

Minutes of NEB Meeting, Oct. 3, 1984.

Present: All, with Jane as sitter-in

Agenda: I. Report by Raya on the New Syllabus; and brief report on new paragraph for Introduction to new book (Subreport by Mike and Terry on gaining an audience for new Classes); II. November N&L; III. Brief reports by Kevin on HSA and Lou on Circle; IV. GS

I. Raya began her report by passing out copies of the new Syllabus. She pointed out that now that we had the Syllabus, we would note that the Title, "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and the Dialectics of Revolution" tells us that the accompanying expression with Perspectives is not the PPLs, as we originally proposed, but "Dialectics of Revolution." That further expression is emphasized in the last lecture, which is called, "A Marxist-Humanist View of 'The Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation'" by reversing the title of the book itself. A still further emphasis is needed on this reversal by calling to your attention the universality of dialectics of revolution which does not limit itself to any single force of revolution but includes all forces as Reason.

Now take a look at the first lecture. You will note that what replaces a PPL is a pamphlet, the Afro-Asian Revolutions. I want to elaborate two things here. One is the "why" a pamphlet with the Perspectives; the second is "why" two such different dates as 1956 and 1984. In the beginning it was not only the fact that we didn't publish our Perspectives in the paper, but we were always so determined to emphasize the significance of the ongoing objective events that we dealt comprehensively with such an event in a pamphlet and published that in N&L.

Let me take up three different events that happened simultaneously with our Perspectives on "How to Begin Anew": 1) May 12, and May 20 -- the Letters on the AI; 2) June 17, 1953 -- the East German Uprising; 3) the birth of the whole Third World. In a word, along with the new stage of production, there was this new stage of cognition, which expressed itself in East Europe against Communism and the Trade Union hierarchy by building its own Workers Councils and opposing the Single Party State; and in Africa fighting against Western imperialism but maintaining the single party which had succeeded in expelling imperialism. As a matter of fact, the contradictory condition which confronted us in the 1950s arose from the fact that in the most comprehensive national revolution, China, led by the Communists, what we faced was the beginning of the split in the Sino-Soviet orbit into a Sino-Soviet conflict. Where all others began to talk about this in the 1960s, we raised it in 1959, pointing to the fact that for Khrushchev to visit Eisenhower at Camp David without first discussing it with Mao signifies a new enemy -- the administrative mentality. This was when we first wrote the Afro-Asian pamphlet, where we showed, along with the new enemy, its absolute opposite, the spontaneous revolts everywhere.

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This is what still makes it so relevant, at one and the same time, to our first Perspectives, which signified a new epoch and the birth of Marxist-Humanism, and the enemies we have to face, not alone in state-capitalism and imperialism but in the counter-revolutions that come out of transformations into opposite. It is this, moreover, which is the really new relationship to philosophy -- the practicality of philosophy. (We will take up this aspect next.) Here, as everywhere, we want to stress the Absolute Method, i.e. the unchained dialectic, which Marx released from the beginning to the end of his life and which remains the task for each generation to work out for itself. To illustrate this, let me depart from the discussion of the classes and turn to the letter I just wrote to Franklin on his commentary on Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts. Instead of only the concrete subject of mathematics, you will note my development of methodology on Bukharin.

Bukharin's Historical Materialism was considered a most scholarly as well as most "Marxist" work on methodology. It was published originally at the end of the 1920s, at which point I never dared to contradict it, although I knew I did not care for it. I considered it too mechanical, too abstract, and the concrete on the proletariat, though often mentioned abstractly correctly, gave one the impression he was talking of things not human beings who would shape and reshape history. In 1931 I heard that he had delivered a talk at a London Congress on the History of Science and Technology, and I was very interested in getting a copy of it, because I was sure that, since he was a philosopher, and since he really was the architect of Stalin's Five-Year Plan and the "theory" of "Socialist in one country," I would find out what was driving those former revolutionaries into getting answers not from new subjects but from new "Plans." It took all the way to the 1950s before Harry Mc Shane joined us and I interested him in obtaining a copy of the speech for me from the British Museum through the auspices of a friend who was an MP. In between, however, I had completed my study of the Five-Year Plans in 1941, had concluded that Russia, far from being a Socialist country had been transformed into a state-capitalist society, and did all that on the basis of capital/labor relations and actual conditions in the factory, without yet having been able to trace the methodology of the Russian theoretician who had led into that disastrous path. Then came 1943 and Stalin ordered the revision of the law of value and the throwing out of Chapter 1 of Capital as it would be taught in Russia. It was the first time that I dared to say anything on dialectics, and promptly accused Stalin of breaking the dialectical structure of Marx's greatest work and therefore the whole methodology of revolution; the dialectics of revolution had been degraded to what they called "history", but it was not what Marx called "history and its process," that is to say, live masses shaping and reshaping history.

