

METHODOLOGY OF MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES -- 1975-1985

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A News & Letters Discussion Bulletin

\$1.50

News & Letters
59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707
Chicago, Ill. 60605

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"A single dialectic process upsurges from actuality and from thought, which is why philosophic mediation is simultaneously the subjective-objective method, the process which makes of knowledge itself a way to produce liberty."

-- 1976 Perspectives

"The whole point of tracing the relationship of objective to subjective is not for history's sake but for today. For it's only when objective and subjective meet that universality becomes real."

-- 1979 Perspectives

"...the subjective situation -- that is to say, what we are, what we do, and what we think -- is so integral to the objective world situation, especially when that is so ridden with myriad crises as today's world is..."

-- 1978 Perspectives

"There is no way to theoretically prepare the revolution without concretizing Absolute Idea as new beginning in relationship to the forces as Reason of revolution for our era."

-- 1978 Draft Perspectives

Introduction -- Marxist-Humanist Perspectives as Philosophy in Action

Our Marxist-Humanist Perspectives over the past decade have encompassed a wealth of dimensions -- analysis of on-going objective/subjective events, revolutionary journalism, organizational tasks of News and Letters Committees, leadership. They have been able to do so because their vision has been one of Philosophy in Action, a tracing of a single dialectic in thought and action, on objective and subjective.

This is why the way we discuss the new book on Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future is crucial. Our projection of the book needs to work out why Raya chose such a difficult, long title. The book is so rich in detail, so broad in scope that you can start almost any place in history, in almost any part of the world you want, in dealing with women's participation is so many areas, from literature, to work, to picketline to revolution. This wealth of particulars helps to make up the richness of the work. You can hear women as poets, as philosophers, as revolutionaries. But the journey we are taking through this book is a journey into dialectics, into the Self-Thinking Idea as it involves a specific subject of revolution. The title is asking how does the interrelation of Women's Liberation with the Dialectics of Revolution understood as dialectics of both thought and action

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come together in such a way that we do literally Reach for the Future. All the new voices from below, as magnificent as they are, cannot in truth be considered separate from this Self-Thinking Idea of Freedom as it has developed historically in action; as it has developed because great thinkers, particularly Marx, strove to develop it, and as the Self-Thinking Idea is developing under the impact of Marxist-Humanism. This is not alone the spirit of the book, but the pathway whereby we can genuinely Reach for the Future.

Even a simple listing of the titles of the philosophic sections within each of the Perspectives Theses of the past decade can help us to focus on the working out of that single dialectic of action and thought as Marxist-Humanism's unique contribution:

- 1975 "Dialectics of Organization and Dialectics of Liberation"
- 1976 "Creation of a Philosophic Nucleus is not just an Organizational Task, but the Pressing Need for Ongoing Revolutions and Revolutions-to-be"
- 1977 "The Dialectics of Liberation as Concrete Forces of Revolution as well as Reason, and our Concrete Tasks"
- 1978 "The Praxis of Philosophy"
- 1979 "Can We Aid the New Beginnings -- the Momentous World Historic Events of Our Decade -- to Develop Instead of Abort?"
- 1980 "Long March of Revolt, Long March of Philosophy: Imperative Need for New Relationship of Practice to Theory"
- 1981 "Historic Moments for Transforming Reality, Beginning with the Movement from Practice, Marked by Theoretic Turning Points (from M&F and IH through Archives to P&R and RLVLMK)"
- 1982 "The Creative Nature of Marx's Mind and the Tasks of Marxist-Humanists Today"
- 1983 "Marxist-Humanism's Challenge to Post-Marx Marxists and Other Alternatives to Marx's Marxism, its Dialectics of Liberation"
- 1984 "Not by Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory"
- 1985 "The Self-Thinking Idea in a New Concept of and Relationship to the Dialectics of Leadership, as well as the Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty"

The words Marxist-Humanist, added to the title of the Perspectives for the first time in 1984, give us the vantage point for a Retrospective of ten years of Perspectives, 1975-1985. In this state-capitalist age Marxist-Humanism has been our ground for viewing and analyzing objectivity, pinpointing and participating with the subjectivity of masses in motion. And is the humus for the most crucial dimension within these Perspectives Theses -- dialectics -- as simultaneously objective/subjective.

Three strands, posed as questions, form the basis for this Retrospective: 1) What in the last ten years has Marxist-Humanism seen as objective turning points in history, sometimes reaching actual global shifts in politics? 2) What has Marxist-Humanism singled out as new leaps in subjectivity -- moments of freedom -- in the mass struggles? 3) What has represented new stages of cognition within Marxist-Humanist philosophy?

This Retrospective tries to answer these questions by examining how the past decade's Perspective Theses have, at one and the same time, "covered the world," -- specifically the United States, Russia and China and revolutionary moments in the Third World as well as the West and East -- and concretized new philosophic categories of Marxist-Humanism -- Absolute Idea as New Beginning, Post-Marx Marxists. The final Perspectives, Marxist-Humanist Perspectives 1985-86 is a view of the whole 30 years of our existence. As well it sets the ground for the continuation of Perspectives as philosophic-political journalism.

I. STATE-CAPITALISM

a. America in the Age of State-Capitalism

"America" is the foremost objective factor within Perspectives. There is no Perspectives Thesis which does not have a significant section devoted to the objective situation within America and to America's imperialist tentacles abroad.

The experience of American capitalism as Marxist-Humanism analyzed it -- a new stage of automated production, and now a new decade of economic crisis; as the premier imperialist power of the globe; and perhaps most ominous of all, as the only country to drop an atomic weapon upon a living population, and which has now chosen to so closely link militarization and the economy as a single unit -- has given us a particular vantage point for viewing world capitalism as America has shaped it.

The American experience of Marxist-Humanism -- in its revolutionary roots within the race/class dialectic, most especially of Black masses as vanguard; in the concept of worker as Reason as we traced workers' attitudes to Automation; in hewing out the category of Woman as Revolutionary Force and Reason; of Youth as a revolutionary dimension -- has given a unique stamp to how we view mass subjectivity.

The clash of objectivity and subjectivity as it happened, and as Marxist-Humanism has striven to make happen, can be seen in how the Perspectives Theses have viewed America through

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the past ten years.

"War and the Economy at the moment of deep structural crisis"

In the decade of Perspectives under review the economic crisis was continuous beginning with the '73-'74 deep recession and stretching to the latest twists of Reaganomics. What was most powerful, and most ominous, was how war and the economy were linked ever tighter throughout the ten years, not because Marxist-Humanism designated it, but because it was inherent within the very logic of the capitalist crisis which Marxist-Humanism unraveled.

