The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection

Marxist-Humanism:
A Half-Century of Its World Development

1910-1987
THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION

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INTRODUCTION

The papers of Raya Dunayevskaya were placed in the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in July 1969 by Raya Dunayevskaya and were first opened for research in May 1970. New additions to the collection in 1981 added many documents missing in the original deposit and expanded the material over the 40-year period they now cover. [Dunayevskaya added a Volume XI in 1985, and a Volume XII in 1986. A Supplement to the Collection (Volumes XIII, XIV, and XV) was begun after Dunayevskaya's death in June 1987.]

Raya Dunayevskaya founded Marxist-Humanism in the United States. During a lifetime in the Marxist movement, she developed a revolutionary body of ideas: the theory of state-capitalism; the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism as rooted in the U.S. in labor, the Black dimension and women's liberation; the global concept of the inseparability of philosophy and revolution as the dialectics of liberation. These concepts have been developed in three major works: Marxism and Freedom (published in 1958); Philosophy and Revolution (published in 1973); and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (published in 1982).

Born in Russia, she was brought to the U.S. as a child. She became Russian Secretary to Leon Trotsky in exile in Mexico in 1937-38, during the period of the Moscow Trials and the Dewey Commission of inquiry into the charges made against Trotsky. At the outbreak of World War II, she broke with Trotsky in opposition to his defense of Russia as a "workers state though degenerate." She held, instead, that the Hitler-Stalin Pact both gave the green light to the Second World War and showed that Russia was a state-capitalist society.

The seminal, comprehensive study she made, from original sources, of Russia's initial three Five Year Plans (published in the New International, Dec. 1942, Jan. 1943 and Feb. 1943) continue to serve as source material for a study of the class nature of Russia and the revision of Marxian theory. The study was widely quoted in the world press as well as in such works as Arthur Koestler's The Yogi and the Commissar (1945). Her translation into English of "Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union" from an issue of Pod Znamenem Marxizma (Under the Banner of Marxism), which had failed to arrive in the U.S. libraries, was published in the American Economic Review (Sept. 1944) and touched off an international debate with other theoreticians which reached the front page of the New York Times in 1945.
The analysis of Russian state-capitalism had led, in 1941, to her association with C.L.R. James (J.R. Johnson), author of *Black Jacobins*, who had arrived at the same position. Under the name of Freddie Forest, she co-founded an opposition State-Capitalist Tendency within the American Trotskyist movement, which was named the Johnson-Forest Tendency in Dec. 1945. In 1947 Forest attended the Fourth International Conference in Paris, where she presented the state-capitalist position in debate with Ernest Mandel. The same year the Tendency translated and mimeographed the *1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*; but the singling out of Marx's Humanism as the philosophy of liberation for our age was not achieved until the split between the two founders of the State-Capitalist Tendency in 1955, although the final break with Trotskyism had occurred in 1951.

The majority of the group established News and Letters Committees, of which Raya Dunayevskaya became Chairwoman, and began the publication of a Marxist-Humanist newspaper. At its founding this group assigned her to complete *Marxism and Freedom–from 1776 until Today*, which re-established the American and the world humanist roots of Marxism. As Appendices, it included the first English translations of Marx's Humanist Essays and Lenin's *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic*. This work, which was first published in New York in 1958, has appeared in many editions and translations: Italian (1962); Japanese (1964); French (1971 and 2016); British (1971 and 1975); Spanish (1976, 1990, and 2007); Chinese (1998); Farsi (2008); Russian (2011); Arabic (2011); and Indian (2013). The new chapter which was added to the 1964 edition, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung," was translated by a Chinese refugee at the start of the "Cultural Revolution." Other entire chapters were circulated in *samizdat* in the underground in East Europe and resulted in a dialogue with East European Marxist-Humanists. Some of them collaborated later in the writing of the chapter on State-Capitalism in East Europe in another of her major works, *Philosophy and Revolution*. Other chapters were translated into Farsi in Iran, where revolutionaries included one of them in a pamphlet to celebrate May Day 1979.

*Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* was published by Dell simultaneously in hardcover and paperback in 1973. It appeared in Spanish translation through Siglo Veintiuno (1977) and in Italian through Feltrinelli (also 1977). It has now been brought out in German through Europa Verlag (1981). Later editions were published in Spanish (1989 and 2004), Russian (1993), Chinese (2000), Farsi (2004), and a portion in Polish (1990). This, too, was not only a work of research and analysis, but of actuality. Ms. Dunayevskaya traveled and lectured widely in West Africa, Japan and West Europe as well as in the United States. While studying at the Universities Research Center in Hong Kong in 1965, as Mao's "Cultural Revolution" first unfolded, she interviewed refugees from mainland China. One of these interviews, entitled "Alienation and Revolution," was included in her 1977 pamphlet, *Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China*, along with an analysis of the fall of Chiang Ch'ing and the rise of Hua Kuo-feng.

In the U.S. she has been involved in all aspects of the freedom movements. Her activity has never been separated from the Black dimension, ranging from her work in the International Labor Defense Committee during the Scottsboro Case to her activity with Ralph Bunche around the sharecroppers; and from her debates with Coolidge (Ernest Rice McKinney of the Workers Party) in the mid-1940s on the Negro struggle as a
National Question, to her 1944 critique of Gunnar Myrdal's work, which she titled "Negro Intellectuals in Dilemma." Thus, a lifetime of work and activity went into *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard*, which demonstrated the two-way road between Africa and America (published in Spanish in 2014); and her pamphlet on *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution* included contributions from both Mario Savio and a Mississippi Freedom Summer activist. She developed her concepts further in her Introduction to *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*.

As an activist with the Women's Liberation Movement from its beginnings, Ms. Dunayevskaya contributed an essay on "The Women's Liberation Movement as Reason and as Revolutionary Force" to the anthology, *Notes on Women's Liberation*, in 1970, and a special Appendix, "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries," to the pamphlet, *Working Women for Freedom*, in 1976, following a series of six lectures she had been asked to give at the Wayne State University Center for Adult Education for International Women's Year. Her writings on Women's Liberation were translated into Farsi for a pamphlet issued by Iranian women revolutionaries for International Women's Day, 1980. With the first publication of a transcription of Karl Marx's Ethnological Notebooks, Raya Dunayevskaya singled out the relationship of this, his last work, to his early Humanist Essays on the Man/Woman concept. This has been developed in her third major work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982). Its second edition was introduced by Adrienne Rich, and the book has been published in Spanish (1985, 1999, 2009, and 2013) and German (1998).


Her writings have been published widely abroad as well as in this country. Thus, her pamphlet, *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, has been published both in Japan and in Great Britain as well as in Farsi. Her *Political-Philosophic Letters on Revolution and Counter-revolution in Iran* were published in Farsi, and she wrote the introduction for the Farsi publication of Marx's *1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*. Other articles have appeared in *Présence Africaine* as well as in Africa Today, and in *Arguments* (Paris) as well as in the American literary review, *Paunch*. In 1977 *Studies in Comparative Communism* printed her latest study of "Leon Trotsky as Man and as Theoretician" and in 1979, on the 100th anniversary of Trotsky's birth, *Cahiers Leon Trotsky* published her 1938 article on "The Man, Trotsky." She was one of only three Americans asked to contribute to the International Symposium, *Socialist Humanism*, edited by Erich Fromm.

She is a charter member of the Hegel Society of America and her speech to the Society on "Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning" is included in the Humanities Press 1980 edition of *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy*. On the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth and the 200th anniversary of Hegel's, her study of Lenin's return to Hegel was published by *Telos* (U.S.), by *Praxis* (Yugoslavia), and by *Aut Aut* (Italy). Her In Memoriam to Herbert Marcuse, who wrote the Preface to the first edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, appeared in the *Newsletter of the International Society for the Sociology of Knowledge*, edited by Kurt Wolff.

She lectured extensively at universities across the U.S., in Britain, Japan, Europe, and Africa.

**INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA (1981)**

Marxist-Humanism is the overall title of the body of ideas expressed in the ten volumes and two appendices on deposit with the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs of Wayne State University. They extend over a 40-year period from 1941 to 1981. Theoretically they have been worked out in the following major publications by Raya Dunayevskaya: *Marxism and Freedom, From 1776 Until Today* (1958, 1964; the latter edition contained a new chapter, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung"); *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao* (1973); and the new book going to press, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

The entire collection is divided into two Parts. **Part One** covers Marxist-Humanism in its origin as State-Capitalist theory: (1) as that theory was developed by its founders, J.R. Johnson (C.L.R. James) and Freddie Forest (Raya Dunayevskaya), within the Trotskyist movement, 1941-1951; and (2) as the State-Capitalist Tendency existed independently from the Trotskyist movement, 1951-1955. The designation "State-Capitalist" was, naturally, intended for the Russian economy, not for the Tendency that made the analysis and to whom the role of labor was pivotal. Dunayevskaya, from the very beginning, analyzed labor in the form in which Marx articulated it as Alienated Labor in his now-famous 1844 Humanist Essays. (See "Labor and Society" *Vol. I, Section II.*) But the full development of Humanism in our age was made possible only after C.L.R. James broke from the Tendency in 1955. (See Vols. *III* and *IV.*) The twin aims of what was to become *Marxism and Freedom* were to discover the American roots of Marxism and to re-establish Marxism in its original form, which Marx called "a thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism."

The **Appendix to Part One**, "Leon Trotsky: Letters, Conversations, Unpublished Documents," includes:

1. Leon Trotsky's letter to Dunayevskaya that accepts her as his secretary and then acknowledges her work on behalf of the Russian Bulletin of the Left Opposition as well as some research work regarding Stalin;
2. the translations she made during her stay in Mexico;
3. a very rare copy of the Bulletin in the form in which it was published for underground transmission to Russia.

**Part Two**—which includes Volumes IV through X, and an **Appendix** to the whole containing the entire collection of "Two Worlds" columns—covers the period 1955 to
1981, and details the development of Marxist-Humanism as philosophy and as an organization, News and Letters Committees.

The 1955 split between the two founders of the State-Capitalist Tendency did not break the continuity of ideas. On the contrary. Between the death of Stalin in March 1953, and the spontaneous outburst of the first mass revolt under state-capitalist totalitarianism in East Berlin on June 17, 1953, came the philosophic breakthrough which discerned in Hegel's "Absolute Idea" a movement from practice to theory as well as the movement from theory to practice. The split allowed some fresh air to come in, with the majority of the group, especially the workers, following Dunayevskaya, both theoretically on Humanism and practically in the establishment of a new paper, News & Letters, to be edited by a Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal. The new paper was first published under the motto taken from Marx's Humanist Essays: "The Root of Mankind is Man." As the Women's Liberation Movement arose, the motto chosen came from Marx's Capital: "Human Power Is Its Own End." Women had been singled out in 1956 in the very Constitution of Marxist-Humanism as one of the four forces of the American Revolution, rank-and-file labor, Black masses, and Youth being the other three.

Volume X, "What Is Philosophy? What Is Revolution? How the revolutions of our age relate to those since Marx's age: Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution," centers around the decision–made as Women's Liberation became not only an idea whose time had come but an actual movement–that the concept needed to be fully worked out historically, not only in the life of the great revolutionary theoretician Rosa Luxemburg and in the Women's Liberation Movement of today, but within the context of the totality of Marx's philosophy of revolution, now that our age finally has all of Marx's works. Those works now include the heretofore unknown Ethnological Notebooks, as well as the long unknown and still undigested draft letters to Vera Zasulitch, which related Marx's findings to a possible revolution in backward Russia in advance of the West. Hence the title of the new major work: Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

–Raya Dunayevskaya
February 27, 1981

The above text was written when the first ten volumes of the Collection were donated. Later, Dunayevskaya organized two additional volumes, XI and XII. For the special introductions she wrote to those volumes, please see Volume XI and Volume XII. Further volumes were donated posthumously, as were The Raya Dunayevskaya Audio-Video Tape Collection and Marginalia in Books from Raya Dunayevskaya's Personal Library.

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The Raya Dunayevskaya Audio-Video Tape Collection
Audiotapes
Videotapes
Marginalia in Books from Raya Dunayevskaya's Personal Library

Documents of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection and Supplement to the Collection are on deposit at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan 48202. When donated to Wayne State, arrangements were made to make a microfilm edition of the documents and additions to the collection available. Microfilm editions are available for purchase from Wayne State. The documents are now available online at www.rayadunayevskaya.org, the website of the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund. The Fund was established in July, 1987. Its trustees are Robert French and Franklin Bell. The Fund can be reached at rdmf@rayadunayevskaya.org.