(Ch. 9 of P&R shows those live forces in the 1960s in the same work as Ch. 1 on the Absolute Idea. But it still was not directly related to what the "transformation into opposite" theoreti-

REB, Oct. 8, 1984, page 3

... until ...) It is now 1984. We have Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts. We are living in the computer age. And Ron first has broken through on the abstractions of differential calculus, pointing instead to a Marxist-Humanism approach. But it was only with Franklin's commentary on the Russian editors of Marx's Manuscripts that what stuck out was the year 1931, and that these two editors were present at that same London Congress with Bukharin. They had already that far back been looking at the Manuscripts, and no doubt running all over comparing notes with the Western technicians, who were probably working with Keynesians, who were trying to convince the rulers to go in for some sort of Welfare State in order to avoid outright revolution by all the millions of unemployed. The Depression was world wide. One or another form of Plan was being touted. I still had that 1931 speech of Bukharin with me, and now I was ready to dig into how practical were all those abstractions and how imperative was it not to be concrete in a Marxian way, since it would have spelled out that in Russia, as all over the capitalist world, workers are nothing but "things" to the rulers. In my letter to Franklin of Oct. 5, 1984, read especially that last para. on page 4 and the following four points on page 5, in order to see what I'm stressing on both commodity fetishism and the economic laws not only as a critique of Bukharin but as a point of departure for further digging into Marx's Manuscripts (which Franklin points out are 2000 pages, of which the Russians selected only 140). The reason for bringing it into this discussion is to stress the comparativeness and practicality of philosophy so that its dialectic methodology is seen not as an abstraction, but as the concrete key to working out the problems facing us. If this grasp of the practicality of dialectical methodology is internalized through the new type of classes, we will, indeed, be able to leap forward in this 1984-85 period.

Turning back to those classes, let me cite two other examples only -- the first on "Black Consciousness and the Needed American Revolution", and the other on my own final lecture, "Black Consciousness and the Needed American Revolution" includes two pamphlets, beside the Perspectives -- ACOT and Frantz Fanon. Let's begin with ACOT, which like the AA pamphlet, has come out in a new edition. What is unique about it is not just the relationship between 1963 and 1983 editions but the fact that the whole history of American development, both as revolution and as thought, shows Black masses as vanguard and thus explains more than the Perspectives under consideration (1976). No wonder that the title on this lecture includes a call for the needed American revolution. The Frantz Fanon pamphlet brings closer that, indeed, Black is an international fact of revolution and a philosophic phenomenon. The other unusual feature is that all the paragraphs added to REVWKM after its publication are also included in this class, and I'm now adding to that assignment the new addition I have just drafted for the last page of the "Introduction/Overview" of the new book, which comes directly after the sentence: The task is to unchain the dialectic. (p. 20) Here I will add:

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This, this precisely, stamps the uniqueness, the originality, the continuity in Marx's development of the dialectic. We can see his Promethean vision in the last decade of his life as he projected the possibility of a social revolution coming first in a technologically underdeveloped country before the so-called advanced economies. This was the same period when he also wrote the Critique of the Gotha Program -- a sharp critique of the organizational form of a proposed new Party, the proposed merger of those who considered themselves Marxists with the Lassalleans. That Critique was a theoretical differentiation between Marxism and Lassaleanism, which he extended also against the practical points they would engage in. Marx dismissed these five points of action as nothing but "bourgeois twaddle."

As was evident throughout this book (which covers 35 years of writings on a single subject, Women's Liberation) the sharp differentiation between Marx's Marxism and post-Marx Marxism is not limited to that one question. A deep gulf existed between Marx's multi-linear view of all human development and Engels' unilinear view. Which is why this single subject -- Women's Liberation -- whether viewed as it relates to philosophy or to form of organization-- is inseparable from the dialectics of revolution. Both of these questions were raised anew after RLWLKM was published and I lectured on it across the country. Specifically, I was questioned about what appeared contradictory to some in my audience, when I had written (on p. 109) that social revolution comes first "provided it is not -- indeed revolutions cannot be -- without Women's Liberation or behind women's backs, or by using them as helpmates." I therefore elaborated that concept as follows:

(Here would come the paragraph I had added to p. 109 of RLWLKM: "History proves a very different truth ...uprooting of the old is total from the start.)