The 1974 Draft Perspectives Thesis pinpointed the extraordinary nature of the economic crisis: "the present recession differs from all the post-war recessions with which we have been plagued since the Depression sent us to the holocaust of World War II...capitalism has produced a permanent army of unemployed, and not just for a period of recession but as part of the very organism of decadent capitalism which in the U.S. emitted the fantastic phenomenon of a third generation of the unemployed."

It was in response to the objective nature of this severe crisis, and the failure of the Left to grasp its significance which determined our decision to begin the fullest public presentation of our Draft Perspectives by printing it in N&L beginning in 1975. By the time of our 1977-78 Draft Perspectives, not only was automated capitalism producing permanent unemployment, but the crisis was so severe that it was no longer a question of a mere cyclic crisis -- "There is to be no next boom."

In the '78 Draft Thesis, the economy, in this case "The Sick Economy," was analyzed, but this time preceded by the neutron bomb: "What dehumanized creature could compete with the super-scientist-military-industrial complex of State Planners which dares describe a bomb as 'clean' because, though this neutron bomb can mass kill by radiation, it leaves property intact!"

What Marx had analyzed in the 19th century was no longer just on the distant horizon, but here and now: "Long, long ago -- over a century ago -- Marx showed how labor and only labor in production -- that and nowhere else -- produces all value and surplus value, with its own absolute contradiction: profits in ever greater mass, as well as the decline in the rate of profit." ('78 Full Perspective).

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In the '79 Full Thesis it was shown that not only didn't this economic crisis come out of the blue in terms of the absolute contradiction of capitalist production, but that the specific boiling-over point was not alone the quadrupling of oil prices, but war, in this case the Vietnam War: "...the structural changes are a result not only of this relationship of C/V (constant to variable capital), but of the fact that so much production has gone into militarization -- a type of production that is good only for destroying, not for growth. In a word, the present stage of decay in the U.S. and world economy began, not in 1973-74, but with the Vietnam War and LBJ's lie that we could have both 'guns and butter.'"

The economic crisis had by 1979 extended to "A New Global Recession-In-The-Making." Here again the reality of the ever-tightening link between the economy and the military was made in the section entitled "Oil for the Militarized Economy" which is threatened by the Global Shift of the Iranian Revolution: "...the crisis isn't because of the individual motorist's needs; rather, it is because of the insatiable appetite of the Pentagon."

And in case you think Star Wars was only a Ronald Reagan project, the '79 Draft Perspectives told of the \$50 billion already spent on planning for "space war."

The recession was now worldwide in the making and militarization of the economies continued on an ever upward spiral. By 1979-80 we were again with a recession and it characterized not only the U.S. but Western Europe and Japan where unemployment had reached some seven million.

Entering the 1980s, the strings were drawn tighter and tighter between the economy and full militarization. The 1980 Perspectives began with a section entitled "Missiles, Missiles, Missiles -- But What About Jobs" and we were here not speaking of the mad man Ronald Reagan but: "nothing less than the absolutely fantastic sum of \$1 trillion during the next five years (that) is scheduled to be spent by Carter on missiles, missiles, and more missiles!"

When Reagan did enter office and began Reaganomics full blast, the Draft Perspectives of '81 had to pose starkly: "Will the 'restructured' American economy bring us to the nuclear holocaust?" By 1982, "a winnable nuclear war" became part of the Reagan perspectives as Marxist-Humanism headlined its Draft

Perspectives, "Mass Opposition to Reaganomics and the Drive for Nuclear War and the Mass Global Anti-Nuclear Movement." By 1983, we were "in the Global Year of the Missile" as Reagan fought for his MX while the "world economy" as one word faced no less than 32 million unemployed in the industrialized West.

In each Perspectives Thesis of the 1980s the particulars of automated production -- permanent unemployment, growing deficits in the hundreds of billions and militarization, militarization, militarization -- were outlined. In America, state-capitalist economics and politics had become one, and that one was a drive for full nuclear militarization of the economy in preparation for Reagan's 'winnable nuclear war.'

"Imperialist Tentacles"

"Inherent in this degenerate capitalism is its imperialist outreach." (1982 Perspectives Thesis)

Let us restrict ourselves to looking at a single year's Perspectives -- "Today and Tomorrow" (1980), and in particular to its section "U.S. Imperialism's Tentacles: From Iran to South Korea, and from El Salvador to Iraq; also Relations with other Capitalist Imperialisms", as we examine American state-capitalism abroad. That immediacy of a single year did not stop the 1980 Perspectives Thesis from being able to bring forth both a history of exploitation and a history of revolt with regard to a country or a region. Thus, both the origins of American imperialism and the first opposition to it from within were pointed out: "It is the war with Latin America that made the U.S. an imperialist land, and that early, Black masses proved their vanguard nature. They were the very first and only to organize an Anti-Imperialist League to oppose the war with Spain for Latin America." Here we were able to see how the category "at home and abroad" was an important dimension of how Marxist-Humanism viewed imperialism.

In this 1980 Thesis one of the imperial relations taken up was between South Korea and the U.S. Starting with 1980, when the U.S. "is looking for still another Shah like General Chon," the Thesis quickly traced the U.S. role in S. Korea ever since the Korean War. But it traced that role unseparated from the movement of the South Korean masses against each dictator that the U.S. tried to impose on the Korean masses -- Singman Rhee, Park ChungHee and now General Chon Too Kwan.

One found the same method used when taking up very briefly Guatemala and El Salvador. Every imperial adventure, imposition of a new ruler, manipulation and outright coup, was seen against the background of a continuous revolt within these countries. The truth of U.S. relations with Latin America, not only in the "good old big stick day" but the truth right into the 1980s was one where the U.S. had been against any democratic agrarian reform, time after time using the spectre of Communism, and had time after time installed or propped up neo-fascist regimes.

When the Perspectives moved from South Korea and Latin America to the Middle East of Iraq, it again refused to be limited to the latest U.S. flirtation with Iraq as part of its anti-Iran stance, but went back to "the class truth, the irreversible affinity began with the counter-revolution against the very first and genuine anti-imperialist revolution in Iraq. It was 1958." The Perspectives briefly gave the story of the revolution and how it overthrew the Baghdad Pact and tried to begin something new in the Middle East not tied either to Nasser or Ba'th. The CIA-sponsored coup was discussed and finally the Ba'th taking of power in 1968. Then the Perspectives moved even further back to Iraq in 1919 under the impact of the Russian Revolution, the different Marxist tendencies of the 1920s, the anti-imperialist work of the 1930s. This tracing was not for an abstract historical purpose. It was to show that by the time you come to Saddam Hussein and his "anti-imperialism," you saw that it had none of these revolutionary roots left. There simply was no way to fight the U.S. imperialist tentacles without a full world historic view.

