, with all other economists; that is he "appended" as "Notes" to his theory of capital, or

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rather as it was still in embryo and limited to the new category, labor power, which had already been bought by the capitalist but not yet put to use, all the theories of surplus value. Furthermore, he not only had not let his own material develop before polemically fighting all others, but immediately after that, pp. 973-1158, and before dealing with the production of surplus value, he analyzed a single fragment of it, profit. That is to say, although he had already overthrown previous theories of profit, he himself was analyzing that particular aspect before dealing with the general form; or he counterposed his fixed determinate to other fixed determinates before dealing with the universal, surplus value, as yet undifferentiated.

It is this precisely against which he will argue later. It is the exact opposite of this which he will single out as one of the two major points of Volume I, the analysis of "surplus value irrespective of its form, profit, interest, and rent." But in 1862 when he first definitely broke with Ricardo's theory of rent, he considered writing a "chapter" as a "supplement" to Volume I. (8/2/62) But that year he had moved from considering the draft he was working on as the "Critique"; he gave it a new "title", Capital. But to him (in letter to Kugelmann 12/28/62) it was still "the second part" of the Critique, "but although a continuation of Part I of the Critique it will appear independently under the title Capital, with a Contribution to the Critique of Pol. Eco. only as a subtitle". He makes the further important decision not to deal with profit. This volume contains what the English call the principles of political economy. It is the quintessence (together with the first part) and the development of the rest (with the exception perhaps of the relations of different state forms to different economic structures of society) could be easily accomplished by others on the basis thus provided.

His continued reworking led him to amplify the section on machinery. He writes to Engels, 1/8/63. "There are some curious questions here which I ignored in my first treatment. In order to get clear about it I have read through all my notebooks (extracts) on technology again and am also attending a practical course (experimental only) for workers..."

That same year, 7/6/1863, he works out the whole theory of reproduction. It is first now that the major ideas of all 4 books (including the crucial Volume II) are ready at hand, and then there begins the "turning everything around". On 8/15/63 he writes Engels: "In the final working out the things are taking on, as it seems to me a bearably popular form, except for some unavoidable M-C and C-M. On the other hand, although I write the whole day the thing does not get on in the way my own impatience, after this long trial of patience, desires. Anyhow, it will be 100 per cent easier to understand than No. I. For the rest, when

I look at this compilation now and see how I have had to turn everything around and how I had to make even the historical part out of material of which some was quite unknown, then Itzig really does seem funny to me, with 'his' economy already in his pocket." ("in ~~his~~ his pocket" is wrongly translated in the Engl. ed. as "in the making".)

We have then, in 1858, a plan for 6 books: Capital, Landed Property, Wage Labor, State, Foreign Trade, World Market. Book I, Capital, is divided into 4 sections: Capital in general, Competition, Credit, and Share Capital. Section I, Capital in general, gets divided again into: Commodities, Money, and Capital in General, the first 2 of which comprise the CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY as published in 1859. The chapters each are supplemented by "Notes" on the history of the bourgeois theories on the topics, comprising 1 1/2 centuries of political economy. Immediately after publication, he continues with "Ch. 3, or Capital in General" and that grows into what will later become Volumes III and Book IV of CAPITAL, but which for the present follow the same structure, the transformation of money into capital, being followed by the Theories of Surplus Value, and Marx's Theory of Profit follows that before he proceeds to analyze the process of production itself. Somewhere in this two year period, mid-1861-mid-1863, in 1862, he begins to conceive of it as a separate book, called CAPITAL, with Critique only as a subtitle. In that year he fully breaks with Ricardo's theory of rent and develops his own. His plan also evidently (according to Leontiev) includes the famous Ch. 6 as end of Vol. I. As he moves into 1863 he first (January) amplifies the section on the development of machinery, works out the theory of capitalist reproduction (July) and finally (August 15) finds he has "to turn everything around". It is here he discards his first plan.