News & Letters, the newspaper of the Marxist-Humanist organization, News and Letters Committees, is available 1955 to the present online at www.newsandletters.org/category/newspaper/.
PART ONE

BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF STATE-CAPITALIST THEORY

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PART ONE: BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF STATE-CAPITALIST THEORY

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/49.pdf

VOLUME I: 1941-1947 — BEGINNING OF STATE-CAPITALIST THEORY (IN THE WORKERS PARTY)

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/50.pdf

Section I. 1941 — First Analysis of Russia as a State-Capitalist Society

(1) Russia is a State-Capitalist Society
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/51.pdf
by Freddie James, Washington D.C. This was the first document in which Freddie James (Raya Dunayevskaya) called Russia a state-capitalist society. It was submitted to the Second Workers Party National Convention, 1941, independently of other critiques of Russia.

(2) Resolution on the Russian Question
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/52.pdf
by J.R. Johnson, Sept. 19, 1941. Submitted to same Workers Party Convention. F. Forest (Raya Dunayevskaya) and J.R. Johnson (C.L.R. James) formed the State-Capitalist Tendency. In 1945 it renamed itself the Johnson-Forest Tendency.

Section II. 1942-1944 — In the Midst of World War II: Further Developments on the Russian Question and on Europe


A. F. Forest

(1) The Nature of the Russian Economy
completed Nov. 1942

a. An Analysis of Russian Economy
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/69.pdf
in New International (N.I.), Dec. 1942, Jan. 1943, and Feb. 1943. Part I of a study of the Russian economy. This study of the first three Five-Year Plans was the first anywhere based on original Russian documents. The analysis was widely referred to in the world press as well as in books such as The Yogi and the Commissar by Arthur Koestler, 1945 (p. 158). (This study along with published Part II (see Vol. I, Sec. IV) was reissued by News and Letters Committees, Detroit, under the title Russia as a State-Capitalist Society, 1973.)

b. Labor and Society
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/87.pdf
Introduction to Part II of "The Nature of the Russian Economy." In "Labor and Society," Marx's Humanist Essays were first brought into the development of the State-Capitalist Tendency. "Labor and Society" remained unpublished until mimeographed by the Johnson-Forest Tendency in the "Interim Period." (See Vol. II). (For the first English translation of Marx's Humanist Essays see Essays by Karl Marx selected from the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, Vol. II , Sec. ID. For first publication see Marxism and Freedom, From 1776 until Today, 1958 edition, Vol. IV, Sec. III.)

c. Politics and Economics
Unpublished typescript of Part II of "The Nature of the Russian Economy." Includes a section entitled "Stalinist Russia: A Bureaucratic Collectivist or State Capitalist Society" (page 90). A revised Part II was published as "The Nature of the Russian Economy" (see Vol. I, Sec. IVA).

(2) On Quoting Trotsky

Nov. 10, 1943. A short polemic against the National Committee Majority Resolution of the Workers Party on the European situation which exposes their distortion of Trotsky's position on the relation of fascism to the possibility of proletarian revolution.

(3) A Restatement of Some Fundamentals of Marxism Against Carter's Vulgarization

Nov. 14, 1943. (Mimeographed Bulletin, March 1944.) A defense of Johnson's short article "Production for Production's Sake" (see Vol. I, Sec. IIE) that had been subject to debate within the Workers Party, in particular a response by Carter. Forest's discussion of Marx's economics concentrates on the mode of production rather than the will of the capitalists as being the dominant factor. (Reprinted by News and Letters Committees, 1978.)

