

Dear colleague,

We kindly ask you to answer us informally, by return letter in enclosed envelope with our address, if you are willing to participate in Encyclopedia of Modern Socialism. We also ask you to give us address you would like us to write to in future.

Prof Zoran Vidaković  
Jevrejska ulica 14  
11000 Beograd

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Doc 787

Prof. Zoran Vidakovic  
Jevrenska Gruzica 14  
11000 Beograd  
Yugoslavia

Dear Colleague:

Thank you very much for your invitation to participate in the Encyclopedia of Modern Socialism. Yes, of course, I shall be happy to contribute to that very necessary and distinguished multi-volume work. Just let me know about dates, topics, space that would be allotted to each participant.

Quite a few of the co-workers you list are known to me and I was especially happy to meet Zagorka Golubovic at a conference in New York recently where my topic was Marx's New Humanism and Women's Liberation. Praxis International will publish it in the Jan. 1984 issue. Ever since 1965, when Dr. Erich Fromm published Socialist Humanism, in which I was a participant, I became acquainted with several of the Yugoslav scholars, especially Mihajlo Markovic, whom I hope to see next month. Please do give my warmest regards to Zagorka Golubovic.

The project you are undertaking will be especially valuable to Americans who have little knowledge of dialectics and are burdened with pragmatism. Under separate cover, I am sending you one of my works, Philosophy and Revolution.

Comradely yours,

Raya Dunayevskaya

16914

March 5, 1984

Zoran Vidakovic  
Jevrema Grujica 14,  
11000 Beograd, Yugoslavia

Dear Zoran Vidakovic:

Thank you for sending me the draft project of the Encyclopedia of Contemporary Socialism completed by the Yugoslav initiators. You must have greater faith than I do in the speed of the post office, to think that one could meet a March 1 deadline for comments on material received the last week of February. Today, March 5, is the earliest I have been able to work out even the brief commentary which I enclose.

Did you contact Dr. Simon Silverman, the director of Humanities Press (171 First Avenue, Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey 07716) to see if he could publish an American edition?

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✓  
May I suggest as possible contributors three writers who have been writing about Marx's last decade in their works? All of them disagree with my position -- not on what I call Marx's "new moments" but on the fact that "new moments" signify to them a departure from what they consider Marx's previous Eurocentrism. Nevertheless, I believe they would have a contribution to make to the Encyclopedia. This is especially true of Mihail Vitkin, whose Yastok v Filosofichko-Istorijskoi Kontseptsi K. Marksa v F. Engelsa was no sooner published in Moscow in 1972 than it was promptly withdrawn from circulation. (I don't know whether it is available in Yugoslavia or not.) He is now teaching in Canada. Here is his address: Mikhail Vitkin, 934 Beaverbrook St., Winnipeg, Manitoba R3N1P1.

✓  
The other two writers I am thinking of are Teodor Shanin, who wrote "Marx and the Peasant Question" and Haruki Wada who wrote "Marx and Revolutionary Russia" -- both of which articles appeared in History Workshop Journal, (London, Autumn 1981). Here are their addresses: Teodor Shanin, 72 Muswell Hill Place, London N10 3RR; and Haruki Wada, 7-6-5, Oizumigakuen-Cho, Nerima-Ku, Tokyo, Japan.

P.S. Praxis International has just published my paper on "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies." I had the most fruitful discussions with the Yugoslav representative on that question at the Conference on "Ideology, Bureaucracy and Human Survival" in New York last fall.

16915

3/5/84

Raya Dunayevskaya  
COMMENTARY ON DRAFT PROJECT FOR THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
CONTEMPORARY SOCIALISM

Because the Encyclopedia aims to elicit many different points of view, it is understandable that the word, socialism, was preferred to the designation, Marxism. Nevertheless, that is not sufficient reason for entirely eliminating from Volume I the name of Karl Marx, the founder of the philosophy of liberation most of us, I am sure, adhere to and consider relevant to our age. The fact that the very first concrete date mentioned is 1905 proves my point, as all theoreticians at that moment openly rooted their analysis as well as critique of the 1905 revolution in the revolutions of Marx's day -- 1848 and 1871. It was that 1905 revolution which was discussed at the 1907 Congress where all tendencies were represented -- Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, Anarchists, the Bund, and the independent Rosa Luxemburg who represented both Germany and Poland.