The other questions raised and my answers to them are included in the last selection of this collection.

The Absolute Method allows for no "private enclaves" -- i.e. exceptions to the principle of Marx's Dialectics, whether on the theoretical or the organizational questions. As Marx insisted from the very beginning...

(here p. 20 continues as written)

What will be new in the final lecture is not just the fact that it is a sort of summation of the whole series but that I will give a report not only of the Introduction which all locals now have, but the book as a totality, in order not to wait for the actual publication, but to know its essence for projecting it to others, with a view to the mini-tour I will be making in 1985.

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The final lecture is to be a manifestation of how a single subject, once it "submits" itself to the Absolute Method, can encompass all forces of revolution. Indeed, it is this which proves that a book on Women's Liberation is really a book on the dialectics of revolution. Its aim -- like the aim of this series of classes -- is to help make us all practitioners of the dialectic methodology in the analysis of all new objective events.

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October 9, 1984

Dear Friends:

The report I gave to the REB on the new type of classes, for which you now have the Syllabus, should be discussed at the local and will, I hope, help you in arranging your own classes. All that we can do in this weekly letter is to stress the title of the whole series: "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and the Dialectics of Revolution" -- and that of the final lecture: "A Marxist-Humanist View of 'The Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation', which, as you can see, reverses the title of our new book itself. This was done to highlight the fact that, though the book is on the single subject of Women's Liberation, it actually encompasses all forces of revolution as Reason. That is why the "Dialectics of Revolution" is stressed. The aim is to help us all become practitioners of the dialectic methodology, which everyone can exercise in looking at the objective events of the day, both for analysis and the manner in which we participate in activity. Only the last lecture is decided upon at the Center. I will present that in person in Chicago and it will be taped for all other locals. All the other lectures are the responsibilities of each local.

On Oct. 21 Mike will deliver the first lecture in Detroit; in Chicago, the first class will be given by Olga on Oct. 28. Because what is proposed for Chicago may help the other locals, let me list the schedule, speakers, and times here: October 28:

Class I. Reporter, Olga; sub-reporter Peter Mallory.
Nov. 4: Class III. Reporter, Lou; subreporter, Neda.
Nov. 11: Class II. Reporter, Kevin; subreporter, Jane.
Nov. 18: Class IV. Reporter, Eugene; subreporters, Diane and Terry.
Dec. 2: Class V. Reporter, Dave; subreporter, Suzanne.
Dec. 9: Class VI. Franklin to give a brief report before Lecture by Raya Dunayevskaya, which will be taped for all locals.

(You will note that in Chicago, Class III is being given before Class II, since Kevin, who is to give Class II will be writing the Lead that same week. There is no set sequence necessary for the series outside of Classes I and VI.)

We are suggesting 45 minutes for the main report; and 15 minutes for the sub-reports. In Chicago, which has a large local, we are also suggesting a 7 minute limit for discussion. That is most important, however, is that all participate. In Chicago, where six local members do not have responsibility for a main or sub report each will be given 10 minutes to speak during the discussion in whichever one of the six classes they choose. Mike and Terry's discussion on Chicago publicity for the series (recorded in the REB minutes) may also help you.

PLEASE NOTE THAT DEADLINE FOR NOVEMBER ISSUE IS OCTOBER 25!

Yours, RAYA

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SUB-REPORT TO THE PERSPECTIVES
given to the Convention of
News and Letters Committees,
July 7, 1984, by Olga Domanski

ON TEN YEARS OF MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES

This morning we were taken on a journey over a two-way road between Marx's Humanism and Marxist-Humanism, between national and international, between objective and subjective, between theory and practice, and between philosophy and its politicalization. What this year's Perspectives proposes as a centerpoint of our activities over the next, critical year of our development is just such a journey over the whole last decade of our Perspectives Theses -- with one goal in mind: PROJECTION of our philosophy of Marxist-Humanism as we see it being tested by exactly what was happening in the objective world over those extraordinary-yet-"ordinary" ten years -- ordinary, that is, for degenerate state-capitalism being challenged by a new age striving to be born.

