Notion as beginning has an immediate existence in the sphere of necessity but it is not yet a subject..."

Regel, Science of Logic, Vol. 2, p. 172

BOUGH DRAFT OF THAPTER 3--47

SPONTANEITY, ORGANIZATION, PHILOSOPHY (DIALECTICS)

in the Party, that even when she called the 2nd International a "stinking corpse" she opposed the building of a 3rd International and such at the time she broke with Kautky over nothing a short of the General Mass Strke, it appeared as if it were only personal because she into only did not leave the Party, she did not create a structure faction, and USPD, when she finally did in the outright revolution of 1918, it was the Party."

even mentioned except when Marxists de defend as not having been a "total" spontaneist. What she is known for and rightly if you understand the multifacetedness of her) so is for her in her purise tery nearly glorification—and surely her priority to spontaneity over her party leadership. And that remained true even when she did in the Revolution not only create a farty in Germany. but consented to that which she had fought all her life, to a unity of her Polish tendency with that of the Left PFS to construct the C.P. of Poland.

How to explain so manby contradictions which there likwise exits a unifying force—the Party—and so tightly a unifying force that unity, unity, unity, in the unfortunately in the full Social Democratic concept, that she opposed splits even at the point where there wasn't a single point of affinity between the tendency her thought represented and the dominant tendency in the SPO.

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but also

It is the overriding concept of unity which has given so many false interpretations of what RL's concept of organization as well as concept of spontaneity truly was. Let's begin with her first and most famous and most mis-used,-misused the "WEst" not even allowing her to name the title of her article. The title she gave was "Organizational @ Questions of the Russian Social Democracy." The title the "West" gave it was "Leniniam or Marxism?"> The different historic periods likewise led to one-sided interpretations. Thus the S.D. before WWI were forever quoting and attacking both her writings on spontaneity during the first Russian Revolition. specifically. The Mass Strike pamphlet, while the post-WWII S.D., West or otherwise, were always stressing the 1904 of Lenin. In both cases 2 opposites that weren't genuine opposites to RL--democracy/dictatorship regarding the 1904 writing, and 2 opposites -- spontaneity/organization for 1906, were stretched out to was make her say what she did not say.

Thus, "The Organizational Questions of the Russian S.D."*

(The new translation of with the correct title appears in Dick howard, Selected Writings, pp. 283-306), was a critique not of What Is To Be Done?, which everyone including Nettl attributed it to (Noranh Geras but was a critique of Lenin's One. Step Forward, Two Steps Back.

Because of her disagreement with the Bolsheviks on the National Question, RL's tendency never attended that famous 1903 Congress.

It was Lenin's critique of the behavior of the Mensheviks at that congress that she criticized. She was asked by Iskra not — the Iskra that Lenin edited but the one appropriated by the Mensheviks at that 1903 congress even though they had been outvoted.

She doesn't mention that fact, since as far as she was concerned, the S.D.P.of Russia was still one. It is important to keep this in mind even as it is importantt to be as rigorous as she was in paying strict attention to the objective situation to the fact that Russia was indeed a police state;" that you truly had need for centralism, and that in fact it wasn't only the RSD but the QSD that practiced centralism as a principle. DWhat she objected to was what she called/ultracentralism (Lenin's denial that he was ultracentralist in his reply to her was never published; it was rejected by Kautsky and even in the Russian it was first published...) to illuminate the differences and again to give due credit to the RSD wanting to establish a national organization. She stressed that it was indeed necessary to have done with the "circle and local club atmosphere" that had pervaded the Russian attempts to build a unified organization and required a full 3-year campaign, 1900-03, to prepare for that congress. "However," she continued, (p. 286) "at the party congress and even more # so after, it became evident that centralism is a slogan which does not completely exhaust the historic content and the S.D. organization." The scripticism of RSD was, infeel therewice a criticism of the the strange of her critique her made it clear that ale did not think that whom when each is not as beginn to all and think that when a least of the strange of the stra

ne geroon, it is in any way "underteachinge; each 14868

She leveled her severest attack on Lenin's formulation that a social democrat is a Jacobin indissolubly connected with the organization of the class conscious porletariat." And it is at that point when she develops her opposition to Jacobinism and Blanquism in so detailed a form, that she left, no room whatever for the concrete happenings of ten was the prescupation of Leniny. the congress, says that the minute she reaced "history," her critique was it was hard to so full of generalizations that the was named to concrete relating to the congress, and even be inclined to over praise Lenin who stuck only to the concrete; and thus "proved" her wrong. Which with hindsight, absolutely is not true, that is to say, some of the generalizations are so very refevent to our day, that we must go into them.