*Handwritten notes:*  
mid-1861-mid-1863  
Ch. 6 as end of Vol. I  
1863  
Saw book  
1866  
must be  
Advent

In 1863-65 he writes first draft of all volumes of Capital, using 1861-3 draft only as basis. By May 1865 he thinks he thinks he can have it finished in "5 weeks". But in July 31, 1865, he writes Engels "the unvarnished truth. There still remain 3 chapters in order to finish the theoretical part (the first 3 books). Then there is yet needed to write the 4th book, historic-literary...." In January 16, 1866 he tells Kugelmann he is "working twelve hours a day at writing out the fair copy. I think I shall bring the manuscript of the first volume to Hamburg in March". But it is October 13, 1866 when we first see the NEW PLAN: "The whole work is divided as follows:  
Book I. The production Process of Capital  
Book II. The Circulation Process of "  
Book III. Form of the Process as a Whole  
Book IV. Contribution to the History of Economic Theory

*Handwritten notes:*  
1863  
1865  
1866  
Works all 3  
1866  
Contribution to the History of Economic Theory

The first volume contains the first two books. The third book will, I think, fill the second volume, and the fourth book the third."

"I considered it necessary to begin in the first book ab ovo."

The completely new plan is so different from the first that only Marx's own sharpness can fully make us realize its ~~immense~~ depth. For he had reduced the nearly 900 pages of VOL. I of CAPITAL as we know it to two: "The best points in my book are: (1) the double character of labour, according to whether it is expressed in use value or exchange value (all understanding of the facts depends upon this, it is emphasized immediately in the first chapter); (2) the treatment of surplus value independently of its particular forms as profit, interest, ground, rent, etc. This will come out especially in the second volume. The treatment of the particular forms by classical economy, which always mixes them up with the general form, is a regular hash." (8/24/87) The first point he more or less had always from the start of his labors in the 1840s. The second point is ~~the~~ what the dialectic of the material itself disclosed in 1865 which, once for all, buried the conception of Capital, Landed Property, Wage Labour and was compressed to its essentials: Capital and its opposite, wage labor, was to be considered in its properly subordinate place under capitalism; while landed property, as rent, was entirely discarded to be considered first as "particular form" of surplus value, or rather of the transformation of surplus value into rent, in Vol. III where forms of appearance are considered. The final form of Capital was born thus.

*See I*

The revolution in the plan of Capital was not as a result of the absolute conclusion--the antagonism between labor and capital which was the very basis of every word he ever wrote from 1843 on--but that the conclusion arose not out of history alone but of the very dialectical development of the production of value and which, both in its surplus value and wage forms, ~~itself~~ finds embodiment in the social product. Value is only the expenditure of labor power and if ~~the~~ the total product contains but 2 elements: surplus value and wages then the whole opposition is between them, and the subordinate opposition between capital and landed property fades before that antagonism which creates and is created by the relationship between dead and living labor in the process of production. Back in 1857 Marx in his Introduction to Critique notes, among other things, "The dialectics of the conceptions productive force (means of production) and relation of production, dialectics whose limits are to be determined and which does not do away with the concrete difference." ~~It was 1863 before the technology of the machine and the "categories of workers" at which he kept constantly asking Engels to describe evolved a notion of capitalist production corresponding to its actual development.~~

*Before 1863*

That structure remained the final one, in general. But in Vol. I itself, particular in Chapter I and the Form of Value (which Marx wrote ~~itself~~ was decisive for the whole book) - 6/22/87, and which, as his Afterward to Vol. I, 1/24/73, tells us he "completely reworked" And the Chapter on Accumulation of Capital we know how he reworked for the French Edition. That analysis, however, has to be made separately from the structural change in CAPITAL as a whole.

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-6-

Please forgive the terribly discursive way in which this letter is written. Moreover, I've told nothing we did not know. What I have done is spoken out loud so that all the various changes are tabulated; the analysis will come afterward. Now that it is down I will probably limit myself to the structure 1868 and 1865, or perhaps best to call it 1868 since that is when we first get it down pat, and develop all the differences in those. I may, however, later also feel that it would be necessary to trace Marx's development, on the "economic" front, 1843-83. Do you think?

Since it will not be long before I'll be in NY again (Feb. 10) I may leave this as well as the continuation of the other matter I'm working on (From Ricardo to Marx) until we see each other and discuss further.

