

Final lecture on MARXISM & FREEDOM 1/18/59

Intro.

Death and life are fighting the last round these days for it is no longer a question of one person or one group of persons or even one nation but of humanity itself. The cold war which followed WWII and which is gathering momentum for this all-annihilating war of WWII is presenting humanity with its last chance to create a human world in the place of the capitalistic one which is exploitative when it is not at war and destructive when it is. The choice between being thrown into the ever growing unemployed army or sucked into death is not a very big one, is it?

When you consider the great past achievements in the upward fight of humanity from barbarism and slavery to the ~~great~~ industrial revolution of the late 18th century which laid the ~~material~~ foundation for freedom, it seems fantastic to think it could have been accompanied by the enslavement of the human mind. It seems fantastic ~~to think it could have been~~ and it is not true. Or it is only half true-- the only minds fooled are those of the ruling class who have something to gain by the perpetuation of industrial slavery, but from the very start of the industrial revolution you also had the new passions, forces, and thoughts and strivings for the creation of an entirely new, class-less social order on truly new beginnings. That is precisely why the age of revolutions--end of the 18th century--did not stop with the industrial revolution but proceeded to the social and intellectual revolutions and we began with the great French REV. of 1789 because, we saw as in a blinding flash, in the crises of our day AND a glimmer of solution in the behavior of the sans-culottes--those indignant hearts, the French masses, who were even then challenging the new revolutionary leaders they themselves had brought to power--the Dantons, Robespierre

permanent revolution ~~if you will~~

SO GREAT was the impact of these semi-proletarians on the reconstructed society that nothing ~~remained~~ of the old was left standing--the king had gone and so had feudalism; the republic was established and the gravediggers for the new class of rulers--capitalists--had great traditions and roots. Not only that, in thought, nothing of the bourgeois remained unshaken. Take their greatest philosopher--GWF HEGEL: in politics he remained a defender of the Prussian state, but in philosophy he created the DIALECTIC METHOD--that dev. though opposition that made him say of all of humanity that it was not so much from slavery as THROUGH it that humanity gained its freedom and thus saw the serf himself gain a MIND OF HIS OWN--
① applying this method to all of human thought, its history, came up with an insinuation of a new future society which he called ABSOLUTE IDEA ~~or~~--the unity of Theory and Practice
② Heretofore we have stopped there. Now however we will split that back into 2 in order to stress as he put it the INCOMPLETION
③ OF EACH BY ITSELF

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hegel's 1st system same per. as Essay on Natural law when he defines "The primal unity of reality & ideality, of nature & morality manifests itself as the TOTALITY OF A PEOPLE... Peoples are manifestations of the AM"

Curse -- #24, p.44 SL.

Lordship = Bondage REDISCOVERY OF HIMSELF BY HIMSELF of having & being a mind of his own.

Doctrine of Motion develops categories of freedom.

Lukacs:

Practical danger of all dualistic conception is that they spirit away the very ELEMENT WHICH GIVES ACTION ITS DIRECTION--

P. of reality--central function of theory THEORY opens up way to resolution of contradictions; it does by showing the real tendencies of social dev. which must actually remove these contradictions which emerge in course of social evolution

CAPITAL -- p.493--A SOCIAL ANARCHY WHICH TURNS EVERY ECONOMICAL PROGRESS INTO A SOCIAL CALAMITY--Fr wkr. on his return from SF. HIS. DEV. OF THE ANTAGONISMS IN A GIVEN FORM OF PROD. IS THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH THAT FORM OF PROD. CAN BE DISSOLVED & A NEW FORM EST'D...