Imperialism's purposes in our post World War II world were not simply a question of super-profits and world markets, and strategic commodities such as oil. It was that, but within the context of a bi-polar world striving for single world domination. The Perspectives demonstrated that by showing that out of power, Richard Nixon in his The Real War dated that war as beginning "before World War II ended, thus extending the Cold War indefinitely -- well, until the hot war finally arrives."

b. The State-Capitalism of China and Russia

The interpenetration of political analysis and philosophic framework can be seen in how the Perspectives Theses took up the state-capitalism of China and Russia.

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Marxism and Freedom in its original discussion of Russia and its two added chapters on China, and Philosophy and Revolution with its "Thought of Mao Tse-Tung" chapter, gave the theoretical underpinnings for Marxist-Humanism's analysis of Russia and China. The Perspectives Theses of the past decade have extended and deepened that analysis in discussing ongoing events.

Those major events included carrying on the battle of the Sino-Soviet Conflict worldwide, extending to "the Second World" of Europe including the Portuguese Revolution; the Third World in revolution as in Angola; the death of Mao; the China card in the U.S.-Russia bi-polar world. The reason for the reversal of Russia/China in the title for this section is not that we aren't aware either of historical order or economic/nuclear might of these state-capitalist countries. Rather it stems from the reality of China's challenge to Russia in these years, its attraction as an alternative to a number of movements and especially, to its pull among young revolutionaries in America.

The 1975 Draft Perspectives spoke of the attraction of Mao: "Why does it (China) appear revolutionary, though involved in the power politics of all state powers? Isn't the reason the centrality of theory? Isn't it the philosophic appearance rather than only economic or even military perspectives? Above all, doesn't China always talk of revolution, revolution, revolution?"

In the Full Perspectives for that year Raya briefly traced the ground for the transformation from Sino-Soviet orbit to Sino-Soviet Conflict. She reminded us that when, in 1957, Mao had used the expression "the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind" it had "meant not so much China as Russia; Russia was winning the battle over U.S. imperialism and over its technology with its own Sputnik." This praise of Russia was after the Hungarian Revolution had been put down. "But once Khrushchev didn't offer Mao the atomic secret on a silver platter and, at the same time, did not consider Mao's 'Great Leap Forward' as the way to skip socialism directly into Communism, then, and only then, did the ground begin to be laid for what soon became the Sino-Soviet Conflict."

The 1976 Draft Perspectives devoted a whole section to "State-Capitalism in Theory and in Practice." It began by rooting itself in Marx: "What is state-capitalism calling itself Communism? Isn't it the stage of capitalism Marx predicted in Capital, not because he

was preoccupied with 'prophesying' ultimates, but because, in logically tracing the 'law of motion' of capitalism, he wanted to warn the proletariat that even if capitalism ever reached the stage where capital would be concentrated 'in the hands of one single capitalist or one single corporation,' nothing fundamental whatever would change in the most fundamental of all relations -- capital/labor which had to be totally uprooted?"

The Perspectives then asked what had been new since this theory Marx projected became reality "first, with the transformation into opposite of Russia as a workers' state into a state-capitalist society; secondly, with the Depression's collapse of private competitive capitalism and rise of fascism; and thirdly, post-World War II world?"

When the Sino-Soviet orbit became the Sino-Soviet conflict, "a new stage of national Communism had appeared." "No longer could one hide under Trotsky's understanding of nationalism as a return to private property. The nationalism of state-capitalism the world over meant also a new imperialism, not alone for division of the world, but single, national control of the world economy." "...that the new nationalism with global reach is the nature of world capitalism today, including state-capitalism calling itself Communism, is not faced."

The Sino-Soviet conflict had brought about a new stage of national Communism, with a global reach. That global reach could be seen in the on-going revolutions in Portugal and Angola. In Portugal, the Maoists ended joining with the Socialist Party against the Communists. In Angola, the Russia-Cuba aid signaled a possible shift in the global balance of power and it was this that riveted China, including its support of the South African-backed faction in Angola.

The Full Thesis in 1976 followed up the political discussion of the Sino-Soviet conflict with a brief tracing of Mao's thought from "On Contradiction" and "On Practice", 1937, to 1958's "How to Handle Contradictions Among the People" to Mao's Thought after the Cultural Revolution and designation of Russia as Enemy No. 1, to his concept of the Second World: "The rhetoric notwithstanding, Mao's concept of the Second World vitiates proletarian internationalism, replacing it with the narrowest nationalist 'anti-imperialism' with global reach, even as 'On Contradiction' vitiated the class struggle and subordinated it to political super-

structure. In both historic periods -- 1937-49 and 1966-77 -- philosophy was transformed from theoretic preparation for social revolution to military strategy and tactics of reaching power." In summation Raya characterized Mao's "empiric methodology" which was "totally, absolutely opposite of the Hegelian-Marxian Method, the Dialectic."

Russia's state-capitalism was taken up in the 1977 Draft Perspectives Thesis, beginning with the Hitler-Stalin Pact. In opposition to Russian state-capitalism were the East European Revolts. The latest revolt was that in Poland in 1976. It was that kind of revolt which truly undermined Russian imperialism.

The death of Mao was taken up, not as a shift in global politics, indeed the Perspectives showed that Mao had "died" long before his actual death, but as "whatever de-Maoization is to develop now, abolition of the Sino-Soviet conflict is not one of its 'principles.'"

The full thesis of 1977 in a section entitled "Mao's China in the Bi-Polar World of U.S.-Russia" traced Mao's failure to change that bi-polar nature. But the essence of the failure was not only the nature of the U.S. and Russia as nuclear behemoths, but in 1) the failure of Mao to take an independent class line against Russia, ending instead under the objective pull of world state-capitalism poised for global nuclear war with Russia as enemy No. 1 and U.S. as friend No. 1 and 2) the willingness of Mao to put down the revolutionaries that arose from the Left within China, including Sheng Wu-lien and the Tienanmen Square demonstrations of 1976. The section ended with Mao's thought jammed against Hegel's discussion of "Spirit in Self-Estrangement."

By 1978 we were left with Carter's trip to China, but that "China card" whether "in the U.S.'s hands, or China's own, it is a False Alternative." And in 1981 the Draft Perspectives in a section entitled "China: de-Maoization and heightening contradictions in state-capitalism" concentrated on looking at the contradictions within China rewriting its own history as if Russia had always been enemy number one. But such had not been the case. The section ended: "The last word on how far the flirtation with U.S. imperialism will go has not yet been spoken. Even if Deng had not left loopholes to change policy, the point is that Chinese state-capitalism calling itself Communist, though eons away from any genuine Marxism, is not exactly the equivalent of Reagan's re-establishment of 'pure' private capitalism."