(4) Stalin's Revision of Marx's Analysis of the Law of Value

a. Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union

This article from Pod Znamenem Marxizma (Under the Banner of Marxism), No. 7-8, 1943, marked a dramatic shift in Russian economic theory. Where previously Russian political economists had said the law of value did not operate under socialism, they now claimed that it did. To accompany this reversal they proposed beginning the teaching of Marx's Capital not with Chapter One on "Commodities." Dunayevskaya's analysis of this drastic revision immediately followed her translation.

b. A New Revision of Marxian Economics

in AER, Sept. 1944. A commentary on "Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union." Because the timing of the revision occurred in the midst of World War II when Russia and the West were allies, whereas Dunayevskaya's critique said it signified the beginning of world competition between the two, the article hit the front page of the New York Times in Oct. 1944. It became the subject of a year-long debate within the pages of the American Economic Review, in 1944-1945. For Dunayevskaya's response, see "Revision or Reaffirmation of Marxism? A Rejoinder."

c. Revision or Reaffirmation of Marxism? A Rejoinder

in AER, Sept. 1945. The response to articles appearing in the AER by Oscar Lange, Leo Rogin and Paul A. Baran.

d. Revue Internationale


B. J.R. Johnson

(1) Production for Production's Sake


(2) The Socialist United States of Europe: Nearer Not Further Away

Parts II ("The Particular Forms") and III ("The Concrete Application"), May 1943. Part I ("The Way Out for Europe") not included here. See N.I., April 1943. A defense of the slogan "For the Socialist United States of Europe" as applicable for Europe, 1943.

(3) Socialism and the National Question, in N.I.
Section III. 1944-1946 — The Negro Question and the Writings of Johnson and Forest

In the midst of the war came the Black uprisings in Detroit and Harlem, as well as a miners' strike which included large numbers of Black miners. Forest and Johnson wrote a series of pioneering studies on the Negro Question in America and its relation to socialist revolution and the Marxist movement.

(1) Marxism and the Negro Problem
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/259.pdf
by F. Forest, June 18, 1944.

(2) Negro Intellectuals in Dilemma
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/271.pdf

(3) Resolution of the Minority on the Negro Question
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/275.pdf

(4) Negroes in the Revolution: The Significance of Their Independent Struggles
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/282.pdf
by F. Forest, in N.I., May 1945. A polemic against the resolution of the National Committee of the Workers Party on "Negroes and the Revolution," written by Coolidge.

(5) Marxism and the Negro Problem
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/286.pdf
by F. Forest, April 23, 1946. A continuation of Forest's 1944 article by the same name.

(6) Abstract of Com. Coolidge's Document on Negro Question
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/296.pdf
by F. Forest. These notes were prepared for a debate with Coolidge (Ernest Rice McKinney) held at the Workers Party Convention, May 27-31, 1946. McKinney was the leading Black spokesman for the Shachtmanite position.

(7) Industrialization and Urbanization of the Negro
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/311.pdf
by F. Forest, 1946 (?), Typescript, 13 pages.

Section IV. 1943-47 World War II Ends; A New Age Begins

A. F. Forest: Studies on Marx's Capital, on Luxemburg, on Stalin's Russia

(1) Outline of Marx's Capital Volume One.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/324.pdf
A series of 14 lectures covering all eight parts of Marx's Capital. It is a 54-page teaching guide including questions for the various lectures. Prepared originally for Educational Department, Workers Party. (Reissued by News and Letters Committees, 1979.)

(2) Outline of Marx's Capital Volume Two
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/385.pdf
prepared in 1945. A 34-page teaching outline, plus one page of definitions. A class taught by F. Forest beginning in Nov. 1946. A one-page bibliography for the class included.

(3) Notes on Marx's Theories of Surplus Value.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/421.pdf
Six pages typescript.
(4) Notes on Value, Exchange Value, Surplus Value: How Applicable to Capitalist Society and How to Other Societies.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/427.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/427.pdf)
Three pages typescript.

(5) Notes on Use-Value as a Capitalist Category and "Dead expenses of capitalist production."
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/430.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/430.pdf)
Four pages typescript.

(6) An Exchange of Letters between Freddie Forest and Reva Crane on Rosa Luxemburg
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/434.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/434.pdf)
in N.I., March 1943. Forest's first commentary on Luxemburg's Accumulation of Capital.

(7) Luxemburg's Theory of Accumulation. How It Differed with Marx and Lenin
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/436.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/436.pdf)

(8) New Developments in Stalin's Russia
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/448.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/448.pdf)

(9) The Nature of the Russian Economy
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/454.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/454.pdf)

(10) On the City Committee Report and the Need for a Political Perspective
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/467.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/467.pdf)

B. First Draft of what was to become Marxism and Freedom
(1) State-Capitalism and Marxism
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/472.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/472.pdf)
by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1947. This 80-page outline is the first draft of what became Marxism and Freedom. The outline was submitted to Oxford University Press and to Professor Joan Robinson, the British economist, whose critical notes accompany the text. For the development of State-Capitalism and Marxism into Marxism and Freedom see Vols. III and IV.

