EXECUTIVE REPORT

ATTHE SELF-THINKING IDEA" AND THE DIALECTICS OF A BODY OF

VOLUTIONARY IDEAS: WHAT IS NEW IN THE CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP?

Philosophically, the Obvious is Never to be Taken for Granted -

II. Marx's New Sense of Objectivity -- "Human activity itself as objective (gegenstandliche) activity -- Ground for our Age's New Sense of Objectivity and 2 Kinds of Subjectivity

III. What is New in the Concept of Leadership: When is Philosophy and Philosopher One -- "One, Not Two is a Variant of Leader Maximu Rather it is on what is a whole new Continent of Thought and of Revolution, which is why JPS 's commentary on (3) centuries of philosophy is pertinent week.

N&L Committees Elections, Past and Present

Vinstead of explaining which sections are on Marx and his ime, and which deal with our age, I will begin with dear the question

RELATIONSHIP OF PHILOSOPHY TO MASSES IN MOTIC

Let's we with the most obvious The Self-Thinking Idea

does not itself think -- in order to show you the exact opposite is the truth when you don't accept the obvious at face value. Of course (ideas by themselves do not think. | People think, But when you labor at the (Idea) and its development, the one who dige for its meaning, why this specific idea came to describe that particular action and what flows from it, you have reached a new

Specifically, here are 3 dates in Marx's stage of cognition. 1843-45; /1864-71; 1875-67 The first revolt that transformed Mark into a revolutionary was the peasants theft of wood in 1843, followed by the weavers' revolt in 1844, which Marx declared to be a greater stage than the French Revolution. That made all the intellectuals laugh at Marx's ridiculous utopianis

as they "proved" what a real revolution, like the French Revolution

was. His answer was that as great as it had been, it never questioned private proprty, but the peasants stealing wood and the weavers tearing up the deeds did. Tonce he made that declaration, the Self-Thinking Idea, flowing into the Subject Marx, declared way beyond Descarte's doubts, way beyond property provided way beyond man woman the determining relationship, which we know all from the 1844 MSS. What we don't know that deeply is Marx's

The years 1843-45 are central to the totality of Marx's

discovery at the very start, for it is then, philosophically

that you ist grasp -- and that only because we do finally have

Marx's Marxism as a totality and have thought out own age's

problems dialectically -- that "1, not 2" is NOT a question of

mere leadership, much less a quantitative question, but one

of EMILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION IN PERMANENCE AS GROUND FOR ORGANIZATION.

Let me explain a Concraising EAST 143-41 year

1) 1843 Mark breaks with capitalism and its religion and suddenly uses the expression "revolution in permanence" -- evidently his way of expressing that it isn't just a single issue

that is at stake, not even when it is as fundamental as class

struggle; but the challenge both to religion and "civil rights"

for Jaws. (It is published in Marx's D-F journal which also pub
lished Engels' Outline of Political Economy, which greatly impressed

Marx.): [very Manageration /5 a Castoration - you! To

Engels and gives him an oral presentation. Engels accepts that total challenge to what is. A life-long collaboration begins and

never ends. They decide to challenge the post-Hegelians, the Left from which they both came. The German Ideology results central thesis of which is a critique of Feuerbach's "materialism," but never heltes as if preferred over Higgel's "leslustral" Before or directly after this, however, Marx, again alone, writes 11 Theses, so critical of Feuerbach that to this day it defines the (uniqueness) of Marx's historical, dialectical humanist materialism as against not only Feuerbach at all mechanical materialism of also as creating "ilealism" with the creating of dislate of design Thesis I (not XI) projects "Human activity itself as objective (gegenstandliche) activity." What is of the essence for us is that the 2 are as wide worlds apart then are Engels Origin and ser. I don't mean only that Marx's Theses on Feuerbach Marx's EN. what Marx wrote in 1844-5 and Engels in 1888 - that Mark's a profound illumination on our new sense of objectivity and Zkinds of subjectivity for 10984-85 Perspectives though Represented while Engels' was the "platform" at all of himself in "Marx-Engels" one became the foundation of the 2nd Int., which, as you can see from M&F and all our principles we simply regard that Organizational Interlude, 1889-1914. Then only is series one fradership yet, have he? We ron't will We are tracing Marx and Marx alone, and for him, soon after the Address to the CL on "revolution in permanence", he proposed disbanding, without ever giving up the word, Party as he explained it "IN THE EMINENT HISTORICAL SENSE." The only organization we do have to consider is the one he haded and the period is FIRST INTERNATIONAL & THE PARIS COMMUNE. 1864-73

The experimental were masses in motion to his historic revolutionary sense that, lst. he hailed the P.C. as what the masses created and that "discovery" her hailed the period genius of a non-statist form of workers' rule and dice that was defeated advised going"lower AND DEEPER INTO THE MASSES". THE MASSES TO THE THE MASSES TO THE T the explanation he gave for not signing the documents of the took Khrushcher to turn that into it opposite took khrushcher to

Whether this was written in the same period when, with Engels they were writing German Ideology or whether it was done after, there is no doubt whatsoever that, where Marx's break with Feuerbach was total. Engels' was not. Indeed, when Engels discovered it after marx died, he had already written his own, quite different estimate in his work, Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy, to which he appended an edited version of Marx's 11 Theses.