What had given the distinctive Marxist-Humanist stamp to how Perspectives took up the state-capitalist world of Russia and China was three-fold: 1) the political maneuvers on high were shown to have nothing to do with obtaining human freedom, but were a constant shifting for new alliances of power among the rulers; 2) the absolute opposite of that state rule was shown to be the self-activity of the masses, in China itself, in Russia and its satellites, who emerged from the Left and who did so trying to open a life and death discussion/action on the Marxism of Marx. 3) The presentation by Marxist-Humanism of what was genuine Marxism, both as the absolute opposite of the economics of state-capitalism as practiced by Russia and China, and of the philosophy of state-capitalism claiming to be Marxist, especially in the form of "the Thought of Mao," which lay close to empiricism and far, far away from the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic.

II. MARXIST-HUMANISM

a. Philosophy and Revolution's Absolute Idea as New Beginning: Its Ramifications in Perspectives in the 1970s

While Marxist-Humanist philosophy had been integral to Perspectives Theses since our birth, the publication of Philosophy and Revolution in the early seventies meant a quite explicit kind of philosophic writing within the Perspectives Theses of the 1970s. At the same time that Marxist-Humanism was spoken of as ground for our analysis of objective/subjective events, specific philosophic categories were related directly to ongoing events. The revolutionary new passions and new forces that were emerging in outright revolution, in the birth of the Third World, in the whole epoch of post World War II struggles, were jammed against philosophic categories. Since Absolute Idea as New Beginning was recognized as the revolutionary/philosophic category of our age, actual revolutionary moments and particular philosophic categories were analyzed as pathways to/concretizations of/Absolute Idea as New Beginning.

"Portugal and 'Facts emerging out of ground'"

The 1975 Perspectives Thesis took up the Portuguese Revolution. But the context in which it was taken up was not at all limited to the immediate political questions. Rather, a philosophic framework for considering the facts of that revolution was presented. Facts piled upon facts could not give a direction. Instead of facts considered empirically, the Perspectives asked us to consider them as Hegel described them: facts emerging out of ground; to see the relationship between "what appears and is its opposite,

mediation, development, relationship to all other facts -- a totality of conditions that has brought about the facts we see."

Thus, if you took the facts of the Portugese revolution, but allowed the ground to be that of the neo-fascist General Spinoza who headed the first coup, then you would not have caught the movement of the revolution, the fact that what began as reform in 1974, became quite different by 1975. The Perspectives traced this philosophically: "Hegel said the transformation of Ground externalizes itself, that is, appears. The release of social forces -- masses in motion -- emerged, was born anew. Clearly the new immediate was the result of a process."

That revolutionary Ground in turn became Condition: "The transformation of Ground into Conditions, that is to say, its becoming history, is precisely what has caused both the immediate and the mediation to unite in a new way, so that instead of looking at one single fact in isolation, you were seeing facts coalescing and moving on, that is to say, the Subject who is seeking these facts moving on to change what is. The Armed Forces Movement shows itself, but so do political parties and Women's Liberationists, and a lot of dialogue -- self-movement of the Idea, and of the masses."

Now the Thesis jumped from a fact to the whole world. It could not be a view of the world as a mere compilation of facts whose totality was supposedly the objective world: "It, too is one-sided unless we see that objective world with its ingrained subjectivity, we will not see both what is meant about totality and how, at this critical juncture, counter-revolution is not only an outside enemy, but comes from within."

"Third World Revolutions ('Spirit in Self-Estrangement')"

In the 1977 Perspectives Thesis Spirit in Self-Estrangement was taken up in a new way with regard to revolutions in the Third World. Where previously Spirit in Self-Estrangement had often been discussed as a fixed category with regard to Mao, here the discussion revolved around what happened when Spirit in Self-Estrangement was not fixed but could become a determination of the dialectic on the road to revolution. Frantz Fanon and Aime Cesaire were quoted as the Black Dimension in the Caribbean and Africa, while Octavio Paz's Labyrinth of Solitude as Latin America. In all these a dimension of Spirit in Self-Estrangement not present when Mao was the manifestation was shown: "The Great Divide will first come when the masses in today's alien world show how they mean to transform the 'Spirit in Self-Estrangement' into a road to revolution." And, "The overwhelming, incontrovertible fact of the actual continuous revolts is that out of the 'Spirit in Self-Estrangement' comes not despair but the road to revolution."

Didn't this creative "reading" of Spirit in Self-Estrangement come from the fact that Marxist-Humanism chose to jam together the rise of the Third World with the Marxist-Humanist category of Absolute Idea as a New Beginning?

That same 1977 Perspectives Thesis opens with a discussion of how to grasp what was epochally new in the revolts of the post World War II period: "Facing Reality on the Question of the Difference Between Totally New Beginnings, and a New Stage."

"The whole point is that not all great events which mark new stages of revolt are also epochal new beginnings, initiating a historic new in thought as well as in fact, and cannot be driven out of history even when defeated." East Germany was raised in the Perspectives as such a new beginning, while Paris, May, 1968, "did not initiate a new epoch in thought. Rather, it ended the epoch of the 1960s." Here was the dividing line in saying '69 was not '68 and why it was so: For Marxist-Humanism, "to draw a balance sheet between what were truly new, epochal beginnings, and what were only new stages of revolt" meant to see near revolutions or even actual revolutions without philosophy, whose remaining mark became not new points of departure upon which to build, but a compulsion to dive deep into philosophy to find what must still be developed. The incompleteness of the new stage of activism and most activism of the 1960s, meant a compulsion for Marxist-Humanism to more fully work out the new beginnings that had been created in actuality, in philosophy, in the 1950s. Thus, by the early 1970s, Absolute Idea as New Beginning became the fullest expression of what the breakthrough on the Absolute Idea meant.

b. Philosophy and Perspectives in the 1980s: Marx's New Moments and the Post-Marx Marxists

The process of working out Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution in the early 1980s created, at one and the same time, the conception of Marx's new moments in his last decade, and the category of post-Marx Marxists. This category could be created when we had the totality of Marx and realized what a chasm there was between Marx and all others, beginning with Engels. The new moments that were being worked out for the book were as well presented in the Perspectives Theses of the 1980s.

In the 1981 Full Perspectives Raya singled out the new moments in Marx directly in relation to additions he made to the French edition of Capital. First, were the additions Marx worked out on the concentration and centralization of capital. Those in turn became the ground for our theory of state-

capitalism and thus gave a pathway out of the tailending Stalinism which the Trotskyists failed to escape.

Second, were the additions on the Fetishism of Commodities after the Paris Commune posed the alternative of freely associated labor. They thereby expressed how the fetishism could be stripped off in a new society. That relationship of an upsurge from practice, the Paris Commune, and a theoretician's creation of new categories of thought, had its parallel in our day in the movement from practice as manifested in the Hungarian Revolution and its being caught by Marxist-Humanism as a new beginning and as helping us to release our own new continent of thought.