C. J.R. Johnson: Discussions within Workers Party, Historical Retrogressionism
(1) Education, Propaganda, Agitation: Post-War America and Bolshevism
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/504.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/504.pdf)
1945

(2) Historical Retrogression or Socialist Revolution
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/534.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/534.pdf)

(3) Resolutions to the Workers Party Convention of 1946
the final Convention the Johnson-Forest Tendency attended before leaving the Workers Party in 1947:
   a. American Question
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/545.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/545.pdf)
written Feb. 25, 1946.
b. The Task of Building the American Bolshevik Party
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/574.pdf
March 18, 1946.

c. Reconversion Program of the Workers Party (Supplement to the Resolution on the American Question)
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/589.pdf
April 8, 1946; plus Program of the Minority, April 19, 1946.

d. International Question
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/598.pdf
April 27, 1946.

e. Resolution on International Conference of 4th International
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/625.pdf
May 26, 1946.

(4) The Social Crisis in the U.S. and the General Strike
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/626.pdf
Jan. 11, 1947.

D. Final Split Documents of Johnson-Forest Tendency from Workers Party
(1) A Letter to the Membership
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/641.pdf
April 28, 1947, by J.R. Johnson and F. Forest.

(2) The Johnson-Forest Minority, the WP, and the 4th International.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/649.pdf
Resolution adopted by Minority at its National Conference, July 5-6, 1947.

VOLUME II: 1947-1951 — FROM THE "INTERIM PERIOD" TO THE FINAL SPLIT FROM THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/660.pdf

Section I. The "Interim Period," 1947

The Johnson-Forest Tendency left the Workers Party in July 1947. In September they entered the Socialist Workers Party. During the interim period the Tendency issued 12 Internal Bulletins as well as separate publications. Freddie Forest (Raya Dunayevskaya) undertook a trip to Europe to represent the state-capitalist position at the Fourth International Conference.

A. F. Forest’s 1947 trip to Europe as representative of the state-capitalist tendency

In the late summer and fall of 1947 Forest traveled to Europe to establish relations with European comrades and to present the state-capitalist position to the conference of the Fourth International. She met with British Marxists; representatives of a German Marxist group; and Chaulieu (later known as Cardan and Castoriadis) who founded Socialisme ou Barbarie in France. She debated the question of state-capitalism with Ernest Mandel. She also met a Cameroonian, and that dialogue anticipated the whole Third World founded in the 1950s.

(1) Eighteen letters and nine-page summary of Fourth International Conference.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/661.pdf
Includes letter on meeting with the Cameroonian.

B. Freddie Forest’s Commentary on Lenin’s Selected Works
In 1947 Forest undertook an abbreviated commentary on the 12 volumes of Lenin's Selected Works for the use of comrades in the Johnson-Forest Tendency.

(1) How to Study Lenin
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/710.pdf
An 11-page manuscript.

(2) An Approach to Lenin's Selected Works.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/721.pdf
A seven-page manuscript covering Vols. 1-5 and parts of Vols. 6 and 7. The rest of the manuscript is missing.

C. Conversations and Correspondence with Natalia Trotsky
Raya Dunayevskaya visited Natalia Trotsky in the 1940s and 1950s. Natalia Trotsky's position evolved in such a manner that she officially broke with the group claiming to be Trotskyist in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party, in 1951. Her letter to the SWP was reprinted in News & Letters, Feb. 1962. Also included in the archives here is Dunayevskaya's "In Memoriam" article on Natalia Trotsky written in Jan. 1962, and subtitled "Role of Women in Revolution."

(1) Notes of Conversations with Natalia Trotsky
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/728.pdf
July 31, 1946.

(2) Letter to Natalia Trotsky
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/732.pdf
Jan. 11, 1947.

(3) Letter to Natalia Trotsky
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/735.pdf
Sept. 28, 1947.