Nothing could more clearly manifest the difference between Marx's revolutionay dialectic and Engels' determinist materialism. 16287

Moters, me Jurn to the point before the link to their to SSIMS
WHAT HAPPENED TO MARX'S CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHA PROGRAM The Carry
POST-MARX MARXISTS?

It took until 1801 before Engels succeeded in having the GSD finally publish the Critique of the Gotha Program -- as a plus "contribution to the discussion". The discussion was about of the 2nd International in 1889, and laid the concy Vangue Engels said that Marx said became Markism, so the Erfurt Program became the model for all "Marxist" parties. It took all the way to 1914 and the outbreak of WWI and the betrayal of the GSD and the 2nd International before ever anyone thought of returning to the Critique of the Gotha Program! Vienin did so in 1917 when he was writing State and Revolution . As profound as his analysis was when it camb to smashing the bourgeois state, he had not a word to say about Marx's concept of organization. Yet. Wor Critique - was a rejection of any Por the attitude to the Paris Commune Carl for going "lower and deeper" into the masses, and not just the Put in another way Mar organized proletariat. Marx's Critique was the creation of the inseparability of philosophy (and organization.

Of course but instead of looking at the most obvious, why not are dig deeply into what the most obvious, why not are that concept of the sound at the most obvious, why not are that concept of the most obvious, why not are that concept of the petty-bourgeois idealism, but the concept of the future in the present of the Gotha Program was written when Marx had just completed the French edition of Capital, with all its new categories

of CAPITAL new empiric studies of pre-capitalist societies and new view of what he had heretofore thought the greatest enemy, Russia, once it also had a group of revolutionaries the Cisenaches arm to the Casallers of Golden Colon Colo

dentally, on his birthday, May 5) and then look at how the Second International's German Social Democracy transformed the organizational conclusion into its absolute opposite. What Marx had written was: "Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes. If therefore, it was impossible to go beyond (it) one should have concluded an agreement for action... but

NO BARGAINING ABOUT PRINCIPLES." What the GSD uses is the program, like the Lassalleans. What the GSD uses is the program, like the Lassalleans.

profoundly that 1905 was but the 1st of the new type of 20th c.

revolutions, nor VIL who did turn to the question of organizations.

form of these new revolutions -- indeed, is credited with being the 1st and only one who created a theory of organization with his what Is To Bs Done? -- claimed to have created a new Universal Indeed, VIL claimed the opposite -- i.e. that he just followed orthodoxy except that he lived under Tsarism and therefore needed special, concrete features. Whether VIL did or didn't mean that organizational form as a Universal between 1905 and 1917 he insisted it was only a question of a very specific cases and when in 1917 he was establishing a new Universal -- State and Rev.

after he experienced the greatest revolution of his time and its creation -- the Paris Communez - which he concluded that it was necessary to go "lower and deeper", a phrase Lenih first "discovered" in 1914. In a word, Marx had by worked out his whole body of ideas and it was at that point that he not only rejected a unity of so-called Marxists and Lasgalleans but set a totally opposite foundation for organization with his philosophy of revolution. / Lenin's silence on the question of organization State and Revolution did not, unfortunately, mean that he had abandoned his concept of party of "professional revothe Bolsheviks lutionaries" just gained power the consept of an elitist party was no longer f-functioning under 🇳 just "Russian" or merely & Tsarish, wester. It gained international "stature" conditions for the Trird International a frue to never the Violated, no matter & That this

of the Single Party State shows the extreme which flows from a vanguardist concept.

To make matters worse for our age, Trotsky further reduced the question of revolutionary Marxist organization to the question of leadership.

(Chapter 4 of Per and

Please reread

to Chapter 11 of RLWLKM The It is no accident whatever that this last estimate of Trotsky as theoretician was made an appendix by me to the chapter on the Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creating New Ground for Organization.