For example, there is absolutely no doubt that a great deal more of democracy, more need for different tendencies to express themselves, and surely it is imperative not to make a virtue of necessity, which leads the mone living under traism to overstress the need for centralism to oppose it. Furthermore, whereas her expression, "No rigid formulaes for organization will do to express Marx's conception of socialism," may have left elbow room for opportunism to the continue functioning in a Marxist organization, as witness the fact that first expression fo reformism, Bernstein, was not expelled, it is even truer that Lenin's concept of cettralism that the second concept is decentralised to more need of decentralised to more need of decentralised to more need of decentralised to make the second concept of cettralism that the second concept concept of cettralism that the second concept conc

Where it seems to this writer that RL wrongly almost makes do with spontaneity if not sans organization, certainly without philosophy, is in her singling out the student agaitation of 1901 and the mass strike in Rostov-on-Don, as if their arising spontaneously # had also meant that they had no need for a Marxist party. The fact was that it was precisely these strikes and great spontaneous actions which led Lenin to great conclude that if Marxists are going to act only as economists. there will be gap a political work an actual revolution. It was no accident that RLs hammering away mering Lenin's supposed exaggeration of factory discipline which he insited the intellectuals lacked, in turn led her to defend intellectuals. Where she was in the dialectical relationship in the classic of spontaneity to organization:

"What is always important for Social Democracy is not to prophesy and to preconstruct a ready-made recipe for the future tasks. Rather, it is important that the correct historical evaluation of the forms of struggle corresponding to the given situation be continually maintained in the party, and that/it understand the relativity of the given phase of the struggle, and the necessary advance of the revolutionary stages toward the ultimate goal of the proletarian class struggle."

While RL was abasolutely correct in her emphasis that the Marxist movement was the "first in the history of class society which, in all its moments, in its entire course, reackons on the organization of the & indpendent, direct action of the masses," she is not correct in holding that that very nearly automatically means are nearly so total a conception of socialism that a philosophy of Marx's coneption of revolution could be likewise left to spontaneous action. Far from it. And nowhere is this seen more clearty than when we get to the 1905 Revolution, where spontaneity description is absolutely the greatest, but fails to acheive its goal. The question the design of class consciousness does not exhaust the question of cognition, of Marx's philosophy of revolution, of second negation, that is to say, not alone the destruction of the old, but the creation of the new, has still to be tested, and we cannot here skip from 1904 to 1917r and 1919. So within the context. of that debate, it is sufficient to end where she ended;

and to learn the historical dialectic by itself. Finally, we must frankly admit to curselves that errors made by a truly revolutionary libbor movement are historically infinitely more fruitful and more valuable than the infallibility of the best of all possible "central committees." (p. 306)

As we have seen in the chapter on the General Strike, as well as the one on the 1910 split with Kautsky, . RL's making a category of spontaneity was in the first case exactly in the same period as Lenin modifying his rigid concept management in What is to be Done? and stressing instead spontaneity. It wasn't merely the fact that she had written this in Kuokkla, but that the revolution itself sharpened their views historically, as well as actually. On the other hand, she was way ahead of Lenin in 1910 in judging the deep opportunism of Kautsky, the many the contract of the contract At the same time, however, the inversion of the relationship between organization and action once again meant the disregard of philosophy. It is absolutely true as RL expressed it in "What Next?", that "any mass action, once unleashed, must move forward," It is not true that a forward movement by the masses cannot be reversed or stopped by a leadership which uses the manus rhetoric of revolution but practices counter-revolution. In a word, where KL saw the opportunism in Kautsky, she by no means expected outright betrayal and indeed did not been conceive that counter-revolution. can arise from within revolution. It is that dialectic. that transformation into opposite, that Lenin, who had not seen as clearly as she the nature of German Soc. Democracky lept far beyond her once WWWI showed the betrayal, in demanding that the issuing the slogan, "Turn the imperialist war into civil war. " and in his criticism of even his criticism o Bolsheviks The pole the question of

Bertrm D. Wolfe mistitled her work because was more "attractive," and thus gave her 1904 critique so anti-Leninist a twist that he attributes to her a persistent anti-Leninism not only in 1904 but also in 1917.