(4) In Memoriam: Natalia Sedova Trotsky
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/739.pdf

D. Separate publications of Johnson-Forest Tendency
(1) Essays by Karl Marx selected from the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/745.pdf

(2) Trotskyism in the United States, 1940-47. Balance Sheet, The Workers Party and the Johnson-Forest Tendency
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/788.pdf

(3) World Revolutionary Perspectives and the Russian Question
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/820.pdf

(4) The Invading Socialist Society
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/873.pdf
by J.R. Johnson, F. Forest, and Ria Stone, 1947.

(5) The American Worker
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/908.pdf
by Phil Romano and Ria Stone, 1947. First appeared as articles in the Internal Bulletins of the Johnson-Forest Minority. It was published as a separate pamphlet after entry into the Socialist Workers Party.

E. Internal Bulletins of the Johnson-Forest Minority
Upon leaving the Workers Party in July 1947 the Johnson-Forest Minority applied for entry into the Socialist Workers Party. The Internal Bulletins were one result of that interim period. Twelve Bulletins, July 17, 1947 to Sept. 29, 1947.

**Section II. In the Socialist Workers Party, 1947-1951**

**A. The existing state-capitalist tendency within the SWP**
In 1945 John Fredericks, who had been away in the military, returned, and within the SWP began to develop a state-capitalist tendency. He sought out the Johnson-Forest Tendency and began to collaborate with them for a brief period before they re-entered the SWP.

(1) Stalinist Russia, A Capitalist State
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1277.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1277.pdf)

(2) Oil and Labor
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1297.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1297.pdf)

B. The Johnson-Forest Tendency within the SWP

(1) Stalinists Falsify Marxism Anew, State of Teaching Marxism in the Soviet Union
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1311.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1311.pdf)

(2) Production Statistics and the Devaluation of the Ruble
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1317.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1317.pdf)

(3) A Bureaucrat’s Fate
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1322.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1322.pdf)

(4) Letter on "Woman and Socialism"
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1324.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1324.pdf)
by F. Forest.: May 14, 1949.

(5) Two Letters on Trotsky and on Trotsky, Luxemburg, Lenin
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1326.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1326.pdf)

(6) State-Capitalism and World Revolution
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1333.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1333.pdf)
by "Johnson-Forest," Aug. 4, 1950. First published as Discussion Bulletin No. 4, Sept. 1950, of Socialist Workers Party. Written by Johnson, Forest and Ria Stone, the document has been reissued by various groups. Other authors have been added to new editions, who had nothing to do with the original document.

(7) The Internal Situation in the Fourth International
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1413.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1413.pdf)

(8) The Revolt of the Workers and the Plan of the Intellectuals
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1424.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1424.pdf)
An Answer to Comrades William F. Warde and John G. Wright, by F. Forest, June 5, 1951.

(9) The Balance Sheet Completed. Ten Years of American Trotskyism
**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1438.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1438.pdf)
August 1951. Handed in as the Johnson-Forest Tendency left the SWP. Written by Johnson, though it bears all but his name.
VOLUME III: 1949-1955 — FROM THE MINERS' GENERAL STRIKE TO THE EAST GERMAN REVOLT; FROM THE APPEARANCE OF DIFFERENCES IN THE JOHNSON-FOREST TENDENCY TO THE HISTORIC RE-EMERGENCE OF MARX'S HUMANISM

Section I. 1949-1953 – Workers’ Revolts and Philosophic Breakthroughs

The critical four years, 1949-1953, began with a new stage of production, Automation, and of revolt, the Miners' General Strike. They ended with Stalin's death, in April 1953, followed by the East German revolt of June. Within the Johnson-Forest Tendency, Dunayevskaya was active in the 1949-1950 Miners' General Strike, while at the same time translating Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic," included in his Philosophic Notebooks. Those Abstracts and her commentary on them became part of a three-way philosophic correspondence between herself, James, and Grace Lee (Boggs), 1949-1951. The strike and the translations made Dunayevskaya pose two new vantage points for the book she was working on with James and Lee: the American proletariat and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks. Three years later the death of Stalin suddenly brought forth extremely different analyses on the parts of Grace Lee and Raya Dunayevskaya. This was reflected in the very first issue of the Tendency's newspaper, Correspondence. For Grace Lee, Stalin's death ended in depoliticalization. For Dunayevskaya, it was a world-shaking event which—in the weeks between Stalin's death and the East German Revolt—led to her philosophic breakthrough on Hegel's Absolute Idea as a movement from practice as well as from theory. That philosophic breakthrough revealed in embryo the split-to-be within the Johnson-Forest Tendency that came in 1955. It as well reflected back to the period 1949-1953 to show the inadequacy of a state-capitalist theory without Marxist-Humanist philosophy.