Third, Marx's writings on primitive accumulation not being only at the dawn of civilization but characterizing its latest stage in industrialization as well, so that one held before them, as one continuous development, imperialism and industrialization at home, or foreign trade and internal trade. Accumulation of capital could be seen as not being a separate moment from concentration and centralization. And with this final moment, the Perspectives as well showed Marx's view of the non-European world as witness his trip to Algiers, returning "his head full of Africa and the Arabs."

In the 1982 Draft Perspectives, the section entitled "New Moments in Marx and Today's New Challenges" brought forth new moments in a different manner as new paths for development. Here the Perspectives pointed out: "1. New revolutionary forces, no longer limited to the proletariat in advanced lands but present also in the underdeveloped countries. 2) New cultures which, even when 'primitive,' actually disclosed more human relationships, as witness the Iroquois women. 3) The multi-dimensionality of civilization, in which the West was by no means seen as 'civilized' and the Orient as 'backward.' There is no Chinese Wall between civilizations. Dialectical development allows for no such unbridgeable stagifying."

The Perspectives then asked were any post-Marx Marxists grounded in such a magnificent vision of humanity's "absolute movement of becoming"? And then traced the negatives of the answer save for Lenin on Hegelian dialectics, but not on the Party. We as Marxist-Humanists were able to show both this view of Marx and the need to break with "all the post-Marx Marxists who congealed Marxism to their dogmatism and failed to work out the new moments as a continuing development."

In the 1983 Draft Perspectives section entitled "Marx's Final Writings Let Us Hear Marx Thinking" Raya took two kinds of looks at Marx's last decade. First was at his study

of pre-capitalist human cultures especially in his Ethnological Notebooks, his unmailed letter to Mihailovsky, his new preface to the Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto. All showed "Marx's dialectical methodology as the dialectics of 'revolution in permanence' which led him to experience new moments of human development."

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Second, Raya look/at Marx's 1875 Critique of the Gotha Program on the relationship of philosophy to revolution and to organization which the German Social Democracy paid no attention to and even Lenin did not allow that Critique to influence his concept of the party to lead. Finally, the 1983 Full Perspectives was a review of the several ways of looking at Marx's new moments.

The review of different illuminations one could get from the new moments of Marx's last decade was precisely what fully developed the category of post-Marx Marxists. What was your attitude to Marx's writings both published and unpublished? It was that attitude which revealed why we could create the category of post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative. It was our attitude to all the new moments of Marx from the 1840s to the 1880s not as "admirers of" but as seeing those new moments as a pathway for revolution in our day, as part of a trail if we did the hewing that would make Marxist-Humanism the continuator of Marx's Marxism because it had become the name of Absolute Idea as New Beginning for our age.

III. The Third World

"Perspectives on New Revolutionary Moments in the '70s and '80s: In the Third World as well as in the East and West"

The Perspectives Theses of the past decade had covered turning points of revolution/counter-revolution throughout the world: South Africa of Soweto 1976, Black Consciousness, students and workers moving to an even newer flowering in 1985-86; the Central America of the Nicaraguan Revolution, of the revolutionary life and horrible death of El Salvador, that is once again challenging the U.S. stranglehold over Latin America; the Poland of Solidarnosc which had been in permanent proletarian rebellion since 1980, though not without contradictions; the Iran of the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Shah, but the imposition so quickly of the Islamic fundamentalism of Khomeini, a revolution/counter-revolution that has caused a shift in global politics whose full course has not yet been run; the revolutions of Portugal and Angola which initiated new points of departure both on forms of organization and on relations of Third World Revolutions to European revolutions.

Were any of these truly new beginnings? In some cases the answer remains very much on the agenda. The Perspectives

Theses of the decade dug into the new stages created by these movements and sought to find new beginnings within the movements.

a) Take South Africa: The first section (Azikwelwa, "We will not ride") of the 1976 Perspectives Thesis began with a description of the bus boycott, the Black youths' fight against the oppressors' language of Afrikaans, the three-day general strike, all of which became a new stage in Black Revolutionary Consciousness. Did not that brief section then become the take-off point for our pamphlet which came out on the second anniversary of the Soweto Rebellion -- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought?

Five years later, 1981, our Perspectives called attention to "The Revolutionary Dialogue Between Continents" singling out South Africa among others and calling attention to both internal guerrillas and, for the first time ever, a massive trade union organization.

The 1985 Perspectives not only covered the latest powerful events in South Africa, but linked it to the global situation in its section titled "Hitler's Visage in Apartheid South Africa Shows the Future the Rulers Hold in Store for All of Us" and traced the history of South African revolt as far as the turn of the century as well as to its relation to the new epoch of struggles that opened worldwide in the 1950s.

b. Take Central America: The 1977 Perspectives Thesis took up the Sandinistas' seizure of the Nicaraguan National Palace which could not merely be dismissed as terrorism, as the bourgeois press was trying to do, but also was not a social revolution. Thus, the action in Nicaragua that year was not separated from calling attention to our Political-Philosophic Letter on Latin America's Unfinished Revolutions which "discussed what happened to the New Divide in Latin America which began with the Cuban Revolution."

In 1980 the Perspectives took up the struggle in El Salvador not only against U.S. imperialism's support of genocide, but the forms of struggle in El Salvador, including a general strike and the growing guerrilla forces. In 1984 the Thesis continued in El Salvador under Duarte where murder did not slow down, and in Nicaragua which was under the very real threat of Reagan's intention of invading.

How to solidarize with these Latin American challenges to U.S. imperialism and at the same time to challenge that Latin American revolutionary movement to deepen its own revolutionary ground was the dual thrust of the Perspectives' discussions on Latin America.

c) Take Poland: "The most exciting new form of freedom in the world today is being created in Poland" was how we characterized the struggle in our 1980 Perspectives in a section entitled "All Roads Lead to Gdansk, Poland." A description of the events, including an occupation of the shipyard, was not separated from our pinpointing as well the group of intellectuals who created Workers' Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR) out of the 1976 food protests and subsequent police crackdown. Raya's discussion of the Polish events brought forth a history extending from the 1943-44 Warsaw Uprisings when the Johnson-Forest Tendency wrote "All Roads Lead to Warsaw" through the 1956 events, the mid-1960s "Open Letter to the Party" of Kuron and Modzelewski, and the 1970 shipyard occupation by Polish workers. She ended as follows: "What we have now in the 1980 general strike is, at one and the same time, a 40-year-long struggle for freedom and one that will not be silenced either on the front of struggles or the front of political economy or that of philosophy. Once such a flare is set up, it lights up the world."

In 1981 our Perspectives began by linking Silesia 1981 and Silesia, 1844. Silesia 1981 meant miners demanding control of any production given on "free Saturdays." The Perspectives drew a parallel between those events and Marx's hailing of the Silesian weavers of 1844 who had signaled the next stage of workers' struggle in smashing the machines and burning the deeds.