Just consider what those ten years -- 1974/75 to 1984/85 -- encompass. On the objective world scene it is the decade that has moved:

1) from Nixon's resignation to the clear and present danger of Reagan's "four more years." And how clear it is today that Nixon's resignation marked the defeat of Nixon but not of Nixonism -- and why in our 1974 Thesis, presented to us only a few short weeks after that resignation, only one line was given to the resignation, and that was to point out that, great as it was to get rid of Nixon, what was necessary to understand was that he was really only the "scapegoat" for the whole degenerate system, which the Perspectives then analyzed in toto.

2) It is the decade that saw the Portuguese Revolution, the Iranian Revolution, the Nicaraguan Revolution, the Grenadian Revolution -- and not only all the out and out counter-revolutions (whether in the form of the Rightist coup in Portugal or Khomeini's counter-revolution from within the revolution in Iran) but the internal dualities in each of those momentous events, and each one was very specific.

3) It is the decade that marked the actual structural changes in capitalism and the state-capitalist pattern of union-busting that was established by Reagan's breaking of PATCO as soon as he took office. But it was also marked by new stages of workers' revolt which encompassed everything from the 1978 miners' strike in the U.S. to Solidarnosc in Poland and the new kind of trade unions in South Africa.

4) It's the decade when the civil war in Lebanon was aborted and the Arab-Israeli conflict became Israel's blitzkrieg against Lebanon.

5) It's the decade that saw the unthinkable become thinkable; that saw U.S. imperialism defeated in Vietnam and ready to spell Vietnam out anew as El Salvador; that experienced Three Mile Island -- and that witnessed the birth of a new global anti-nuke, anti-draft, anti-war movement -- with all of its dualities.

On the subjective scene it is the decade that began after the publication of Philosophy and Revolution and moved through the publication of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. It's the decade in which we have been publishing our Perspectives Draft directly in the paper. (The first time we did that was 1975, and it broke totally new ground for the Marxist movement -- ground that, unfortunately, no other Left group to this day has chosen to trod with us.) It's the decade in which the concept of the Weekly Political Letter developed into Political-Philosophic Letters; in which News & Letters developed into a Theory/Practice 12-pager; in which the concept of "organizational consciousness," which we posed after P&R, moved to seeing Marxist-Humanism as a total body of ideas over a full 40 years, after RLWLKM. It's the decade in which the initiation of a new local in Chicago moved to the initiation of Chicago as center.

But what is so new about the classes that are proposed for this year is not merely all the historic turning points, objectively and subjectively, that they will encompass -- but that our Perspectives Theses are an absolutely unique form of political-organizational-philosophic projection of our Marxist-Humanism, in which the objective situation, the subjective situation and our own specific tasks for that immediate year are all tightly tied together in one completely integrated form. That kind of politicalization of philosophy is the kind of "popularization" that is not truncation, but that presents the totality of our "body of ideas" in the most concrete way.

Presenting the totality of our body of ideas has nothing to do with size. Yes, totality has been profoundly expressed in our "three books, not one" -- but it is in each one of the three. It is in a single article like the essay just reprinted by Praxis International. It can be seen in a single letter. It can be projected in a single ad. Because totality has nothing to do with quantity. For us, in these classes, it has everything to do with the principle of never analyzing world events without relating them to the stage of socialization; and of never making a critique without relating it to action.

Indeed, nothing will be more integral to these classes than our activities -- whether with workers on and off the picket lines, with the Black dimension, in Women's Liberation, in anti-war work, in solidarity committees -- and both in terms of what ideas we will bring to those activities and in terms of who we will bring from those activities with us to the classes.

That is what we have to be thinking about while we take up here just two of the Theses, and mention only one of the Political-Philosophic Letters, out of the 20 Theses and more than 20 PPLs from which we will have to choose when we work up our Syllabus. Because each year we have two very separate and distinct Theses -- one a Draft, and the second what is further developed out of the two months between that and our actual Convention.

In the short time we have today, let me take just two of them -- one from the 1970s and the other from the 1980s -- to see, first, how they related to two very different objective areas and, at the same

time, how each becomes a total projection of Marxist-Humanism in a most concrete analysis, which continues to illuminate the new events we will face tomorrow.

Let's start with the Thesis for 1982-83 -- which we heard on the very eve of the publication of RLWIKM, and on the threshold of the Marx centenary. The Thesis that September was called "What to Do -- Facing the Dep'th of Recession and the Myriad Global Political Crises as well as the Philosophic Void." It could almost be a "generic" title for our age of crises -- but this thesis concretely had to take up, first and foremost, Israel's genocidal invasion of Lebanon -- and the hideous new crisis in the Middle East it had wrought -- which will surely continue to be with us in the year ahead.