I would therefore propose that before the Encyclopedia reaches the date 1905 (point 1.5), a reference be made to Marx, himself, including the whole period, 1843 to 1883. It is my view that from the moment Marx broke from capitalism and discovered a whole new continent of thought which he called "a new Humanism," to the final decade of his life (which has previously been referred to as a "slow death"), Marx was still experiencing "new moments" which left a trail to the 1980s. In the 1970s our age finally saw the transcriptions of his Ethnological Notebooks which show the new moments he was experiencing as he dug into "primitive communism" -- in particular American Indians (the Iroquois), and in general pre-capitalist societies which he called "Asiatic Mode of Production" and which we today refer to as the "Third World."

Once it is remembered that it was Ryzanov -- a great and most objective scholar, who was the first to publish such works of Marx as the 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts -- who dared to refer to the legacy of Marx's last decade, which he had not yet deciphered and read, as "inexcusable pedantry,"

to answer for, concerning their attitude to Marx's historic legacy. The point is that today, when we do substantially have Marx's work as a totality, we cannot refer to Marxism just "in general." On the contrary, precisely because this Encyclopedia will deal with many pro and contra tendencies, it has to be most concrete about the works of Marx -- Marx's Marxism, not Engels', nor Lenin's, nor Trotsky's, nor Mao's. It is the relationship of the first decade, 1843-53 to the last decade, 1873-83, of Marx's Marxism that I believe touches the problematic of our age -- the Third World and its relationship to the technologically advanced world, be it West or East. It is this which I wish to make the focus of my contribution.

In Volume I, point 2.6 should, of course, include Czechoslovakia, especially since it was precisely that East European country which had a revolution in 1968 that raised the slogan: "Socialism with a Human Face." I assume it was only a typographical error that it was omitted. That must also be the case in point 1.7, where the Draft Project goes directly from Belshivism to Stalinism, thus omitting Trotsky and the concreteness of the many tendencies that opposed Stalin. That struggle began in the last two years of Lenin's life, when he asked Trotsky to present Lenin's point of view on the Georgians fight against Stalin. That is more important than ever today precisely because of the emergence of the Nationalist revolutions throughout the Third World -- be it in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, or East Europe.

It was good to see that Volume II concentrates on our age, specifically the world crises of the 1970s and 1980s. Here, more than anywhere, it is of the essence to avoid abstractions. I consider it an abstraction to refer to our state-capitalist age as merely "late capitalism" (point 4.3), as we need to face new challenges. Needed is an analysis of the theory of state-capitalism. I was the first, in 1942, to develop the theory of state-capitalism on the basis of original Russian sources concerning the first three Five Year Plans, and have continued to develop my analysis to this day. ( I enclose my 1978 par-

phlet, Marx's "Capital" and Today's Global Crisis.)

The African revolutions, both as revolts and as new challenges to thought, deserve a separate and fuller development than seems to be provided in the Draft Project. I consider Frantz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth a most important contribution. One model for dealing with an international symposium is Erich Fromm's Socialist Humanism, which included Leopold Senghor's "Socialism is a Humanism." Have you any African contributors? Have you established any contact with the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa through exiles in the U.S. or Europe? I felt especially proud of the fact that Iranian dissidents translated a pamphlet I wrote 25 years ago on Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions. (I have written a new Introduction for the 1984 edition, which I am also enclosing.)

A most serious omission in the Draft Project occurs in Volume III, as it subordinates philosophy to the realm of culture, when, indeed, the opposite is the truth. Dialectic is not just "one" among "many" philosophies but was made the dialectics of liberation by Marx, whose roots were in the Hegelian dialectic. Lenin, in his day, felt the compulsion to return to the Hegelian dialectic, not just as a source but as the needed philosophy for action in the World War I period of the breakdown of the Second International. Because it enabled him to create the Great Divide in Marxism itself, it is imperative to pay serious attention to relating Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Logic to the historic events of his day and to his writings on Imperialism, on the National Question, and on State and Revolution.