NB ~~How are you getting on with yours on American Civilization?~~ Just received William's on Du Bois. Will try to read it this week end and send him some comments, but I may not be able to do it till next week since this week-end is busy for Pittsburgh. We're all excusing to the coal regions with the special coal edition.

Best to Connie and Nob; John asks to be remembered.

Yours,  


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1/30/50

Dear J:

The "interlude" I spoke of in my last letter is becoming an independent stage and, moreover, has me so enthusiastic that I believe I'll run into NY a day or so ahead of Fri. and keep away even from you. The dialectics of Marx's plans for CAPITAL must be worked out in great detail and I cannot do it here as I do not have Marx's Collected works to the extent that they were published in Russian. Here are just a few of the elements that have me excited.

One. Those 4 periods of Marx's work on Capital. He puts his first plan of the Critique in the middle '40s away because he wishes to topromise it with a critique of German philosophy and science as it exists; he is working out his dialectics materialistically and doing away with the German socialists and utopians all at once.

The second stage of his economic studies results in the Critique as we know it (that too had tremendous changes in it as originally he was to have started with the abstraction Value, but as we know the concrete Commodity, came to stay); it does away with Proudhonism or people who think they wish to reorganize exchange, have commodities, but not money, do not see the necessity of the latter arising from the contradictions of the former; he has ended Ricardian Socialism.

The remarkable third and central and pivotal stage occurs when, on the one hand, he is developing the section on machinery and taking "a little practical course for workers" on the other hand is seeing the Civil War and never favors for a second that the North, with its industrial predominance will win, and organizes 1st Int. (How little we have paid attention to his "phrase" As in the 18th c... so in the 19th century the American civil war sounded it for the European working-class" but, Jimmie, when that gets worked in with his actual elaboration of the plan for Marx, I hope to be able to make a connection that will not sever again. Where in 1859 Marx of the Critique argues with Proudhon and has even to justify himself, so to speak, in the context of all other theories, the Marx of 1867 of Capital is the Marx of the First International who not merely proclaims to the whole world the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation, but in proclaiming it he has so developed the accumulation of capital: accumulation of misery that we see the precise "mechanism" of the how of the overthrow of capitalist conditions: the workers revolt; the "mechanism" then is the subject. It is all quite terrific, the decade 1850 when he first overthrew the whole doctrine of profit and directly adapted the Logic to 1867 (when he changed the whole structure because the historic development of the proletarian struggles disclosed the true essence and notion of capitalist accumulation and relegated landed property to a footnote about the transformation of surplus value into one of its fragments).

So, with your permission I shall get quietly into NY next Tues. or Wed. and if you can would love to see you Thurs. eve. should there be any things to be taken up for the pow wow on Fri.

1730



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January 15, 1951

Dear J;

Perhaps I better return to letter writing both in order to explain the "milieu" in which I am developing the question of form and plan, and thus answer your question about "quotations" and also because much of what I say will still have a tentative (very!) character and some of the rough edges taken off even before put into first rough draft. (The enclosed continuation is just some after thoughts or a sort of P.S. to the manuscript sent last week.)

Volume III of Capital appeared in an entirely new light the minute I found the quotation (on p. 58) which directly related the transformation of profit into rate of profit with the perversity of subject and object in the process of production; for years I have been trying to get the full significance of Marx's speaking of form in Volume III as transformations where in Vol. I form was more or less "pure" form of appearance, with the sole exception of fetishism of commodity which of course was the key to it all but which escaped us until fairly recently; we shook off the awe at law of value and returned to Hegel's definition of law as the "reduction of negativity to self-identity" (free-as-remembered-translation) which I now connected with Marx's reduction of all concrete labors to one abstract mass, so that Hegel's world of appearance which he considered above law since it was a totality, containing both law and "self-moving Form", and Marx's world of appearance (Vol III) was not any longer just "showing" the capitalists, he do it work with their superficial categories too only to return the faster to the essence of Vol. I. But on the contrary now Vol III, which showed that the law of value which figured for so much in Vol. I and still remained dominant, was nevertheless more than appearance, for now we see that the dominance of the law of value itself caught in the "self-moving form."