The first surprise is that, first and foremost, it didn't start with that objective event, but with the subjective need to articulate not just what you are against, but what you are for. Rather than beginning with any of the actual world events (other than mere mention to place us in time and space) the Thesis began with an Introduction that quoted a full page from the PPL written all the way back in August 1976 on the Lebanon Civil War as the "Test not only of the PLO but of the whole Left." At the same time, the new politicalization of "transformation into opposite" was seen in how that philosophic category was manifested in a very new way in the difference between the Palestine/Israel of Exodus in 1947-48 and Begin's Israel of 1982-83. But the pivotal warning that was raised just before all the actual new objective events were taken up in detail was the urgent need to see how half-way houses can become death traps, everywhere a totally new freedom banner is not unfurled in a revolution striving to complete itself.

Thus, while the immediate question was what regime would be imposed on poor Lebanon, the question of the half-way houses the New Left was constantly settling for took the discussion from the Middle East not only to Latin America, but directly to the deep global economic crisis of our state-capitalist world, as well as imperialism's bloody outreach vs. all the freedom struggles from below -- a journey that included a trip even to Namibia and not only Namibia today, but Namibia in 1904 (where we got a whiff of the new book still on the presses), and not only in 1904 but in 1951 -- so that we were suddenly shown Namibia, too, as part of that global movement from practice that had upsurged in the 1950s and which, we now could see, included not only the Automation battles in the U.S. and the East European revolts against Russian totalitarianism but both the Bolivian Revolution and Africa, as well.

You will simply have to re-read this tremendous Thesis for yourself to see how every single one of our trilogy of revolution is taken up right in relation to a most concrete, objective event, which made us remember the so-called subjective works -- Marxism and Freedom in relation to Bolivia 1952; Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution in relation to Namibia 1904; Philosophy and Revolution in relation to Mao. But it is not only that which you will see when you reread this Thesis today. Because in grappling with one of its climactic points -- that every production

crisis produces a crisis in theory, which the Thesis spells out as both the new questions raised by workers battling Automation and the Indian peasantry's "new rationality" -- you will surely be impelled to see the direct relationship of that to both our new pamphlet on the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike and our new Afro-Asian pamphlet. In short, we will find ourselves discussing in these classes every one of our three new pamphlets, as well.

Nor would we want to leave out of the study of this particular Thesis the Draft that preceded it -- especially insofar as it permits us to see how Part III of the Draft on "Methodology and Politicalization," which takes up our whole 30 year movement from practice and from theory, was developed (by the time the actual Thesis was delivered) into a whole section directly on the methodology of the Perspectives Thesis itself -- which is what I have just tried to encapsulate for you, and which is why I wanted to take up this Thesis first today.

Now let us take another year -- this time specifically related to the Black dimension, which will surely be one of our most important concentrations this year. We could easily take the 1980 Thesis -- where the "Road to the Black Ghetto" and to the little shorties of Miami was not separated, as opposition to the powers-that-be, from our view that "All Roads Lead to Gdansk, Poland" that year of Solidarity's birth.

Or we could take the 1979 Thesis, where the section on "Without a Philosophy of Revolution" took up specifically "Oil and the PLO Gaining a Foothold with Black Leaders" -- the year UN Ambassador Young resigned and the Black Caucus was pitched right into the Middle East debate. This year is surely a very different situation, PLO-wise, but the question of the relationship between anti-Semitism and the Black revolt that is swirling in the movement's waters again is one that is bound to make not only this Thesis but others from the 1960s right through the '70s most current again.

But the year most important to take up for the Black dimension today, I believe, is 1976-77 -- and this time I want to take up the Draft Thesis primarily. Not just because of the significance of its title: "National/International, Subjective/Objective, Crises are Testing Revolutionaries" -- or even because, four years before he found his way into the White House, the very first sentence of the Thesis scores "the blatant racism of Ronald Reagan" -- but because 1976 was the year that the events in South Africa were quickly taking center-stage -- and the just-erupted new Black revolt there saw the Thesis, at one and the same time, footnote back to our 1960 Lead, "South Africa, South USA" and point to the totally new character of the revolt today -- which became the fulcrum not only for digging into the dialectical relationship between the two actual revolutions that year -- Portugal and Angola -- but into the state-capitalist connections between the U.S. and South Africa, and the state-capitalist conflict between Russia and China.