Along with that regrettable subordination of philosophy to culture, my critique of Volume III includes point 9.1 -- "Radical Alternatives in the Relations Between the Sexes." The point is not just the relation between the sexes but Women's Liberation as movement. It deserves to be listed separately.

16918

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIALISM

Beograd - Zagreb

Dear Raya Dunayevskaya

We would like to inform you about the current state of preparations for the Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Socialism and to ask for your future cooperation.

The many contacts and a considerable correspondence have revealed that over two hundred authors from Yugoslavia and many other countries are willing to participate in the preparations for and the actual work on the Encyclopaedia. As the enclosed list shows, the contributors to the Encyclopaedia come from different cultures, countries, schools of thought, generations, and professions. The circle of contributors remains open and your suggestions concerning any additions to it are welcome.

There are many reasons for such a broad response and readiness to cooperate; they all have to do with the very purpose of the work on the Encyclopaedia. First of all, socialist projects - in spite of all their crises and failures in individual cases - are still attractive to a large part of mankind, as an alternative to the state of permanent crises, conflicts, and threats of nuclear self-destruction. Accordingly, there arises an understandable need to permanently question the very concept of socialism - through the long lasting struggles for socialism and through an even longer history of different ideas about socialism. Thirdly, human drives toward higher forms of individual and collective freedom are conditioned by different cultures and traditions, which makes it necessary to comprehend the emancipatory practice in a new, pluralistic manner. Fourthly, the critiques and the challenges of socialism make up an unseparable part of its history and should therefore also be considered in detail. Finally, a thorough investigation of the concepts and the practices of emancipation in different cultures, schools of

thought, and social movements implies a need for the contributors to the Encyclopaedia to form a kind of communicational community in order to be able, through a dialogue, to evaluate the rich and diverse pro et contra arguments of different schools of socialism and of diverse drives for emancipation.

During the past year, the first part of preparations for the work on Encyclopaedia has been completed. The original initiators - Zoran Vidaković, Miroslav Pečujlić and Predrag Vranicki - have completed the first draft of the project of the Encyclopaedia and mailed it to a large number of potential contributors in the country and abroad. As was already mentioned, the initiative was upheld by more than two hundred authors. While the circle of contributors was expanding, the first forms of organized activity came into being. An Initiatory Board was formed; it has met a number of times (in Beograd, Kraljevica, Zagreb, and Petrovaradin) to discuss the project, the forms of cooperation with scientific institutions and publishers, and the mode of communication with the potential contributors.

At the Petrovaradin meeting (10-11 December 1983) it was decided to mail the draft project of the Encyclopaedia to all the contributors for a critical review. At the same time, the Yugoslav part of the Editorial Board was formed. Its responsibilities are to write up the final version of the project on the basis of criticisms and suggestions forwarded to it, to establish the method of further work, and to maintain contacts with scientific institutions, financiers, and publishers. The Yugoslav part of the Editorial Board includes: Vladimir Geati, Zagorka Golubović, Franko Horvat, Rade Kalanj, Nada Lersofronić, Mihailo Markević, Najden Pačić, Vukašin Pavlević, Miroslav Pečujlić, Gajo Petrović, Nebojša Popov, Marko Puhevski, Veljko Rus, Božidar Sekulić, Zoran Stanojević, Svetozar Stejanović, Rudi Supek, Ljubomir Tadić, Zoran Vidaković, Predrag Vranicki and Srdan Vrcan. At the same meeting it was also decided that the Council of the Encyclopaedia should consist of the all contributors; the final list of members of the International Editorial Board should be made after the forthcoming round of consultations with all the contributors -



your opinion on the subject will be appreciated.