Eetween 1904 and 1917 there was first and foremost nothing short of the Russian-Polish Revolution of 1905-07. So close were Lenin and Luxemburg in that period and directly after, both on revolution and organization, that the Folish Party actually joined the Hussian Party. Acreover, though in 1906 when it joined there was also a joining of Mensreviks and Polsheviks, it was by no means the sheviks whom she related to. It was the vote of the "Poles" that helped Lenin get a majority at the 1907, Corgress. Theoretically, their interpretation of the Revolution extended beyond Russia and Poland. That same year, 1907, there was also the International Socialist Congress, where again Lenin and RI (while Trotsky and lartov likewise associated with the amendment, there is no doubt whatever where the closeness, theoretically and practically even to the point of specific formulations), itsees Lenin and Al gave the direction to the amendment on the anti-war drive.

(Interestingly enough, it was also at that longress that AL introduced Lanin to Zetkin--Zetkin was both a member of the International and the head of the mass S. D. women's conference which also met during that period. The point was that Lenin's own reports of the Stuttgart longress were heavily and openly based on Zetkinjand her articles about that Congress in Sleicheit.)

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By the time the disputes with Kautsky on her demand that her position on the general strike be applied to Germany 1910 reached a climax, so absolutely at opposite ends that she broke with him completely. Bertram wolfe has (as part of) his reasons for skipping all those world historic events. not to mention betrayal on the part of the Social Democracy in World War I and RL's final break with that organization. In a word, when we come to her intransigent revolutionary anti-war stand, there is certainly not one whiff of affinity between her and the between Social Lemocratic organization, And or international. which she declares to be a "stinking corpse." And certainly there is again not a single grain of affinity between her critical position on the Russian Revolution and the Social Democratic position on the counter-revolution against it. She hailed that Revolution as the greatest world historic event which, even if it failed, would remain a beacon for all, and for which/the German S.D. would hear the greatest responsibility.

what then was her criticism? We wish here
to focus strictly on organization (later we will deal
with the theoretical differences). The main point of
difference organizationally—and in that she was certainly not only
correct as against Lenin, but actually foresaw we what became
the Stalinist degeneration—was greater democracy we not
only for the masses but within the state and govenrement,
with a plurality of parties and tendencies.

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She warned against making "a virtue of necessity", that is to say, which Marxists must be careful that even when an absolute necessity, because the counter-revolution at the door, requires the curtailing of any freedom. At no time should one give in to the temptation to make the temporary rejepse into a general principle.

Surely her/contribution to the question of proletarian democracy and democracy within the Marxist party was of great merit and far outdistanced any of the Bolsheviks who were directly in the fray in foreseeing what was to become bureaucracization. But how can that possibly be made to have any affinity whatever with S.D.? How can that criticism which was definitely/a technical type be raised to the level of her treak with the International, her leadership of Spartakus, and above all, the leadership of the actual German hevolution? Then. one of the very things she had criticized in Russia, i.e. the dismissal of the Constituent Assembly, she declared in the most unequivocal terms on the German scene that this type of assembly was a bourgeois institution to which she counterposed workers' democracy as seeing contained only in actual workers' councils, so that very nearly all of the main slogans of the Russian Revolution were exactly what she herself called for in what turned not to be the last 2 months of her life;

No, what she criticized in 1904 and what she criticized in 1917 the first bear very little resemblance to each other, either in principle or in tactic, either in theory or the different in practice, either in/historic periods or the different goals practice. 1905 and provided the freatest contribution, both in relationship to the first receipt the concept of the party in spontaneity and internal democracy, 14875

was not without its own philosophic weakness.

Nor was her philosophic weakness limited to organization. When you rethink what & the contradiction seems to be, the genuine genius in the prescience of cataching imperialism before it was ever recognized or even seen by either bourgeois scholars or Marxists, when your recognize that back in 1899 scon after the Russo-Japanese War she was already sensing a global shift in powers and had not let co in her critiques of the G.S.D. te it in not articulating opposition to the War in China or the Morroco Indident and being so aroused over the opportunism in not fighting the very the first sign of imperialism, that she made you iterally listen. hear the cries of the Herero women and children as they tried encape the savagery of gereral Irotha and his army persuing them; and when you see how how deep her as relates to race internationalism/that even when there was a world war and . A. A. A. A. Wurm bemoaned the condition of the Jews she replied: one would think and yet, she would have immediately singled out as Subject the colonial masses oppressed by imperialism as its grave-diggers;

"What do you want with this particular suffering of the Jews? The poor victims on the rubber plantations in Putamayo, the Negroes in Africa with whose bodies the Europeans play a garne of catch, are just as near to me. Do you remember the words written on the work of the Great General Staff about Trotha's campaign in the Kalahari desert? 'and the death-rattles, the mad cries of those dying of thirst, faded away into the sublime silence of eternity.'

