October 26, 1960

## Dear EIS:

Dear. HM:
I hope I may intrude upon you with some on the Absolute Idea. You maj inind it useful oven for your present purposes s nee you are dealing With soolology and technology and Nikolal Bukarin is the father, thougin I doubt he would Ilife that atrange progeny of Milla, Rossiter; Mallet, of ail menthanist, and these aro my "保emies" as I'proceed to work out the finilosophio Poundations (the Hegelian-Abaolute Idea and Maxx's Itmanim For the preaent day strugeles for Fieedom in the underdereloped economies, a sort, of counterpant tio MARKISM AND FREEDOM whioh Ifmited itselit to tha present-day descont from ontology to tecinhology, it should hel to sharpen up the edged.

At onces I must make so bola with nistoric baciscround as to inciude beth. the Africqn end Higgarian Havolutions, even as, audaonz, without anyone botherixg to explajn winy, Letin America tco is included among "backward Bountrias," although thedr populations are not African but of Buropean atock, nor do they lack either an. "educated class on railroade or asroplanes theough "jungle country" The ons olement of truth in the designation of "backwari" pertains-to the eoonomy but since I talce man, not the "economy as guch, Ha gubject, I woula like at once ta make clear whet 1s.the "thesda" I uae from Hegel' a final chapter. It is to be found on p.467: Whe gelf-detemination therefore in. which alone the Idea is, is to hear itseli speakn "the selfodeterminations o" pacple are, eurely, no Iess important then the self-determination of the Idea, is no accident that Nagy, the Petofi Intellignotsia, and the Hungarian Yorkers Councils all fought its ideologicel battles by unfolding Merrist Humanism and this ame discovery appears in Genegal where Lencold Senghor; for all his apologia for De Gaulie, unfolds the game bavner. (I do not recall whether I sent you my review of Sengior'a "african Socialism, ${ }^{\prime}$ but I'ili find a where aud send it to you.)

Now, in dotain, to the unfoldment of the Absolute Idea in Hegel ${ }^{\prime}$ a Logice ali the way gancing at which point in it, at the various historio stages in the devenopment of the Karxiat movement, the Marxists "got caught.! The algmiflance of that firrat paragraph on $p .466$, for Lenin at-end of 1914; was that the unity of the theoretic an practical idea applied not so much In action as "precisely in the theory of knowledge..." You may recali that just 5 pages before he reached that chapter, where Hegel dealt with lime Ides of the Good," Ievin etreased the actuality of the Idea and. "hon-actuality of the woxla". $\mathrm{BH}_{\mathrm{H}}$ writings "Alig. Man's cognition not only reflects the objective worid but creates.it." But. Ienin did not develap precisely that aspect, $a$ we shall sse, when we reach the end of the chapicer.

That same firat paragraph of the A.I. containg the atopp:ng point of today is African intelligentsia. If $\overline{\text { in }}$. are vorsed in their constant reiteration of the "African personality, Hou will recognize then easily enough in Eiegel. "rise Notion 1s not only-Geele but also is free and aubjectiv Notion, which is for itself and therefore has not exclusive individualitys but 1a; for itself, universality and cognition, and in its other has its own óbjectivity for object." Without that personality too would only be "error and eloom, opinion, strivine, caprice; and transitoriness..."

A71 the Marxists of the and Internat,ional, (Lenin up to 1914 included) at very best stopped on p. 467 (11 even we give them credit that is of having grappled with Hegel bimself instead of some tertiary sumary
of him) when Hegel apeaks of "the unfrersal element of its form-that is the method, "As to Rulgarization of that "method" surely had not only the Cynices and Sphists in mini a few pages hence. ( $p$. 473) he says the dialectic was often quite neglected by thoge who were fuilest of aim in their apeech. The Eacond International not merely neglected the dialoctic, hut perverted it into a sort of poilgh for thelr organic Kantianism.