In summing up Poland 1981, we wrote: "In a single year they have established a free trade union, Solidarity, which has creative political overtones; they have established a Peasants' Union, another historic first for any state-capitalist country calling itself Communist; and now they have carried on not only a printers' strike but are demanding access to all mass media -- including TV and radio."

Later in this same Perspectives there was a Marxist dialogue with Kuron and Modzelewski. I say dialogue even though we could not directly speak with them because Marxist-Humanism took the ideas of freedom so seriously that we wanted to have that dialogue with others right in our Perspectives. That is precisely what we did by asking Kuron if the movement constantly needed to choose between superpowers, or could, not a middle road, but a revolutionary road be forged.

The dialogue continued in our 1983 Perspectives which quoted the imprisoned Polish political prisoners Ewa Kubasiewicz, who refused an amnesty that would deny her the right to continue to openly oppose the regime, and Adam Michnik, who "reached out to solidarize with the Chilean workers on strike: 'I express to the political prisoners my admiration and solidarity.' And he signed his message: 'Adam Michnik, Investiga-

tion Prison, Rakowiecka St. 37, Warsaw."

d) Take Iran: In the mid 1970s the Shah had the role of being the U.S.'s policeman in the Middle East oil fields and oil lanes to the world. The 1979 Iranian Revolution not alone knocked down this U.S. policeman, but caused, as the title for the 1979 Draft Perspectives indicated, "a Shift in Global Politics."

The flow of oil became threatened not by "intra-imperialist rivalries or intra-Arab maneuvers, but the outright revolution with Iran." "In a word, the burning question is not Oil, but Revolution/Counter-Revolution."

Within the framework of this global shift in politics the Perspectives briefly pointed out forces within that revolution from youth, including children, to women, to the self-determination of Kurds and Arabs. But also contained was a critique of those who had not challenged the leadership of Khomeini, especially his reduction of the philosophy of revolution to an "Islamic Republic." "...so complex and contradictory is the Iranian revolution that the counter-revolution, virtually built into it, puts a question mark over the very existence of the Iranian Revolution."

By the Full Perspectives for that year, our attention was to a new phase in the Iranian Revolution -- the massive demonstrations against Khomeini, especially by the women and by the Kurds. A special report directly from Iran was appended onto the Perspectives report.

In the 1980 Draft Perspectives that Shift in Global Politics under the impact of the Iranian Revolution, even with "Grave Contradictions" was characterized as: "The reality is that no matter how contradictory, no matter how unfinished, no matter how even counter-revolutionary elements are within the Iranian revolution, it is the upheaval which is, at one and the same time, the greatest event not just of the year but the decade, far outdistancing in its implications the other Middle Eastern hotspots, including the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 and 1973, shifting the locale of the possible superpower confrontation. What is genuinely new is that this possible pivot of superpower confrontation is, as we have pointed out, by no means only one regarding oil."

The Perspectives Thesis as well situated the Iranian Revolution historically, calling attention to the dualities of the mullahs in the first 1906 Revolution. And by the Full Perspectives of 1980, the focus became one of the responsibility of Marxist intellectuals as the counter-revolution took hold. The Draft Perspectives of that same year had shown how

that Iranian revolution had created altogether new divisions in the Middle East, changing everything especially in the Arab world: "The only unity between the rulers of the Arab countries now being that they were all against the revolution."

(I have limited the Middle East here to Iran and have not taken up the extensive body of literature within the Perspectives Theses on other parts of the Middle East. This is done both for reasons of space and because, ever since the defeat of the Lebanese Civil War aided by revolutionaries themselves, most of the objective/subjective events of the decade have been counter-revolutionary in nature.)

e) Take Portugal and Angola: What was exciting to see was how the Perspectives Thesis discussed the ongoing revolutions in Portugal and Angola in the years '76, '77, '78. The 1976 Draft Perspectives brought us the new in Portugal and Angola. It was no accident that the two were linked, for the Portuguese Revolution "at once displayed revolutionary features and precisely because it was grounded in Africa."

The Thesis discussed that not only was the revolution anti-fascist, but anti-capitalist and had a strong revolutionary current that was independent of all existing state powers. But it also warned that both the CP and most especially the SP were out to contain the revolution.

In the full '77 Perspectives, Raya singled out the new of "the social occupations of factories and seizures of land, factory councils and tenants' and neighborhood commissions, strikes, 15 political parties, and myriad political meetings, not the least of which were Women's Liberation meetings..."

This is all summed up in "the one tragic historic new word -- apartidarismo (non partyism)." That word is far from being only a word "but a matter of facing anew the relationship of spontaneity to organization, of theory to practice, of philosophy to revolution." (Draft Perspectives, 1977)

The Perspectives refused to limit itself to either the new relations of Africa and Europe, or the new forms of struggle within Portugal itself. The fact that the revolution itself had come under the whip of counter-revolution including the Sino-Soviet conflict, NATO, the social-democrats -- meant that the revolution could only restart itself by reaching the level of uniting philosophy and revolution. Philosophy itself had become the concrete that was needed.

In Conclusion: Marxist-Humanist Perspectives 1985-86--A Brief View of Our Present Tasks

This final Perspectives had a form which was different from any of the previous Perspectives Theses. In its publication in bulletin form the Perspectives encompassed both the report given to the first session of the News and Letters Committees Plenum and the leadership report, entitled "The Self-Thinking Idea in a New Concept and Relationship to the Dialectics of Leadership, as well as the Self-Bring^{ing} Forth of Liberty," and delivered to the last session of the Plenum.

The linking of these two reports as one Marxist-Humanist Perspectives was a new dimension of Marxist-Humanist methodology. Consciousness of the method, recognition of it, was inseparable from practice of the method in its fullness.

Marxist-Humanist methodology is not an abstract tool. It becomes flesh and blood in how it engages the ongoing objective/subjective world. But, by the same token, it is not exhausted in analysis after analysis as if it were limited to being an empiric tool. This methodology has a home. It is within a living body of ideas, Marx's Marxism recreated as Marxist-Humanism over the last 40 years. We all feel rightly proud of how Marxist-Humanism is able to analyze the crises within the objective world -- from Bitburg and Star Wars to South Africa and the world economic crisis, to almost any particular historic moment we have analyzed in Perspective Theses. But as deep as this crisis of capitalism, private and state, is, it is no deeper than the crisis within the revolutionary movement, within radical thought, within what passes for Marxism today. Unless we can begin to have influence over that crisis, to be able to firmly project the critique of others that Marxist-Humanism has worked out, and the pathways we project for an entirely different, revolutionary direction, then we cannot hope to be able to approach in a truly critical, that is decisive manner, the crisis of capitalism. Are we able to project to others as part of a battle of ideas who we are, what we mean when we refer to the Trilogy of Revolution, what we mean when we speak of Marxist-Humanism's unchaining of the dialectic?