The draft project of the Encyclopaedia is based on the previous contacts, correspondence, and discussions in the meetings of the Initiatory and Editorial Boards. The initial idea was to base the Encyclopaedia on the contemporary emancipatory ideas and movements, to present the history of socialism in a succinct and clear manner, and to have the theoretical considerations serve as an aid to understanding and stimulate a continuing dialogue, between proponents of different ideas, schools of thought, and movements.

Once the project is accepted, the work on the Encyclopaedia would start with essays on certain key topics, which would make up the core of the Encyclopaedia. According to the already existing suggestions, such topics would include: the meaning of a study of the history and theories of socialism; the concept of emancipation in different cultures; emancipation, reform, and revolution; emancipation and internationalism; emancipatory movements and radical alternatives; subjects of self-emancipation, the concept of socialism; the bourgeois society and socialism; the theories and ideologies of socialism; the concept of radical democracy; the state and the emancipatory process; the individual in the emancipatory practice; the pluralist socialist culture; emancipatory theory and practice from the women's standpoint; the main critiques of socialism; theoretical approaches to the contemporary crisis; the method of dialogue in the development of socialist theory. We would appreciate your opinion on this selection of topics and your suggestions concerning additional ones; you are also invited to suggest the field and the mode of contribution which would suit you best.

As the enclosed draft project shows, the first volume of the Encyclopaedia would deal with a critical re-examination of the history and theory of socialism, the second with the main aspects of the present crisis, while the third would be devoted to radical alternatives. The essays on key topics and the accompanying discussions would be published in an introductory volume. At the present time, these are but broad suggestions concerning key topics, concepts, and contents of the Encyclopaedia. We are expecting your suggestions and

epiniens on all relevant matters.

The exact method of work is presently envisaged only very broadly. An inspiration was sought in the UNESCO'S History of Mankind, where essays by prominent authors from different fields were followed by comments and opposing views of other authors. If we succeed in establishing a free communicational community of contributors to the Encyclopaedia, the different approaches and views concerning individual topics could be given a more prominent place, so that all the essays would be followed by comments, remarks, and even by alternative essays, wherever the dialogue uncovers relevant differences. Such a productive dialogue would at the same time serve as a means for overcoming the differences. It goes without saying that all results published in the already existing encyclopaedias as well as the results of major research projects would be utilized as well. Each topic would be followed by a brief review of the existing knowledge, research and literature on the subject, but the largest space would be devoted to open and controversial topics. As our experience with the use of dialogue in such complex projects is limited, it is not possible to prescribe the exact methods of work and communication; it is to be hoped that such methods will be developed through the efforts of all the contributors to the Encyclopaedia.

IP In order to improve the communication between the contributors, it is envisaged to publish an ECS Bulletin, which would contain: the first drafts of contributions, comments on such contributions, and all the relevant information on current activities and plans. The first number of the ECS Bulletin should appear at the end of the first round of preparations - in March 1984. It will contain the project of the Encyclopaedia - the draft revised in accordance with your suggestions - the first essays on key topics, a review of correspondence, and other informations and suggestions for future work. Talks with scientific institutions, financiers, and publishers are an important part of preparations for the Encyclopaedia. Negotiations with certain major institutes of social sciences, financiers of research projects, and a number of major publishers, such as Partizanska knjiga (The Partizan's Book), Narodna knjiga (The People's Book), and Globus (The Globe), are all under way. It is expected that these negotiations will be

We wish to thank you again for your cooperation and to ask for your opinion on the following matters: (1) the draft project; (2) selection of key topics; (3) additions to the list of contributors; (4) authors from your field who should be asked to join the dialogue; (5) membership of the Editorial Board; (6) potential financiers and publishers; (7) fields and topics which interest you and your personal willingness to cooperate in an editorial capacity, as well as on all other matters which you deem important for the future work on the Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Socialism. Your opinion regarding the draft project may be accompanied by alternative drafts of the whole of the Encyclopaedia or its parts and/or by essays which problematize in more detail individual topics and subjects. All such contributions will be published in the ECS Bulletin. You are also expected to propose candidates for members of the Editorial Board from the fields with which you are familiar, bearing in mind that the Board should not have more than 50 members. On the basis of such proposals, the provisional Yugoslav Board will complete a list of the members of the International Editorial Board and submit it to all contributors for their approval.