Oh, this 'sublime silence of eternity' in which so many screams have faded away unheard. It rings within me so strongly that I have no special corner of my heart reserved for the ghetto: I am at home wherever in the world there are clouds, birds and human tears . . . "

She always was looking for root causes/ always speaking of class consciousness, and yet not jamming the two up against leach other so that an always they would result in a new sunity. Instead she let them lie side by side. We have seen the "hational Question" which she couldn't see as revolutionary in this imperialist war, he used the term "half-way philosophic dialectical." It came from his own/regranization during that war. It is the very period when the "half-way when approaching the "absolute Method in Absolute Idea, shows that "when opposite determinations...come before consciousness without mutual contact."

的特別可以認識的的關係的問題的

Lenin's point, as in this case Regel's, was to show that only second negativity is the solution, because there is no of the ? way to transcend "the opposition between Notion and Reality, which and that unity which is the truth", except to see that they "rest upon this Subjectivity alone." In a word, the fact that only the proletariat, only the oppressed, only the Subject who is being oppressed, is the one for the overthrow, cannot possibly be kept apart from the objective situation which drives them in that direction.

findle, o. 253: "The origin of the idea in the hotion of teleology throws whense light on Herel's philosophy. The lidea does not explain things by their cause, or their unterlying substance, or the whole of which they are parts: it explains by being the end towards which they must be thought of as tending."

1. 222: "We should be able to see what herel means by the 'Notion' by seeing how its concept developed out of the 3 concepts of substance, Vreciprocity. Recessity there 'swung over' into causality and

At the same time,

(2) when the causal are relationship

of theory is class consciousness, which is what makes materialism

not mechanical and not just a matter of trade union goals, but

class power, and live people therefore holding destiny in their

own hands, there suddenly manifests itslef root cause as

purpose, which enables the intellectual to be there with the

proletariat.

leadership of its opportunism, parliamentarism and routine-like work to trine in the spontaneous action of the proletariat who would push the leaffership forward. It is true she farain uses the word revolution as the only answer to Hausky's "Statery of Attrition" as sheerist opportunism to evade the actual such class actions of the general strike (which is both political and economic), but it stops short of subject.

(Nork out the relationship to Lenin's remark that the Notion and of a teleplory just before we enter the says: "H.E. Freedom equals Subjectivity, on the threshold of the Idea ('or' goal, striving, H.E.).")

Dialectically speaking, why should a revolutionary stop at causality? A sort of one-to-one relationship is thereby explained, and one must get rid of explaining as if cause isn't but one moment and affect the inext; and since cause and effect interrelate in a way that at separate times RL did see as part of a totality, why should the totality have been so mechanical as not to see subject? Without subject there can be no total uprooting. Without subject revolutionary action is hardly more than contemplation, that is to say, you look at an object—in this case, imperialism—end say that it causes something else, i.e. impossibility otherwise of continued accumulation; ineventably then and even colonialism you to markets/instead of subject. No wonder those objects don't move. The market can't produce its own negativity, but the subject could.

You never look at people, the exploited, except **as** suffering subjects, which is why they remain as if they are only objects. There is no duality, no deep contradiction. Instead RL shifts back to home and says long before this type of collapse will happen, the proletarial will

If, however, you look not just at the root cause but at new beginnings that will themselves determine the end, there would be no way to avoid subject.

(What has been unoticed until this day is that early on, back in 1899, long before AL hit out against Warx for his rococco style even in the 1st volume, is that AL had always excluded ol. II from a consideration of the totality of Marx's economic views. Thus she wrote:

The Markiet formula for crises as presented by Engels in Anti-Duehring and by Mark in the first and third volumes of Capital, applies to all crises only in the measure that it uncovers their

