

PERSONAL

[June 23, 1919]

Wm C. 1919

Dear Eugene,

There is absolutely nothing personal in this letter, but I don't know how to articulate "brainstorms" when, though totally historic, have such a sharp relevance for us that any mis-reading would cause a great deal more harm than good, and would stop me from developing it objectively. Therefore, consider this letter personal, i.e. not to be shared with others.

Here is what has been gnawing at me for weeks on end: what exactly is the relationship of one as great as Engels to a genius like Marx, if that is reduced to "appreciation", "support", and "loyalty"? Once the philosophy is not grasped; once someone thinks you're the greatest in political economy, in historical materialism, in general political analyses, other than a whole new continent of thought, isn't it a fact that that greatest colleague is the "enemy"?

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And isn't it the truth that every organization since Marx's death that was based on Marxism, that is where the enemy was found?

The thought is galling, but think of it. No one, not even Lenin, either separated Lessalle from Marx, totally separated and totally was only on the side of Marx, and it took our generation before the description of Marx's philosophy was as a "new continent of thought". Fantastic! Here it is Marx dies in 1883 and Engels is off to writing Origin of the Family, as if that were a bequest of Marx, and all the way until he dies, 1895, we are raised on Engels' Origin of the Family, Engels' Socialism: Utopian Scientific, Engels' Fuerbach, AND ENGELS' GIVING THAT HORRID PETTY-BOURGEOIS LAWYER-TYPE, KAUTSKY, AND DIAZ THE ENTIRE LIBRARY ARCHIVES, and everything is off "popularizing" Kentucky economics, in which he does not mention theories of Surplus Value, and dear Rosa is all too busy with the national question and tactics, tactics, tactics. And when Lenin finally catches on, how totally corrupt the Second International is, and totally inadequate his own Bolsheviks and both re-meets Engels and leaves a magnificent Testament, he has nevertheless done it "en censure", so to speak.

Oh my god, how many, from Jogiches to Cannon to the so-called Bolsheviks that are wandering about in America who, giving full freedom to philosophy, theory and "greatness", proceed to say, "but when it comes to the organization, my, my, my experience, Instinct, Tactical Proficiency, holds!" After all, "I am not deviating from the philosophy." (And, incidentally, since Marx is typewritten, let me make a dig at WL: when do you suppose they will recognize that it's as demeaning to consider one the great philosopher as it is to consider one nothing more than either secretary or object, if one keeps that little personal enclave on "I know best on organization"? But that is exactly what Jogiches did to Rosa: she was the good theoretician, she was the great orator, she was the great editor and journalist, and she had total freedom in all these fields. But, oh my dear, on organization...) Yet unless philosophy is also organization, you, even when an Engels, are the enemy!

And now do you wonder why I don't sleep at night?

Yours,

15185