Please send your answers at your earliest convenience, if possible by 1 March 1984 to:

Zoran Vidaković, Jevrema Grujića 14, 11000 Beograd,  
Yugoslavia

Please accept our warm regards and best wishes for the New Year.

Beograd,

February 1984

For the Editorial Board

*Zoran Vidaković*

(Zoran Vidaković)

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIALISM

- A DRAFT PROJECT -

Volume One

A CRITICAL RE-EXAMINATION OF THE HISTORY AND THEORY OF  
SOCIALISM

Part One

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE PAST REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AND  
REVOLUTIONS

- 1.1. Contradictions and crises in societies influenced by the capitalist mode of production
- 1.2. The main schools of socialism - their similarities and differences; conflicts and controversies
- 1.3. Developmental stages, contradictions, and integrative processes in the workers' and other emancipatory movements before the first socialist revolutions
- 1.4. War and revolution (international, civil, and world wars); revolutions in peacetime
- 1.5. Revolutionary movements and revolutions at times of war: revolutions in Russia in 1905 and 1917; the German and Hungarian revolutions; revolutionary movements in other countries
- 1.6. Causes and consequences of the schism in the workers' and socialist movements
- 1.7. Bolshevism and Stalinism; "socialism in one country" and the Comintern; a comparative analysis of the experiences of international workers' organizations
- 1.8. The great world crisis of the first half of the century - the challenges and the answers
- 1.9. The second world war and the new revolutionary movements and revolutions (in Yugoslavia, China, etc.)
- 1.1a. Historical contradictions of decolonization processes and anticolonial revolutions

Too general when is it?

## Part Two

NEW DEBATES ON THE THEORETICAL-HISTORICAL HYPOTHESES OF  
SOCIALISM

2. 1. A critique of the classical socialist ideas and theories, which reflected an earlier level of knowledge about the historical dialectics of bourgeois society, of the capitalist mode of production and the state, and of the emancipatory process and socialist revolution; the main problems in the development of these ideas and theories in the contemporary period
2. 2. Debates on the main moments in reduction of socialist ideas and theories, conditioned by the historical contradictions within emancipatory movements and socialist revolutions of the past
2. 3. Socialism: a historical necessity or a possibility - the old and the new debates
2. 4. Socialism and industrialization; changes in the social mode of production (material and spiritual) and transformations of social structure
2. 5. Socialism and the state - possibilities for a radical change of political practice; re-examination of the relationship between democracy and socialism ("there can be no democracy without socialism and no socialism without democracy")
2. 6. Critiques of ideologies of socialist revolutions and movements; achievements and limitations of the critique of the "personality cult"; causes and consequences of social conflicts in East Germany (1953), Poland and Hungary (1956), and Poland (1968-1980) *Zdzislaw*
2. 7. *ZJM* The specific nature of the problem of emancipation in the Third World societies; the "eurocentric" and the "third world" directions of ideas and theories concerning emancipation, revolution, and socialism.
2. 8. New knowledge on the historical possibilities of socialism and a dialogue on the goals and the means of emancipatory practice

- 2. 9. A pluralist socialist culture
- 2.10. New debates on emancipatory and socialist internationalism
- 2.11. Old and new critiques and negations of socialism

Volume Two

THE WORLD CRISIS AND TRENDS OF SOCIAL CHANGE<sup>1</sup> (THE RESTRUCTURING OF SOCIETIES)