The whole center section of this Draft -- the mediation, that is, to the full Marxist-Humanist analysis -- was precisely a new look at "State-Capitalism -- in Theory and in Practice." In short, it was

the concrete great new stage of revolt of Black South Africans that was forcing the Left (or at least it could have enabled them) to understand that it was the possible new shift in global power (which involved Russia and Cuba's role in Angola) and not the question of South Africa's apartheid that China was concerned about, and that was the absolute opposite of what the masses in motion were driving for -- whether in China, in Portugal, in Africa, or in the U.S.

Our concentration on the Black dimension that year is what dictated the decision to start working out a new pamphlet on what we were then calling Black Voices -- which, by 1978, turned out to be Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought. 1976-77 was also the year we established a new Chicago local, with special emphasis on that same Black dimension as well as on labor (manifested in the pamphlet on the 1877 First General Strike) and on Women's Liberation (which we had tried to capture in Working Women for Freedom). By the time all this was developed anew in the actual Convention thesis, two short months later, and long before the new stage of South African revolt became known worldwide as the Black Consciousness Movement, it was clearly projected in the very title of Part I as "New Stage of Black Revolutionary Consciousness; Precursor of Global Struggles to Uproot this Decadent, Crises-ridden, State-capitalist, Imperialist World"; and in Part IV, "Our Tasks" were clearly seen as "Creation of a Philosophic Nucleus that is not just an Organizational Task, but the Pressing Need for Ongoing Revolutions and Revolutions-to-be." Whether or not that could be accomplished depended -- and still does -- on whether we hold tightly together, as a unit, philosophy and revolution, national and international, objective and subjective.

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Exactly which Theses we will want to concentrate on out of these tremendous 20 so-called Drafts and Theses, and exactly what kind of Syllabus we will be able to suggest, we will be working out later this summer, so that, hopefully, the new classes can begin in all the locals early in October and end before Thanksgiving. Raya has suggested that the original four we were thinking about be expanded to six, and that every single one have a "What" in its title: What is Marxist-Humanism? What is Dialectics? What is News and Letters Committees? What is the uniqueness of N&L as it responds to the objective situation monthly, rooted in that methodology? And a whole lecture on the organizational expression of "revolution in permanence" and N&L as that unity of worker and intellectual that is able to practice theory as well as activity. Above all, each one will have, as well, a concrete relationship to the actual activities and forces of revolt we are working with.

Whether each lecture could have two presenters -- which worked out to well for the classes this past year; and whether all six would be without interruption or whether we could have two classes and then a week before the next two, to take up other discussions, can be worked out as each local sees best.

What will not have to wait -- indeed, cannot wait -- until the new classes actually begin, is grasping and projecting to others (beginning with the one we have just heard today) what our Perspectives

Theses are. They are not just a lot of facts and history, though there is plenty of that, too. They are the kind of politicalization that does not separate the immediate questions from the universal; the kind of analysis that will help the forward movement; the analysis of new objective events that is not out merely to prove what we already know, but to deepen and develop Marxist-Humanism; the kind of analysis of the current period that will show us the method for analyzing the events of the future. Above all, they are an expression of the totality of our body of ideas.

* * *

Finally, back to the beginning (in more ways than one). In the Perspectives we heard this morning we were shown the way the events in Cuba in 1961 impelled the creation of the Weekly Political Letter, which based our fundamental stand against the U.S.-invasion in the Bay of Pigs on the grounds of our 1960 Resolution on "War and Peace" That had been written after the U-2 spy plane incident had put an end to the "grand illusion" that there would never be a nuclear war. But if you go back to the Archives and read that 1960 Report, you will find that what we quote there was really the very same anti-war position we had enunciated as early as 1957. We were proud, we said in 1960, that we didn't have to change a single word of it. A full 26 years later we still didn't, so fundamental was our stand. For it was exactly those same paragraphs Raya used in the conclusion of our Lead on the invasion of Grenada this year -- in the December 1983 N&L.

To requote that 26 years later -- without quotes -- does not mean that nothing has changed in the decades between. Rather, it is exactly the relationship between working out what is new in each situation at the same time that you are rooted in what you have established as your ground -- and the method to work it out -- that is what we will be projecting as Marxist-Humanism in the very new kind of classes, indeed, in our Perspectives and Political-Philosophic Letters this year.