Because all Marxisib, not ecluking Marx himself, do like to strese method rather than Ax, thus pinpointing the putiling of Hegel zight alde up," it is necessary to ilnger a bit here. Although he stresses \{p. 468 that, "nothing is oither conceivea or lenown in its truth except in so far as lit is completely aubject to the method ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ his eapaxatea himself at once from those who would degrade methoc to a tool, aa anaiyists do: Hn inquixing cognition the method is likewize in the position of a tool, of a means which stands on the subjective side, whereby the method relates itself to the objeot. In this jllogiam the subject is ons extrame and the object the other,..Fme extremas reamin distinnt because, subject, methon. and object are not poaited as the oue 1dentical Notion...." ${ }^{(p .469)}$

Kncontrast, therefore, Hegel procseds to define method for true congnition: "it 18 the face that the Notion is determined in and for itself and is the mean only berauge it equally has the signifioance of objective..."(p.469) The trrasition here is to get back to tho detorminatior of the method. "Fisst we muat begin from the beginning..." and the begiuning, Hegel informs us to the constarnation of philosopher and engineel elife, must be inherentiy cofective and mast be ondowed with the inpuise of seif-development."

The eeirfdaterminarion of trie sprax Idea, as that of peoples, far Irom being world s apait, cannot be seen in their fullness, Hin. end for itselin apart from each othar. It 1s in this respect that I-just get fed up with Maraists who keep harning on "method" as if it meant opposition to A. I., or, better put, want hto threw out. God and the Absolute Idea" so that, Idea (ideas) too 1s buried. In. "Eistorical Materialiam," for example, sursainin speass of "schioty" as if indeed it was matter, dead mattor, Perhaps I better Pollow the way of Hegel in this too and reruse to have anything to do with vulgaxizers. His admontion that the vilgar refutation
 telling bim all about the comruption of the court, the murder and the rengeance he should suek, nevertheless admonishes him against taking aotion against one of the consirators, his mother: "Leave her to heaven." It only we had some 'heaven!...

What is importiant, aays Hegel, is the source of the "prejuatace" againat the dialectic, le. tinat it gesing to have only negative rgisults; and therefore what is or the essence is "To hold rast the positive int its negative, and the content of the presupposition in the result, is the most important part of rational cognition. ${ }^{\circ}$ ( $p .476$.) It is here, whers he deals with the second negative, or mediated determination, the negative"of the positive, and inoludes the jatter, "where Hegel atiossea the eubjective "Tor the transcendance of the opposition between Nction and Reallty and that unity which is the truth, rest upon subjectivity alone.

He are entering the whole section where even the Lenin of post 1914 found "not cieain and I belleve that the fact that wo live in 1960 , not in 1914, and the fact that we witness both the advanced proletariat batties with autometion as well:as the colonial freedom strugeles, can help us break it down. I am not wnderestimatint Lenin's conception of Hthe positive in the negative." Cine who led 1917 needs no minor \#eague.defences.

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Long before ho read Hegol on subjectigi Ey Lenin aaw "yabses ae Reasona" in it he sari that truth aB lone osciz anilio5: and was praparine to ropaat that on a wuch grander hiotorioal scale, why then did this turning point of the novemant of the fotion appans cbscurs to dephn?

Hogel, on his part, hilt out egainst the whole triplicity coustrustion of the dialestio hero, osyine "If number is applicable, then the whole course of this aecond ymuilate ia the third texmew now, gince the fomacr (the firat negative) 1s 11sel, tine second terw, the fhird term may now be counted as fourti, and the abstraci form of it may be qaken as a quadruptil.
 ticn la not clear to mej le not the obsolute equivalont ati to the more concrotef ${ }^{\mathrm{n}}$