- 3. 1. Different theories of social crises and their potential contribution to a study of the contemporary world crisis
- 3. 2. Social systems characteristic of the period after the second world war and the contemporary world crisis: the welfare state, the "real socialism", and the populist systems of post-colonial emancipation; achievements of emancipatory movements regarding changes in these three types of social systems; mutual interdependence of these three types of social systems
- 3. 3. Conditions of the world crisis of the 70s and the 80s; special conditions and causes of crises in late capitalist societies, post-colonial societies, and societies which have emerged out of the twentieth century revolutions; mutual influences of conditions and causes of the crisis in the three regions of the contemporary world; the over-determination of contradictions in the world as a whole
- 3. 4. Dynamics of the crises in the world as a whole: the crisis of economic production and the crisis of global social reproduction at the level of global class relations and of class struggles; mutual interdependence of various levels and aspects of the crisis: the ecological, economic, social, political, and cultural crises; determinants of the crisis which are independent of conscious social action and of social and political actors' practice; relocation of the focal points of crisis
- 3. 5. The military-political division of the world, armaments, and trends toward a militarization of the economic and political spheres: the military-industrial systems,

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armaments, and wars; trends toward militarization in the dynamics of the world crisis

3. 6. The police-industrial complexes: militarization of the police and civilian militarism; expansion of police control (i.e. the state violence) as a part of the trend toward militarization in all societies which are losing their political legitimacy; terror and terrorism; international transfer of repressive methods of police control; export of police technology and know-how into countries with repressive regimes
3. 7. Trends of social change (the restructuring of societies): the restructuring of the social labor, of the labor markets, of the reproduction of labor force and the consumption of the working population, of the accumulation and distribution of surplus value; changes in social classes and their relations in particular societies, world regions, and the world as a whole; socio-cultural changes and the restructuring of ideologies
3. 8. Possibilities and perspectives of a capitalist restructuring; what are the conditions and the limits of capitalism's ability to survive the crisis and to continue the capitalist economic growth and civilizational development of capitalist forms of the bourgeois society; possibilities and perspectives of the restructuring of capitalism in the industrially developed (i.e. metropolitan) the semi-industrialized, and the predominately agrarian societies which are dependent on capitalism
3. 9. Trends and chances that the capitalist restructuring will produce fundamental social changes which would negate or threaten the values which arose out of contradictions of capitalist development and emancipatory movements through transformations of the bourgeois society; under what conditions and to what extent will the survival of capitalism be able to threaten or negate the civilizational and historical presupposition of socialism
- 3.10. The crisis of personality in the context of social crises, of the restructuring of capitalist mode of production and of the authoritarian state - its influence on liberation movements and on socialism



## Part Four

## EMANCIPATORY MOVEMENTS IN THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

*Where is Africa?*

4. 1. Major theories of social movements and main directions for research; basic characteristics of emancipatory movements and counter-movements; spontaneity and utopia - the old and the new dilemmas; social contradictions, conflicts, and the social change; contribution of the critique of ideology to a liberation of spontaneity; achievements and limits of a study of the emancipatory practice in general
4. 2. Relationship between political and universal human emancipations in the liberation movements in the industrially developed countries of late capitalism, in the Third World, and in the countries of real socialism - similarities and differences
4. 3. Transformations of the industrial workers' movement: workers' movements in the industrially developed countries of late capitalism, in the newly industrialized societies and in the Third World; workers' movements from the second world war to the 1960s; students' and workers' movements; the new workers' movements; the crisis of trade unions and parties
4. 4. New social movements connected to transformations of the social (i.e. class) being of the intelligentsia
4. 5. Movements of the youth - a new unity of the critiques of authoritarian and totalitarian systems ("new politics") and of ideological repression, manipulation, and spiritual poverty ("new culture", "counterculture"); connections to the anti-colonial movements; struggles, and revolutions; new interpretations of the relationship between democracy and socialism, between political and universal human emancipation; similarities and differences between these movements on the national, regional, and global levels
4. 6. Movements of the exploited and pauperized peasantry, of the unemployed and the underemployed urban and rural populations, especially in the Third World - their relationship to other social movements
4. 7. Women's movements - factions within other movements and autonomous movements; an accumulation of previous stages



and experiences of past women's movements as a basis for their endurance; specific values and contradictions of women's liberation; relationship of women's movement to other social movements