10/28 to Dec 1984

I will give in anticipation of New Book

W. H. Dialectics of Revolution

PROPOSED SYLLABUS FOR NEW SIX-CLASS SERIES

MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES AND THE DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION

Not by P. H. H. H.

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1839

The new type of classes this year, which are concentrated on our Perspectives Theses rather than on our trilogy of revolution*, calls for all-round participation -- that is, active participation by every member of the classes, not just the presenters -- if we are to become practitioners of dialectic methodology. Dialectic methodology, though it is constantly moving, is such an Absolute that there are no loopholes through which to escape. Participation has nothing to do with being a "specialist" in any field; it has everything to do with internalizing methodology.

I think
that is
the
New
dialectics
has our
New

Consider why the first class includes such widely distant dates as 1956 and 1984 -- and such different subjects as the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.; the Afro-Asian Revolutions; and the vicissitudes of the theory of state-capitalism both at the outbreak of World War II and as it confronted the new Third World revolutions. By constantly checking ourselves with the Absolute Method (i.e., the unchained dialectic), we will see not only the relationship of all the constituents of the first class but the relevance for 1984 of a Marxist-Humanist theoretical work written as early as the 1950s. At the same time, we will see how the dialectics of the state-capitalist theory, once the theoretician held firmly to the live subjects of opposition to what is, paved the way for the development of the philosophy of revolution we call Marxist-Humanism.

Begin

Or take the second class, where we take up a different question -- war and peace. We will see that -- whether it is the question of a so-called "limited" war like that which was waged against the peoples of Vietnam, or whether it be the ever-more-threatening nuclear holocaust that will destroy civilization altogether -- it is the perspective of genuine social revolution that totally uproots the established old order which is the only possible ground for the anti-war forces to succeed.

War or revolution is also precisely the question involved in so new an arena as China, where subjectivity as attitude to objectivity was defined in relationship to those Communists who had led a successful national revolution but suddenly found themselves thrust into competition with Russia for leadership of the Communist world, armed with nuclear bombs.

The same multifaceted-ness holds for all the remaining classes, as preparation for the final class -- which will not only be a summation of the classes but will embrace the totality of the new book to appear on International Women's Day, 1985. Raya Dunayevskaya, the National Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees

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Dunayevskaya
1985

*Marxism and Freedom -- from 1776 Until Today was first published in 1958; Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao in 1973; Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution in 1982. All three were published as new editions for the Marx centenary by Humanities Press in 1982.

and the author of the new book, will project this new work on the Dialectics of Revolution in person in Chicago, and on tape in the other locals. The full title of this lecture -- "A Marxist-Humanist View of the Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation" -- points to the future in the present.

Far from the dialectics of revolution being inhibited by a concentration on a single subject -- in this case, Women's Liberation as Reason and as revolutionary force-- we will see that the new book goes to the very root of what determines each and all forces of revolution as Reason. Indeed, it is precisely the totality involved in relating the dialectics of liberation to any one or to all of the four forces of revolution today that demands that we all become "practitioners" of the Absolute Method -- not only as we look at past history, but as we practice it in our daily lives.

Finally, although the Marxist-Humanist Perspectives Thesis for 1984-85 is listed as reading material only for the first and the last lectures, it is this Thesis that is the ground from which we will be viewing all the Theses we will be taking up in the entire six-class series.

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PROPOSED SYLLABUS for
MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES AND THE DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION

OK'd
Oct 28

I. HOW TO BEGIN ANEW? THE BIRTH OF MARXIST-HUMANISM and the Vicissitudes of the State-Capitalist Theory

Olga 4/53

Readings:

"Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Where to Begin " (Perspectives Report to the first National Convention of News and Letters Committees, July 1956. Reissued in 1969.)

MM
WIK

"The Movements from Theory as well as from Practice vs. the Great Artificer, Ronald Reagan " (Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1984-85)

12/19/84

Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, (first edition 1959; new edition with new Introduction by author, Raya Dunayevskaya, 1984.)

"New Passions and New Forces," Chapter 9 from Philosophy and Revolution (1973).

John

*Marxist-Humanist Archives, Vol. I, pp. 69-217; Vol. II, pp. 1277 - 1437.

(Note: * will indicate suggested concentration for sub-reporters.)

Expanded
12/31/84

III WHAT IS NEW IN THE ANTI-WAR STRUGGLES? WHAT IS NEW IN THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT?