6 Delectro, 15 Day to Start

Ironically enough, JPSartre, who absolutely has no idea

of what an organization is much to a tailending Stalinism,

philosopher felt compelled to justify to himself why he was willing to subordinate Existentialism to Marxism. He illuminated the whole question of the rarity

-of philosophic

period of 3 centurgies only 3 distinct philosophies predominated, and for Marxism, Marx alone to order created the has predominated to our day and philosophy of revolution but it will remain until we are finished

with capitalism.

Here is how he expresses to p190 PH the rarry of philosophic erection;

Between the 17th century and the 20th, I see 3 periods, which I would designate by the names of the men who dominated them: there is the "moment" of Descartes and Locke, that of Kant and Hegel, finally that of Marx These 3 philosophies become, each in its turn, the humus of every particular thought and the Nortzon of all culture; there is no going beyond them so long as man has not gone beyond the historical moment which they express. the historical moment which they express.

WE have Simone de Beauvoir's word for it: "He had been converted to the dialectic method and was attempting to reconcile it with his basic Existentialism."

It is not of the ques . Bailectics Creation when even so original a phil as EXISTENTIAL Writinated - 1/one 13 serious a revolution - he does ca Charles Where 15 double edge to the Approximately

new stage of oognition means the facts of the previous stage those who cannot transcend that pervious stage leave, whether that be JZ, Saul, Dick -- just count the books we have published and

the stages they represent that we have reached in our can count not only what hew came but what the least - 9 middleare us mis Would

flatis contrat bayoni criticis. On the contrary I will stress who none fully know the most contralictory Xear part (95%). Watch to I discuss

6 Disherwin To Day to Sky Ironically enough, JPSartre, who absolutely has no idea of what an organization is the allege tailending Stalinksm, but a philosopher felt compalied he was willing to subordinate Existentialism to Marxism. He illuminated the whole question of the of philosophic period of 3 centurgies only afstinct philosophies companies only not only predominated, and for Marxism, Marx alone created the chas predominated to our day and philosophy of revolution but it will remain until we are finished with capitalism. Here is how he px presses # (\$ 190 PAR) the rarry of philosophic erection; Between the 17th century and the 20th, I see 3 periods, which I would designate by the names of the men who dominated them: there is the "moment" of Descartes and Locke, that of Kant and Hegel, finally that of Marxil These 3 philosophies become, each in its turn, the humus of every particular thought and the Nortzon of all culture; there is no going beyond them so long as man has not gone beyond the historical moment which they express. nus only madenew came put what old los or its "the cent config the states they represent the time was who cannot transcend that were come or Location means the version of with the second the second the second the second of Math outres con the good of the contract of th Illuminain: - 9 militare us mes Wirester bayon criticis. On the contrary I will stress who none Raw. The mast consalictor Xear 200 \$ (95%). Watch is I disamo

HAT IS NEW IN LEADERSHIP FOR OUR AGE, THE DIALECTICS F A BODY OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS DE DE How difficult it is to work out a concept of leadership parable from a philosophy of revolution and concrete enough nswer the questions of our age can be seen clearest in the od I have called On The Threshold when we participated he 1950 strike at the same time as we worked out philosophy. Contrant tout turned out to be a long, (hard trail. sbeclute) The contradiction in that trail to breakigh to "Self-Thinking Idea" also re leadership happened 51 when at one and the same time, I made a breakthrough he relationship of philosophy to organization not of "personalities". And yet, to really see it is and how t is that the philosophy of revolution is "BISCOVERY WHEN IT IS THE DISCOVERY OF A essed (in-E NEW CONTINENT OF THOUGHT AND REVOLUTION, I had been working for an entire Of Mary and it decame clearer every day that is really or arone, and no Marx and Engles, And that was true talking about the early Marx the Marx of the Cap tall Othe Nary of the Critique of the problem where truly seemed one in letters and ntu snuk for Ginally bencelyego VERNER LESSON OF THE SECOND whole or had been very anxious to the Trotaky is my once we summed up 10 years of the text stene But Johnson insisted the time Catendancy In Scawr ripe a None were ready to challenge him; The follow it however memorie changed his mind so found he had to part of the New York leadership that we should not leave Pethat he met with opposition to his motion for split.