- 4. 8. Ecological movements and movements against destructive use of technology and against urban degradation
- 4. 9. Peace movements - past and present; their specific characteristics and their relationship to other movements
- 4.10. Guerrilla and terrorism - conditions, forms, and consequences
- 4.11. Multiplicity, variety, and interdependence of emancipatory movements in the contemporary world: a new internationalism

Volume Three

RADICAL ALTERNATIVES AND EVERYDAY LIFE

Part Five

SUBJECTS OF SELF-EMANCIPATION

- 5. 1. Transformations of social actors in liberation movements (i.e. in alternative practice): class and other social groups in antagonistic social production, in social structures, and in social systems which arise out of such production and which enable it; historical presuppositions for and contradictions in the formation of the subjects of socialism; the influence of the contemporary world crisis on classes and other social groups which could be the subjects of socialism; formation of the subjects of socialism in the contemporary liberation movements
- 5. 2. The multitude of subjects of self-emancipation: aspirations of the workers' movement and of other liberation movements to play the leading role within the totality of the emancipatory practice; aspects of exploitation and alienation; liberation of the proletariat and universal human liberation as aspects of self-liberation; radical alternatives in individual spheres and dimensions

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of social production, of civilization and culture, of sociability, and of personal development - a pluralism of emancipatory practice

- 5. 3. Relationships between subjects of self-emancipation and possibilities for their unification and cooperation: contradictions within the pluralism of emancipatory practice; mutual dependence and influences of radical alternatives in the individual dimensions of human and social realities and the possibilities for cooperation and unification of the subjects of self-emancipation; autonomy and association of liberation movements; universal values and different socio-cultural choices in emancipatory practice

Part Six

RADICAL DEMOCRACY - POLITICAL ASPECTS OF EMANCIPATORY PRACTICE

- 6. 1. Self-organization of the society as a human community: emancipation without a political authority, a federation of productive and territorial associations
- 6. 2. Council democracy and different interpretations of participation and self-management as an emancipatory project and as an ideology)
- 6. 3. Concepts of radical democracy in the Third World - positive and negative experiences (Lybia, the "green book", China's cultural revolution, Campuchia, islamic socialism, etc.)
- 6. 4. Programs, organizational forms, and role of the political parties in the system of power; party systems: pluralism and monism; existence or suppression of opposition; non-partyness as an emancipatory project and as an ideological manipulation
- 6. 5. Division and unity of political power
- 6. 6. Law and legality: the rule of socialist legality as an alternative to the liberal concept of the "legal state" and to the totalitarian view of the "dictatorship of the proletariat"; independence of the judiciary; democratization of legislative procedures
- 6. 7. The role of trade unions in the emancipatory process; the strike and trade unionism; specific characteristics and experiences of the Solidarity movement

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- 6. 8. A free public opinion as the customary substance of radical democracy: social dialogue and critique, a tolerant communicational community
- 6. 9. Alternative models of information systems as a precondition of democratic decision making; mass media in the emancipatory practice
- 6.10. International aspects of radical democracy

Part Seven

RADICAL ALTERNATIVES IN THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF PEOPLE'S WAY OF LIFE

- 7. 1. Critiques of antagonistic industrial and agrarian production and the genesis of radical alternatives (from the "right to laziness" to an abolition of labor)
- 7. 2. Radical alternatives to the antagonistic social division of labor and to the hierarchical organization of the work process
- 7. 3. Changes in the relationship between "working time" and "free time"
- 7. 4. Alternative technologies
- 7. 5. Emancipatory urbanization
- 7. 6. Ecological alternatives
- 7. 7. Demographic alternatives

Part Eight

RADICAL ALTERNATIVES IN THE REALM OF CULTURE

- 8. 1. Emancipatory practice in bringing up and education of children and adolescents; problems and perspectives of perspectives of permanent education; information systems and emancipatory practice
- 8. 2. Emancipatory practice in medicine and psychiatry
- 8. 3. Emancipatory cultural change: emancipatory movements and cultural revolution; radical needs and emancipatory values; emancipatory trends in natural and applied sciences; emancipatory trends in philosophy and humanities; art in emancipatory practice