We are the ones who have most fully unchained that revolutionary dialectic since Marx. But we have not yet unchained it fully. Of course it cannot be unchained in totality until the masses undertake its full unchaining in life. But we can still unchain it in a fuller manner today than we have and thus propel its full unchaining in life if we can become more deeply conscious of, and thus more completely project to the outside, the unchaining that Marxist-Humanism represents as this world-historic-philosophic tendency that arose

in the post World War II world.

The '85-'86 Perspectives extended Marxist-Humanism's unchaining of the dialectic by combining the Perspectives presentation with the Leadership presentation. The focal point was a discussion of the Self-Thinking Idea. Raya began by asking us to see what does it mean to develop the Idea to its ultimate -- to follow the self-development of the Idea when it is the Idea of Freedom; second, as the unchaining of the dialectic, not in the hands of a single person, but following the Idea itself as it is unchained historically from Hegel to our day; third, thinking about the Idea when that idea is in the hands of a single dialectical thinker, be it Marx or Dunayevskaya.

When the Self-Thinking Idea is the Idea of Freedom, and it is followed not alone in its immediate sense as in the townships of South Africa today, but is as well seen in its historic sense -- from the earlier period of humanity's existence to today's South Africa, -- then does not that Idea have its own logic, that is not blind? The experience of the Idea of Freedom at any historic moment need not be lost, but can become an integral part of the Idea of Freedom as it time after time has collisions with the reality of unfreedom. When viewed over human historical time, can we not say that the Idea of Freedom has indeed developed, self-developed, in a way that both absorbed and transcended each historic moment whether that be of masses in motion or individual thinkers, so that the Self-Thinking Idea when it is the Idea of Freedom has become an actual force as an Idea? The logic of the Idea of Freedom and the historicity of the Idea of Freedom are in truth one -- the necessity of life, the very truth of life which drives its own development, its own thinking.

When we turn to the Idea made into system -- what we consider to be philosophy, dialectics -- and follow its unchaining beginning with Hegel and stretching to today -- then we are witness to another dimension of the self-thinking Idea. When viewed in the era of capitalism from its industrial birth in Hegel's time to our own era of automated production, then under the pull of those objective conditions of capitalism's development, and under the pull of the new passions and new forces that arose in opposition to capitalism's dehumanization, the Self-Thinking Idea when viewed as Dialectics became unchained to develop at various historic moments, when great thinkers helped release it. Whether Hegel giving birth to modern dialectics, or Marx's numerous unchainings from his new Humanism in 1844, to permanent revolution under the impact of actual revolution, to all the moments we have traced in Marx from the Grundrisse to Capital to the Paris Commune, to his last decade, or Lenin's unchaining for his specific historic

moment of transformation into opposite, or Marxist-Humanism's unchaining of the dialectic in our post World War II period -- we can see that the Self-Thinking Idea on this level at one and the same time transcends any one individual thinker, and yet needs to be carried out by thinkers who have an historic consciousness that indeed they are within the process of unchaining the dialectic, helping to give the self-thinking Idea flesh and blood at their historic moment.

Let's view the self-thinking Idea in the hands of a single dialectical thinker. Even here the Idea retains that ability to be self-thinking. That is, when it is released by Marx when he broke with bourgeois society in the early 1840s -- so profound was his digging into the dialectic that the Idea of freedom became released in so many ways that you simply couldn't explain it in any simple empiric relation to the world at hand. How else could we explain so many anticipations in Marx's break -- whether on this 'throughgoing naturalism or Humanism' and the revolutionary journey that concept took after Marx first enunciated it, or his concept of man/woman, or the profoundness he caught in working out the relation of alienated labor encompassing everything including humanity's species existence, or Marx's concept of permanent revolution not as tactics, but as the totality of his vision. The specificity of the historic moment -- the birth of the proletariat as a class and Marx's profound immersion into and critique of the Hegelian dialectic -- was the ground for the immediate release of these ideas. But all of these ideas self-developed over forty years in the hands of Marx. Marx in meeting the proletariat crossed the historic barrier Hegel could not cross, but the self-thinking idea in the hands of Marx was the greatest transcender of barriers once you had Marx's insistence on following out these ideas to their logical freedom conclusions. How else can we explain Marx's last decade, when he "overthrew" so much of conclusions he had, or rather made sure they were seen as particulars to capitalism, not universals for humanity?

Wasn't this Marx's willingness to labor upon, to work out how the self-thinking Idea, the unchaining of the dialectic, developed into the Self-Bring^{ing} Forth of Liberty as it collided with the reality around him? Isn't that what Raya was trying to show in the Perspectives leadership section when she once again traced Marx's new moments in the last decade of his life? That trail that is found to the 1980s in Marx's new moments is not exhausted in examining the particulars and connecting them to our day whether as technologically under-developed countries' relation to technologically developed, what today we would call the Third World, or on the role of women he was examining in Iroquois and Irish societies, or as critique of organization without philosophy as in the Gotha Program, or others that we may yet discern. The heart of the matter isn't exhausted in

the specificity of these new moments' relation to our day, as crucial as that is. Those are the concrete proof that the pathway that Marx had really left open to us in that last decade of his life was one of methodology, of his labor within the Self-Thinking Idea. His rootedness in this philosophy was at one and the same time a rootedness in his profound analysis of capitalism, and his openness to the newest of discoveries, the newest of revolutionary human passions and forces who were forever forging new pathways that would lead to the overthrow of capitalist class society. That is the richness of Marx's last decade. And it is Marxist-Humanism that has discerned it.

When we trace the self-thinking Idea in the hands of Raya as Marxist-Humanist philosopher, we begin with the breakthrough on the Absolute Idea. In the Perspectives she showed us the multilinear ways she tried to workout the logic, the ramifications, the development of that breakthrough from Marxism and Freedom in 1957 through a decade and a half, to how she formulated it in 1973 in Philosophy and Revolution as Absolute Idea as New Beginning. She then looked over the next decade in seeing the further ramifications she posed in the category of post-Marx Marxists in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Now we are looking toward the future development of that Self-Thinking Idea in the hands of a dialectical thinker when she poses a new work on the Dialectics of the Party.

INDEX FOR DRAFT AND FULL PERSPECTIVES 1975-85*

This Index is to be considered together with the article "Methodology of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1975-85." Both were written in the same period. Where the Methodology of Perspectives concentrated on philosophic concepts, the Index presented has its primary entrance into Perspectives through name, place or event. While not constructed to provide entry through philosophic concepts, some philosophic concepts are present as sub-categories.

E.W.

* Mike and Franklin participated in the organization of categories. Franklin, Diane and Sandy helped with the technical work of production.