hat he would be voted down, he postponed the vote, in Pittsburgh where I was living and knew nought penings. I left that very night to listen to the he opposition. The argumentation brought to my question I had been working on, that it was Marx. and Engels, who discovered a whole new continent of nd revolution. Mal was the 1st fine & openly expressed to I stopped right there, it would have been great. tely, the question for which I was brought was that J. was right, always right. I jumped to usion that it was always "one, not two" and J. was Read the speech(with which I first became re-acquainted e dug into 1950-53 for the new pamphlet) to grasp fully radiction. followed, once we split on this manner assertion tainly had not been sproven, was what I referred to nderground existence". It would indeed have been a aster had not the death of Stalin showed ncy had become en classification tisso after having refused to discuss the Ald. forbade us to fight the bourgeois the break was ineyitable. The difference between could only when the open be worked outgoe the phic breakthrough made on the AI in 1953 was achieved. for the first time fully weleased us from any giversion er from philosophy. Thus came N&L ass tion of worker and intellectual the very first aphed pamphlet being VIL's PN and my AT Letter dionat so into one we all know as much therebed where as nell

same time, the organization was open, was decentralized, the paper, and the whole question of relationship of rank te to leadership, between leaders and ranks, were likewise parated from philosophy.

IR, now last the course in

The highpoint may, have come when we worked out "rev.in permanence" as ground of org. AS A CATEGORY BUT LONG BEFORE it appeared as category it was the actual mathodology was underlining all our activities as well as writings. What we are still weakest in is that this is not projected to others so that though, for ex., we use the expression N&L as organizer for M-H we hardly practice it quantitatively in subs. Concretisation is an

word - i.e. one act-- left to express it. And that is projection projection projection. Understanding M-Hism telling it to ourselves means nothing. It's only when you know how to project so others can understand, and grapple with it so passionately that they want to join, that you have shown that oneselves and are not just praising there.

Let me give you just one example of how we still haven't projected concletely how great and action-like is absolute Idea.

Will anybody please tell me whether they have ever witnessed when so great a tragedy happens as the loss of an editor, the one not only a single issue being skipped but with the paper already having experienced for a year in advance. It a young likellectual, Lou, practicing writing as a Marxist-Humanist columnist; 2) a new element of labor — one who has experiences with immigrant labor — as well as one experienced in basic industry — and all these precisely in the space that had been allotted to CD, and specifically placed on page one. This was more one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who both had broken through on Absolute Idea, the very one who be the very one very on

et me let show you, briefly, the past categories in chosing leadership in the context both of concrete needs each conv. Perspectives—which maked XXXXIII shows also that the whole org. is leadership when it practicing phil.in its activities, and yet concretely these become cothers don't.

| lst--1917--only I&B infix Stepped down 2nd, 1930s--esp.CIO &Spanish Rev. J.
| 2nd, 1930s--esp.CIO &Spanish Rev. J.
| Cl'm not sure Alan is to be counted there--1934 indeed--or stepped down 2nd, 1940s--OLGA, ANDY, IG JOHN, INEZ--1950 pamphlet shows 1940s--OLGA, ANDY, IG JOHN, INEZ--1950 pamphlet shows where in the main the consequences of 1960s & 1970s with 1980s coming in now-so here it is spelled out last conv. &this coming in now-so here it is spelled out last convergence in the convergence in

July 1984

## Report by Raya for Executive Session

"THE SELF-THINKING IDEA" AND THE DIALECTICS OF A BODY OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS: WHAT IS NEW IN OUR CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP?

- I. Philosophically, the Obvious is Never to be Taken for Granted
- II. Marx's New Sense of Objectivity "Human activity itself as objective (gegenstandliche) activity"; the Ground for our Age's New Sense of Objectivity and Two Kinds of Subjectivity
- When is Philosophy and Philosopher One -- "One, Not Two".

  It is never a variant of "Leader Maximum". Rather, it is on what is a whole new Continent of Thought and of Revolution.

  Which is why Jean-Paul Sartre's commentary on three centuries of philosophy is pertinent to Marxist-Humanism.

IV. News and Letters Committees' National Elections, Past and Present

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IV. News and Letters Committees' National Elections, Past and Present
New subs

Frelationship of Philos. to masses in motion

Whatever happend to GGP; the case of PMM + (eadership

Back to Dialectrics; its double edge, when is it...

What is new in leadership for our age! the hardy

- what is new in leadership for our age! the hardy of ideas shows that it is not by practice alone; the movement from theory

"THE SELF-THINKING IDEA" AND THE DIALECTICS OF A BODY OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS: WHAT IS NEW IN OUR CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP?

- I. Philosophically, it is wrong to take the obvious for granted
- II. The new sense of objectivity in our age of state-capitalism, which is why Marx's sense of Objectivity -- "Human activity itself as Objective (gegenstandliche) activity" -- has new meaning; the Ground for our age's new sense of Objectivity and two kinds of subjectivity.

III What is <u>New</u> in our concept of Leadership: It is high time to reveal that the missing link -- philosophy -- is what has kept even the greatest revolution -- Russia, Nov. 1917 -- unfinished.

IV News and Letters Committees' National Elections, Past and Present