p.650-1--The condemnation of one part of the wkgclass to enforced idleness by the overwork of the other part.... Nevertheless if tomorrow morning labor generally were reduced to a rational amt.-- wkg.pop. would be insufficient.. wkgclass divided into active & reserve army--

pp.654-5 It is not a case of 2 in d. forces wkg. on one another--Capital wks on both sides at the same time. ///The action of law & supply

of labor on this basis completes the DESPOLITIZATION OF CAPITAL as seen as they try to org. reg. coop. bet empl. & unempl

pp.786-88 HIS. TENDENCY 2 kinds of pvt. prop--free individuality of laborer--the PEASANT OF THE LAND which he cultivates, the artisan of the tool which he handles as a VIRTUOSO..but it is a society moving within narrow & more or less primitive bounds--at a certain stage there it brings forth material agencies for its own dissolution--social org. which fetters the new dev. is annihilated.---

(cap. then) accomplishes this expropriation & partly of itself...along with constantly diminishing no. of magnates... GROWS REVOLT OF WKGCLASS--expropriators are expropriated.

--p.847--1886-87 rising movement among Radical Clubs in East End... 1st unempl. march in the West End; 1st beginnings of General Laborers (nucleus: dockets) for rts of meeting at Trafalgar sq. 1889--great dock strike led by socialists & new unionism of unskilled 1st great May Day demonstration

Letters 5/12 & 5/20/53--AI = dialectic of the party
AM = the new society

question not of mass party (altho that too would show withering away--rd)
ques. not of rel. of spontaneity & org.--as in '48 Nev.
ques. only of vanguard grouping & its rel. to mass

AI in Hegel begins with Identity of Theory & Practice, each of which
by itself is ONE-SIDED & hence contains Idea only as
a sought Beyond, an unattained goal; hence AI has
highest opp. within itself.

2 Others: 1) here where its Other is "prol. outside" (its own obj-ity
for obj.)
2) p. 477 where Other is party itself (incl. its own Other)

(Jumps to PHEN. on AK here, p. 791 for MEDIATED RESULT (syllogism)
syllogistically speaking party is
mediated result of 3 layers (what
about mediate d result of past & present,
inside & outside)

p. 804: Spirit (Soc.) externalizing itself in parties--PC, 1st Int. etc.

b) Spirit also as His.--Spirit externalized & emptied into time

p. 808: in addition to His. (accomplishing org. of spiritual kingdom)

~~INTELLECTUALLY COMPREHENDED~~ (GOS) it is science
Both together, or His. intellectually comprehended

made aware / from note / us
not a content as such, but the universal element of its form, THE METHOD

INTERNAL INTUITION AS INHERENTLY DEFECTIVE & ENDOWED WITH IMPULSE
OR SELF-DEV.

IT IS ABSOLUTE ONLY IN ITS COMPLETION. THE NEW SOCIETY WILL NOT
BE UNTIL IT IS.

L's 15 point definition of dialectic can be summed up as 3:

- 1) Tr. into opp.--collapse of 2nd *as new stage* (GOS)
- 2) Abs. in every relative--(Non. as eye of soc.)
- 3) Thought reflects reality (Obj. world connections)

In '49 it was holding to the positive in the negative; now it is the
negative of the positive & includes the latter; in a word
not distinction, but unity, i.e. the TURNING POINT, the TRANSCENDENCE
OF THE OPP. BET. Idea & reality, transcendence of contradictions,
NEGATION OF NEGATION, not external reflection but innermost & most
obj. moment of Life & Spirit b virtue of which a subj. is PERSONAL & FREE

(here attack on "old radical parties"--philosophies) until method
extends itself into SYTEM. (p. 480)--not a straight line but an
approach both rearward & forward--losing nothing of past that perished
perfectly LIBERATES itself Lenin stops where Hegel reaches hand to
materialism (Nature)

BUT HEGEL SAYS I IS NOT A TRANSITION BUT AN
ABSOLUTE LIBERATION, not just another moment that can be tr. into opp.

Also another sphere of science is like KM at end of Capital--Abs. Gen.

Law of cap. acc--LOGIC OF CAP. DIAL. OF *B* GEORGIS SOCIETY

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