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V. The audience for Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and
Marx's Philosophy of Revolution -- and our organizational
responsibility for Marxist-Humanism

1981 Full Perspectives

The Trail in the 1980s for Transforming Reality (As it is in
Fact and as the "New Moments" Marx Discovered in His Last Decade
Which Created Openings for the 1980s)

- I. Overview -- Selesia, 1981, Selesia, 1844; Relationship
of Movement and Philosophy to "the Book"
- II. The New Federalism: Pax Americana Imposed the World
Over, Be it the One-Minute Shoot-out over Libya, or the
"Two-and-a-Half Wars" with Neutron Bombs
- III. On the Way to the Holocaust: Capitalist-Imperialist
Alliances and World Hunger
- IV. The Revolutionary Dialogue Between Continents (Whether
from South Africa or England; Whether from El Salvador or
Poland; Whether from Asia or the Other USA)
- V. Historic Moments for Transforming Reality, Beginning
with the Movement from Practice, Marked by Theoretic Turn-
ing Points (from Marxism and Freedom and Indignant Heart
through Archives and Philosophy and Revolution to Rosa
Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of
Revolution)

Also includes: Syllabus for class in RLV/LKM

1982 Draft Perspectives

A Philosophy of Revolution Needed: Mass Opposition to Reaganomics
and the Drive for Nuclear War
I. The Secret Pentagon Document on Nuclear War and the Mass
Global Anti-Nuclear Movement
II. The Objective Situation: Reaganomics, Thatcher's Colo-
nialism in the South Atlantic, and Begin's Genocidal War
in Lebanon

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III. Methodology and Politicalization: The 30-Year Movement from Practice that is itself a Form of Theory, and the Theoretical Developments that Reach Philosophy

IV. New Moments in Marx and Today's New Challenges

1982 Full Perspectives

What to Do Facing the Dept of Recession and the Myriad Global Political Crises as well as the Philosophic Void ("as well as" does not mean a third or subordinate point, a sort of "also ran." Rather, philosophy expresses, dialectically, the meaning of the other two points -- economics and politics -- as both their ground of being and path for the resolution of their contradictions, subjectively and objectively -- FREEDOM

Introduction: Why Being Against "What is" Is Incomplete Without the Corollary, What One Is For

I. Israel's genocidal invasion of Lebanon: Opposition also Need Against Building Any Half-Way Houses

II. The Deep Global Economic Recession, Anchored to Ronald Reagan's Retrogression, Religion Included

III. U.S. Imperialism's World Outreach, Especially to Latin America, and the Shakiness of NATO, Including Projected Nuclear War

IV. The Creative Nature of Marx's Mind and the Tasks of Marxist-Humanists Today

1) The Methodology of the Perspectives

2) The Activities and the Philosophy of What to Do

1983 Draft Perspectives

Mass Unrest at Home and Abroad in the Global Year of the Missile

Introduction: The Supreme Artificer Ronald Reagan

I. The "New Economy": Its Imperialist Tentacles Abroad; its Labor Exploitation and Racism at Home

II. Political-Military Crises Abound: in Latin America, in the Middle East -- and the Ultimate Global Nuclear Threat

III. Marx's Final Writings Let Us Hear Marx Thinking

IV. The Constitutional Convention and our Tasks for 1983-84

1983 Full Perspectives

The Marx Centenary Discloses The Need For The Philosophy of "Revolution in Permanence" For Uprooting Reaganism Out To Shackle The People With "Mind-Forged Manacles" Of Unfreedom

I. The Reagan Retrogression Era Confronts the U.S. with Myriad Economic-Political-Social Crises

II. U.S. Imperialist Tentacles Circle the Globe

III. Marxist-Humanism's Challenge to Post-Marx Marxists and Other Alternatives of Marx's Marxism, its Dialectics of Liberation

Appendix: Letter of Aug. 26, 1983 for RD on paragraphs added to RLWLKM since publication

1984 Draft Perspectives

Where Are The 1980s Going? The Imperative Need for a Totally New Direction in Uprooting Capitalism-Imperialism

- I. Ronald Reagan, World Outlaw
- II. Ronald Reagan, Strike-Breaker
- III. Abroad At Home; At Home Abroad
- IV. Objectivity/Subjectivity -- In Actuality and in Philosophy
- V. Organizational Conclusions

1984 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives

The Movements from Theory as well as from Practice vs. the Great Artificer, Ronald Reagan, for whom the whole world is a State -- on which he rolls back the clock of history on the Black Dimension, Labor, Women and Youth, as he drives for world war

- I. The impotence of the summits, the intensity of new labor struggles, as the Black dimension looms ever higher
- II. From Managua to Grenada, from El Salvador to Berlin, from Africa to Asia -- U.S. imperialism's tentacles (and those of its Allies from Great Britain and France to Japan) extend to the Pacific as well as the Atlantic
- III. Not by Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory
 - 1) The New Sense of Objectivity: The Theory of State-Capitalism and New Forms of Workers' Revolts
 - 2) What Was Marx's Dialectics of Revolution to the Post-Marx Marxists of the Second International?
 - 3) The Absolute Method -- The Unchained Dialectic
 - 4) On the Threshold, 1950-53: The Relationship of Abstract/Concrete

IV Organizational Tasks

1985 Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives

- I. Mikhail Gorbachev, the New Russian Ruler, Shifts to a New Global Outlook, Glorifies at NATO's Contradictions
- II. The U.S. Economy and Its Imperialist Tentacles vs. the Mass Struggles, Here and Abroad
- III. Organizational-Philosophic-Journalistic Conclusions

1985 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives

Part I

- I. Hitler's Visage in Apartheid South Africa Shows the Future the Rulers Hold in Store for All of Us
- II. The Two Worlds in each Country -- West, East, North, South -- vs. Ronald Reagan's Creation of Hunger and Star Wars
 - 1) Poverty in the Richest Land
 - 2) U.S. Counter-Revolutionary Political as well as Economic Impact on El Salvador and Nicaragua
 - 3) Nicaraguan Revolutionary Voices from Below
 - 4) Back to Star Wars Strategies Between the Two Nuclear Titans

III. Marxist-Humanist Tasks as we Keep an Eye on the World Objective Situation

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1) This Year's Proposal for Transforming News & Letters into a Biweekly Calls for New Type of Collectivities in National and International Trips

2) Becoming "Practicing Dialecticians" with a New Type of Classes as Workshops Both in Theory and in Practice

3) The Process of Becoming "Practicing Dialecticians" in the 30-Year Long March to the Marx Centenary Tour with Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution in Hand

4) In Sum --

Part Two The Self-Thinking Idea in a New Concept of and Relationship to the Dialectics of Leadership, as well as the Self-Bring Forth of Liberty

I. "The Power of Abstraction"

II. The New in This Year's Concept of the Dialectics of Leadership

III. The Process -- Becoming Practicing Dialecticians as One Projects Marxist-Humanism: New Types of Collectivities, New Concept of Leadership, the Absolute Method