Capitalistically this self-moving form was the transformations of form so constantly due to the technological revolutions and changing concept of socially-necessary labor time, and due to the fact that his glorious exploitation of labor and constant increase in the rate of exploitation due to the machine nevertheless ended in a declining rate of profit that the form dominated even his private property so that they became no more than the trustees of bourgeois society. Socialistically, that is on the workers side, this development of form meant the individual became a social individual with a new mass-power-form in cooperative labor so that his plan, as contrasted to the despotic plan of the capitalism meant the accomplishment of a task "with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most adequate to their human nature and most worthy of it." (p. 954); and finally 3) our present task assumed concreteness in suddenly seeing that Stalinist planning has a long list of ancestors from Proudhon through Bukharin and Trotsky and that Marx anticipated all this when he hit at Proudhon for his wishing to bring order (and in a capitalist world it could be only the capitalistic order of the factory) into the market by "organizing exchange" and then brought Proudhon back for a knockout blow in Vol. II when he wrote: "we must not follow the manner copied by Proudhon from bour-

1731

geois economy, which looks upon this matter as though a society with a capitalist mode of production would lose its specific historical and economic characteristics by being taken as a unit. Not at all. We have, in that case, to deal with the aggregate capitalist. "(p. 503)

Now it wasn't only "Proudhon who applied from bourgeois economy" the question of considering social capital as the absolute opposite of individual capital and hence, etc.etc. Marx himself in his contrasting of individual and social in labor, made the social aspect the division between worker and capitalist; social individual was the worker in cooperative labor while the individual exchange was the capitalist. Even as late as 2nd edition of Capital he stresses the individuality of exchange and saying that if we viewed them as classes instead "we should be judging by standards entirely foreign to commodity production" (p.816). That was 1872. The Vol.II was 1878. But it wasn't the dates that made the difference so much in this case: it was the treatment of the individual capitalist in Vol. I, then dealing with individual only as an "aliquot" part of social capital in Vol. II, then going through the transformations of form in Vol. III and is confronted with "capitalist communism", that he returns to Volume II and now the contrast is not individual to social but social to socialized. It is this type of concept against which poor Luxemburg, filled with the planlessness before her, hit out. Lenin could destroy her when he dealt with it as "production creates its own market," but he left aside the question of plan until 1917 Soviets; it is only then that he saw the capitalists too could plan, but etc., etc.

Here is the paradoxical thing about the Marxists at the turn of the century. Volume I meant nothing to them. I mean nothing concrete. All they did was "explain" it; no-one wrote anything but "popularizations" and Lenin did not even do that because he was satisfied with Bogdanov. Then Vol. II is published and everybody is in an uproar. Why? Read the innumerable volumes, articles, pamphlets, etc. on Vol. I: it had been reduced to the explanation that capitalism is planlessness, socialism is plan. And here they are suddenly confronted with planned production, and such "perfect" planning that all the minor sorts of crises are avoided. Finally, Lenin rises to his full stature; he doesn't bother with "explanations"; he immediately applies it and comes up with "Development of Capitalism in Russia" which both destroys underconsumptionism, market theorists, and deals with reality for it was the concrete form the question was posed in Russia (could she develop without a "market"?) that made him "read" Vol. II right and feel the necessity to write.

However, the concrete form in which the question is posed in Russia has the disadvantage of not being the question as posed in the world (imperialism) and therefore that question was not dealt with until 1916 and in actuality plan did not get back to be debated till 1917-21. But even then Vol. III did not assume concreteness till 1929. I feel that just at this time both Vols. III and Vol. I will for the first begin to reveal all that is in them.

Now then the framework in which I am working, with the 1732

-3-

milieu of Stalinism violently demanding or calling to battle ideologically with their attempt to forget Ch. I of Vol. I. The main thing in Vol. I was therefore Ch. I and the main quotations were the contrast between p.44 where social relations appear in the fantastic form because that is what "they really are" vs. p. 51, where the mysticism could not be stripped off until "freely associated men" regulated their production "with a settled plan."

The next stage in that was to send us to "plan" and the minute we suddenly discovered despotic plan of capitalists (p.322) in cooperation, we saw the cooperation as the opposite to the capitalist's plan; it was clear that this was the new form, social man planning vs. planning of capitalist. Now I will admit that this is still the individual factory on the part of the capitalist, but the worker is already social and revolts en masse.