Kevin
Saw-8

Min
1/12

Readings:

"War and Peace" (Draft Perspectives Resolution, July 1960; and Report to Convention, Sept. 1960)

"War and Revolution" (Draft Perspectives Thesis, July 1971)

"In Place of a Conclusion: Two Kinds of Subjectivity"; and Ch.18, "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction?" (pp. 326 - 436 from Marxism and Freedom, 1964 and 1971 editions)

*"Mass Opposition to Reaganomics and the Drive for Nuclear War" (Draft Perspectives, 1982-83 -- published in N&L, July 1982)

Jape
with
Kuo

IV BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE NEEDED AMERICAN REVOLUTION

II
Oct 28

Readings:

"Philosophy and Revolution in Today's Global Freedom Struggles" (Perspectives Report, 1976-77)

"The Needed American Revolution" (Perspectives Report, 1969-70)

American Civilization on Trial (first edition 1963; latest edition with new Introduction by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1983)

Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought (1978)

*Appendix to Perspectives Report to Special Constitutional Convention of News and Letters Committees: Letter of Aug. 26, 1983 from Raya Dunayevskaya on paragraphs added to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution since publication.

Low

Neda

IV. THE LONG MARCH OF REVOLT: THE LONG MARCH OF PHILOSOPHY

Eugene

Readings:

"Today and Tomorrow" (Perspectives Report 1980-81)

Political Philosophic Letters on Lebanon: "The UN Resolution on Zionism -- and Ideological Obfuscation also on the Left" (Jan. 24, 1976); and "Lebanon: The Test not only of the PLO but of the Whole Left" (August 1976)

*Chapter XII, Sections 3 & 4 from Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (1982); "The New Moments of the Revolutionary Philosophic-Historic Concepts Discovered by Marx in the Last Decade of his Life" and "A 1980s View"

*Political-Philosophic Letter on "The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions" (May 15, 1978)

Diana
The
mom
Lad
for

V. THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISES AND THE MISSING PHILOSOPHIC LINK

Readings:

"Where Do We Go From Here?" (Draft Perspectives -- first one printed in N&L, August-September 1975)

"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" (Perspectives, 1983-84)

*"The Missing Link" (Perspectives 1968)

12/2
Dave
Susan

Dave
Suzanne
Stizenberg

VI. A MARXIST-HUMANIST VIEW OF "THE DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION"

Lecture presented by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA as Summation of the classes and Projection of the new book scheduled for publication on International Women's Day, 1985.

This lecture to include a brief report by Franklin Dmitriev on Marx's Mathematical Notebooks.

Readings:

"Introduction and Overview" to Reaching for the Future: Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution (1985)

Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1984-85.

"The Fetish of High Tech", by Ron Brokmeyer

Beth
Sheila
Erica
Sandy
Gerry
Harvey
Terry

News and Letters Committees invites you to a series of discussions on

Marxist-Humanist Perspectives And The Dialectics Of Revolution

Sunday, November 11 at 3pm

WHAT IS NEW IN THE ANTI-WAR STRUGGLES? IN THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT?

Lecture by KEVIN A. BARRY, "Our Life and Times" columnist for News & Letters, author of "The 'Unknown' Marx's Capital, : The French Edition of 1872-75, 100 Years Later

Supplemental report by Jane Marie Dignan, co-author of Working Women for Freedom.



Latin America



United States



South Africa



Poland

Sunday, November 18 at 3pm

THE LONG MARCH OF REVOLT; THE LONG MARCH OF PHILOSOPHY

Lecture by EUGENE WALKER, author of "Marx's Revolutionary Journalism" and "Marx and Mariategui: Paths to Revolution in 3rd World"

Supplemental reports by Diane Lee, Black feminist writer, and Terry Moon, "Women as Reason" columnist for News & Letters

Place: News & Letters Library
59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707

A BROCHURE LISTING ALL SIX LECTURES AND SUGGESTED READINGS IS AVAILABLE THROUGH THE NEWS & LETTERS OFFICE.

For more information call: 663-0839

Raya Dunayevskaya will be present at each class in the lecture series and will give the final presentation as a summation of the whole. The title of her summary lecture, "A Marxist-Humanist View of the Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation," not only points to the future in the present, but will embrace the totality of her forthcoming book, Reaching for the Future: Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, to be published by Humanities Press on International Women's Day, 1985.



Handwritten notes:
Reading Justice, not
as program
or club
or league
Point to the
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Handwritten notes:
called feminism, do, but where is the PRT
to call
"dunayevskaya"
- defense