Yes and no, says fiegel, as I mead inis. It is concrete but is

 as soon as he had renched the turithe potit in the novenent of the motion Ist-mtressing time Arzenseendence of opposition botweon Notion and Reality, and that undty which ls truth, rest upon this subjectivity alone" Hie flrst siressaed that transcendence oi contradiotion uhich "1s the innerranst and most objective mamene of ilife and Spirit by mixarian. Virtue of which a eubject is pervonal and Fren. And as hegel mover to the cilmactic, efter

 yind-he cannot refrain from sayine that we have ended with transitions, rave entered "absoluरe 21 beration" (p.485) "The tranicition here t..ererore my titrather be telien to menn fist the Idea freely releases it self in form or its determinate io utteriy free. othe Notion oriser as fres existence that out of axtemaility has passed into itselfi axises to perfect its


Now all this-

 philezopher ilndine his obsolutes as te shows in the Philosophy of difnd when his own mind wansiere to the struegles egainst slepory. (Nor do Ifeel ilke $\{1$ Ehtine $k 1$ th HeE日l over whother ChTristianity or actuaity brought irresdoat of man into the xorid; the old fan was ercat enough \& even if he, cide reside in ivory towera, they Were akfully crowdod ones-mo much no (. that todays ireedam fighters in Africa find roon there too.)

In wif Mifatiness to Lailn, I must here juip to mhurhchev ard h15 btate philosophers Who are auppoaed to have, accordine to ketter and Bein and all the speciailsts in "Soviety Suryey, " Nreconstitubad "the Lek of the negetion of the negation, " which had been.thrown out as a igetura of zhe dlalectic" by Steilno. No doubt i.t is true that negation of negation was too ciose for compre to a totalitarian society-for shmushcher ai much an for steiln, kaxamperx howeverf wint is of more specifiu note is that socioti saience, in Stalin'a tize, bad not yet achleyes thet bronk through that it had nead of thet law-to guctify nacceptance of theory of relativity and rejection of idealistic interpretation in Bohr." hi 1 th misejic thunat ond automated prodactioriachieved, they havo need of the law for ibs ratumy cidences as they practice theme

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Science is not my fort, and in any case, subjectivj.ty is not for
the Vulgariy materialistic. The self-developing "subject"--the proletariet-not just negation of negation "In generai" is the onemy, and when Herpuakin aeked that the Early Egsaye of Maxir be once again included in the complete Worke of Karra it wra not to ro-astablibh the law or the negation of negation", but to attaok, pervert, destroy if he can Hareist Humani im where Man, not absalate Ider, booame the subject, of ail humanity's development and the dehumanization of xaeas be once and for all gtopped when even so great a pillosopher as Esgel muat perforce return to positivigm.

Now then to return to Leninn-the junp to Khrushchev's funsia was only to show what gan happen to a non-worked-out aspect of dialeotics-wegel mado him see all the leaps where there was graduainess, all the self-notement where there was external reflection of the "Internetional" or astablighed soolailst party the value of a theory of knorisege that has within it "all the worldconnections" the motive force in the 1deal as well as-the real, but the indivfduale the "porsonal and Iree", how could that arlse as concrete untill eftem-1917 did not brins a new world social ordor? Sonething has to be left lor our age; nof

In any case, where Bukkarin romained in Telanlopt, Lonin pagsed on as saw Hegel laying the premises for historical
 negation first and second nogation, indeed, resides the this relation between mulgan and dialectical mation between nevar gets beyon oppoi materlaila for the vulgar matemialíat. But the maierialist in Lenin so overwhelmed him at this pointeot. hiatoric revelation that, you will reoall, he wanted where "Hegel strretchea his hand to materiailsminaed to etop Mature. Since that was so in the Smalior Iocio, but there wasith another very important paragraph to go in the the diviaing point for our apoch io go in the Science of Logic, individual, total liberati epoch is precisely on this iree, what they are aiming us and who show, both in thought and atrugezea, and reread that Absolute knowlede, Absolut me in eny case to reaà as each developiog syruggle on the, Absolute Idea, Absolute Mind
are interested and wou this point and tell you that if you forwand variaus thoughts-jn-mront on this, I li. continue to am just "dyjng" to go to Africa.

Fours,
Rayam