Now then we have the following three stages of plan by now: (1) Plan as authority of capitalist -- bringing many workers together to labor; (2) Plan as despotism -- the workers at labor must obey the movements of machine; (3) Plan as administrative caste -- the division of labor reaches its concrete capitalistic form with him being a cog in the machine and the capitalist being "transformed" into an administrative caste. All the future analysis in machine production will be to destroy the division of labor and because it is placed in this fundamental, basic form, the outer forms of plan seem to take a back seat, except that "the cooperative form of the labor process" is never lost sight of and reappears full blast in Historical Tendency.

Here, however, there is one tentative change. Remember how we tried to make socialization of labor appear as the "natural" result so to speak of capitalism and hence as if it were still capitalistic. I do not think so now. It appears to me now (1) that the division between social and socialized is what Marx was aiming at; plan and social was true also of capitalism, but mass power of cooperative labor and socialized production was socialism. Moreover, the centralization of the means of production is a sort of minimum to be retained. He says "Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor" become incompatible with "capitalist integument"; the integument, I would say now, is the value form from which they must break out and the cooperative form is already there to replace it.

(2) Monopoly is the fetter; monopoly is not the centralization, it is the one killing the many. Private property, he stresses, excludes both concentration of m.p. and cooperative labor; the capitalist as based on labor of others can overcome that limitation of private property as self-earned; but then arises the monopoly which is private property in another form and fetters it. Nobody is now going to pass out individual rails to individual owners; concentration of means of production remains and "acquired power" along with cooperative labor and now "all" we need to do is break out of the value form; and socialized man could produce in a manner "most adequate to their human nature and most worthy of it."

1733

Let me put it another way. Presently the Fourth (Murray impersonates it just now) says centralization in the hands of a single capitalist does not mean what Johnsonites say, state, but highest monopoly, etc. They have a slight point; the point is they are still all lost in concentration of means of production and centralization of capital as something apart, without getting hold of the more basic contradiction in cooperative production. Marx saw them too way ahead of time and he says in Civil War in France "If cooperative production is not to remain a sham and a snare; if it is to supersede the capitalist system; if united cooperative societies are to regulate national production upon a common plan, thus taking it under their own control, and putting an end to the constant anarchy and periodical ~~convulsions~~ convulsions..."

What is it showing thereby, the Fourth I mean? That is remains a "prisoner of the world of illusion" of state and plan by not bringing in the self-activity of self-mobilization of the masses, even as the classicists remained the prisoner of their economism. That too I did not see clearly until in re-reading a very famous passage of Vol. III which I must have quoted dozens of times previously but only now I saw why Marx insisted on crediting them with a theory of s.v. they had not discovered. It is on p. 967; form that go to pp. 1021-22 : "finally, if we include in number one, necessary labor, and number two, surplus labor, that quantity of labor which must always be performed by ablebodied ... , if we deprive both wage and surplus value, both necessary and surplus labor, of their specifically capitalist character, then we have not these forms but merely their foundations, which are common to all social modes of production." And then to p. 1027 about the social character of production being the authority and the hierarchy, then we will find that it is not centralization of capital "as such" but specifically as capitalist authority and administrative hierarchy.

I have a feeling I am not making myself clear since it seems as if that is exactly what we have been doing with our analysis of state capitalism and of the bureaucracy as the bodyguards of capital. But the point is it still seems to come out of an economic analysis, rather than out of a dialectic development. For example, the only time we approach the manner in which Lenin dealt with the question is imperialism is when we speak in our last document of state capitalism being "the absolute contradiction." We should also speak of state capitalism being not so much the "logical continuation" and "highest stage" of capitalism, as about the transformation of monopoly capitalism into its opposite, state capitalism. And once we speak of these transformation, as in Vol. III, we then can jump directly to action instead of merely contrasting form to essence, and begin to speak of the human factors in production not as if they are brought in from the outside by us, but as Marx deals with them in Vol. III as stemming from the fight for the shortening of the working day, and Lenin in State Revolution, and we finally in reaching in this era not merely the unity of opposites, but the negation of the negation. We must return therefore to the labor process as we are doing in our latest document on Stalinism.

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