As we saw when we dealt with RL's inter-regnum, which to much of Kautsky as & Karx, it becomes clear that just as the her Accumulation of but Lenin's dad not. Sepital diverted from Marx's analysis so, ironically enough, and Lerin on the question in which KL seemed to be on totally opposite points -- the Party -- , toth alike did not the integrate philosophy with organization; (1)40sa, because she paid very little attention to philosophy, and (2) Lenin because all the attention he gave philosophy to the extent even of reorganizating himself, as well as the nature of imperialism and the national question want the national question # and refvolution, dialectics thenselves, and the state, it nevertheless was not extended to the Party. Thus, which no one gave an answer, and we naturally cannot assume that ofter the event that if there had integrated philosophy, there would have been the correct answer. We do, however, start with a clean state; that is, nobody has the answer. Levertheless, precisely because ID. and ID. alone had discovered a new continent of thought and had a philosophy of revolution de from the very start of his break from capitalism, he will also have the ground for a philosophic concept of organization, even if he had "no theory of organization." though very triefly

Let's review/what he did say in addition to the fact that proletariat the party of its own, from which he never departed, be it 1948, 1871, 1975 or 1892. Where it became concretized or broadened, as you wish, is in the philosophic conception. Thus, the 1849 Revolutions ended with a need for an independent working class party but also a philosophy of permanent revolution.

Thus, the Paris Commune had a new reason-"its own working existence". Thus, the Gotha Frogram was criticized mercilessly) comprehensively, theoretically, point by point, precisely because position was that, whereas a movement as greater and more important than any set of programs. wast if you cannot have onsprincipled ground, then it is best not to unite where to limit united action to specifics only. Malso had yet a newer vision extending all the way a munist society where "working would not just be a means fe, but the very first necessity of living." Fut Otherwise, it meant that if there really is an end to the division between mental and manual work, then that is your life, that is to say, there is no division between life and science and thought, etc. He insisted that children, in play, actually labor and discover many things through creaking things. Finally, what is most exciting about his very last years is that in returning to the man/woman relationship which is traced through from gens, matrilineal society, to the savagery and retrogression in progressive capitalism when it comes to the position of women, he was critical also of primitive communism, insisting that it was not an outside force that overthrew it, but that it came from within through the development of chiefs, etc. Thus, above all else what was new was this: (a backward country like Russiz could have a fevolution the multilineal development of humanity, be it from primitive communism, or the Asiatic mode of production, or Western capitalism, proved that it is impossible to have but one answer to all the multitude of developments. On the contrary before an advanced country **t** \underline{Ir} new forces and relations

including even the peasant commune made its revolution or 14881/

trially advanced nations, and it. with new countries like

Precisely because we have so many more new grounds for the philosophy, even when it is only on the subject of organitive training the philosophy of revolution.

(NOTES TO MYSELT)

1

Check whether the question of party was taken up not only as relationship of spontaneity to organization but as leadership to mass, and as philsophy to organization, so that RL must answer what is meant by "pushing" the leaderheip forward.

Moreover, with RL making a special category of general strike as both political and economic, she still naturally sees that it must so to insurrection, then how could that be without subject?

The tragedy in Lenin is not only that he didn't reorganize on the question of the party, but that his great philosophic leap forward is not made available to the masses.

Again, raise RL and party: she certainly wasn't as hostile to the peasantry as LT, and yet she is so opposed to the Bolsheviks' giving land to the peasantry, as if that meant immediate parcelling out the national land to private property.

out the national land to private property.

Finally, the proof of error was not only that Spartakus should have been independent long before, but why the opposition to the have been independent long before, but why the opposition to the have been independent long before, but why the opposition to the have been independent long before it would be dominated by timing of the 3rd International because it would be dominated by

Quolon appended & Clack SCIENCE OF LOGIC, pp. 377-3 "Causality according to natural laws is to not the in a phonomenas of the world may be in the state of derived; it is necessary to assume another a causality through freedom in order to explain them. The antithesis is: -- There is no freedom, but everything win the world happens still according to laws.... "It is said that this proposition is self-contradictory guse natural law consists just in this, that nothing happens wilthout a cause sufficiently determined a priori, which cause thus contains an absolute spontaneity: -- that is the assumption which is opposed to the theses is contradictory because it contradicts the thesis. Tin order to prove the antithesis it has to be posited that there is a freedom as a particular kind of causality -a freedom to initiate and state and hence also a series of consequences of Auctate." (It's the page in which Lenin calls attention to the fact that werel is tathing against Hant.) (Regel says "because self-determination is applied to them only externally" (p. 391) or what we would call intellectual planning, they are only means to ar end, not an end Mature 15 July & 1. Shus John unallace Mes Meres Mink 15 free, 1. e. Relf-distinguiser.

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Metets dip bes. Consolity. Freedom 14883 in themselves.)