*7. Needed Philosophy or Subordination to Culture v.v. Cult*

*Why is this Culture?*

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Part Nine

RADICAL ALTERNATIVES IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES

9. 1. Critique of social division of labor between the sexes; directions of change of the relations between the sexes; love and emancipatory practice; critique of the family in antagonistic social systems

Part Ten

RADICAL ALTERNATIVES IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLES AND CULTURES

- 10.1. The variety of cultural-historical presuppositions of socialism and the variety of emancipatory processes; emancipatory alternatives in the ethnic and national development; international solidarity of emancipatory movements and the possibilities for an international community

Part Eleven

PERSONALITY IN THE EMANCIPATORY MOVEMENTS

- 11.1. Views and debates on the human nature; main directions in modern anthropology
- 11.2. Contradictions of personality development in the 19th and the 20th centuries emancipatory movements
- 11.3. Personality in the contemporary emancipatory movements
- 11.4. Personality, order, and movement; the "character mask" of fetishized social relationships or an irreplaceable individuality
- 11.5. Socio-cultural self-determination of individuals, groups, and broader communities in emancipatory practice
- 11.6. Social equality in freedom: free development of each individual as a condition of free development of all

RD  
May 23, 1985

Dear Zoran Vidakovic

Let me make a brief acknowledgment of your latest form letter, dated Feb. 1, 1985, which I have just received. I wish to limit myself to two points:

1) The question of financing the Bulletin, for which I enclose \$20 as a subscription. I'm making the check out to your name. I'm sorry that I know of no sources that could make contributions. I'm also sorry to have to tell you that the publisher, whose name I sent you as one who might be interested in contributing to the publishing of the Encyclopedia -- Dr. Simon Silverman, Director of Humanities Press -- has since died.

2) I suggested to Dr. Kevin Anderson -- whose unpublished PhD thesis, "The Dialectical Sociology of Social Change: a Study of Lenin and Hegel", might interest you -- that he become a member. He will be writing to you, from Loyola University, Chicago.

I have not yet received what you refer to as "our next envelope" which was to include the first volume of the ECS; and I'm not sure I understand your reference to the papers you received, which are described as "only those papers received by the Editorial Board." I thought that this is where I sent my Commentary, in the envelope I addressed to you. I am enclosing another copy.

The only member I have heard from is Zaga Golubovic, who agreed with me, because she felt my remarks on the Draft correct, "particularly those concerning a need to clearly distinguish Marx's theory from a variety of Marxism."

I have also not received an acknowledgment of my books, Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, as well as my pamphlets on Marx's Capital and the Global Crisis and on the Afro-Asian Revolutions. Have you received them?

I am presently very busy proofreading my forthcoming book on Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future, and cannot possibly find time to write anything totally new until I know that that is a relevant subject for inclusion in the Encyclopedia.

Comradely yours,

16993

Beograd, Sept. 10, 1986.

Dear Raya Lunayevskaya

The realization of the international project Encyclopedia of contemporary socialism has begun. The introductory book entitled For an emancipatory dialogue is ready for publication. It should offer a panorama of major problems of the contemporary world. These problems will be the subject of dialogue among representatives of different schools of emancipatory thought, movements and regions of the world.

We thank you for your contribution in the process of international consultation. Your opinion and suggestions have significantly influenced the choice and formulation of the problem within the Basic project of ECS. We would like to include in the introductory book a short study of yours, in which you would edit and supplement the content of your letter concerning the Draft of the project.

The dialogue on key question will last until 1989. We expect your participation and suggestions concerning other possible participants.

We are preparing the constitution of the Project as an absolutely autonomous International association for a theoretical dialogue and research communication. Can you suggest a research organization or research groups within your sphere of work and influence that could be among the founders of the Association. (Upon receiving your suggestions we would send the programme documents and information concerning the organization and financing of the Association).

We are sorry that our communications were made difficult. It seems you have not received some of our reports and suggestions. We hope things will work out better in the future.

With confidence in our future cooperation,

*Zoran Vidaković*  
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16934

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