A. The Miners' General Strike of 1949-1950

(1) Articles by F. Forest that appeared in the Militant:

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1477.pdf

Pa. Miners Determined to Continue Battle
b. The Miners' Wives
c. Auto Union Relief Caravan Hailed in Coal Mining Town
d. Walkout Closes Steel Company's Homestead Plant
e. Article on nationwide communication workers' strike against Bell Telephone. Typescript.

(2) Letter to a Miner

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1484.pdf

by Forest, March 14, 1950. On the strike and the form of a possible article on coal.

(3) Minutes of Tri-State (West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio) meeting

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1485.pdf

with F. Forest on the strike.

B. Philosophic Vantage Points

(1) First English Translation of Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1492.pdf

by Forest, 1949. Translated from Leninski Sbornik, IX (1929), XII (1933), Moscow. An 82-page typescript plus nine additional pages on "Lenin's Outline of Hegel's lectures on the History of Philosophy." Her comments on them begin within the period of translation. (See Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James and Grace Lee (Boggs): Philosophic Correspondence. 1949-51, Vol. III, Sec. 1C.) They continue with that discussion led by Dunayevskaya on the form of the book-in-the-making. (See Discussion led by Raya Dunayevskaya on new form of book-in-the-making from two vantage points, Vol. III, Sec. IB.) They lead to her own encounter with Hegelian philosophy. (See Letters on the Absolute Idea, Vol. III, Sec. IE.) (For first English publication of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, see Bulletin of News and Letters Committees,

(2) Discussion led by Raya Dunayevskaya on new form of book-in-the-making from two vantage points: American proletariat and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1585.pdf

C. Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James and Grace Lee (Boggs): Philosophic Correspondence, 1949-51

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1595.pdf
Thirty-five unpublished letters between Dunayevskaya, James and Lee written from February 1949 through January 1951. The correspondence begins with Dunayevskaya's translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks and her accompanying notes on them in Feb. and March 1949.

D. Second Draft of Book, 1952

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1735.pdf
This is the second draft, by Forest, of what was then called "The Lenin Book." A 66-page manuscript on Lenin and Marx.

E. Letters on the Absolute Idea

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1797.pdf
Two letters, by Dunayevskaya, of May 12 and May 20, 1953, written to Hauser (Grace Lee). These two letters are considered by Dunayevskaya to form the decisive philosophic point of departure for our age.

F. Preparation for book on State-capitalism and Marxism

Dunayevskaya's preparation included translating works of Marx, Lenin, Luxemburg and Plekhanov, stretching through the 1940s and '50s.

(1) Marx, from the first edition of Capital

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1813.pdf
Table of Contents page and Appendix to Chapter I, Sec. 1, "The Form of Value." Translated from the first Russian Edition of 1872 (based on German edition of 1867). One page Table of Contents; two pages of notes; Appendix of 17 pages.

(2) Marx, The Results of the Direct Process of Production

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1833.pdf

(3) Marx, from Theories of Surplus Value, Vols. II and III

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1864.pdf

(4) Marx, On A. Wagner.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1899.pdf

(5) Lenin, The Theoretic Mistakes of the Narodniki

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1926.pdf
the greater part of Chapter One of Lenin's Development of Capitalism in Russia. Published as "Origins of Capitalism in Russia," N.I., Oct. 1943, Nov. 1943, Dec. 1943.

(6) Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1938.pdf

(7) Excerpts from Resolutions of the Russian Marxist Congresses 1898-1932

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1945.pdf
the first through the eleventh Congress (Russian Social Democratic Labor Party; Bolsheviks; United Congress; Russian Communist Party). Translated from Protokoly S'esdov Y Konferentaii VKP (B), Moscow, 1932. Five pages.

(8) Luxemburg, excerpts from her 1913 work, Accumulation of Capital.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1950.pdf
Translated from the Russian edition.

**Section II. 1951-1955 — From the Establishment of Correspondence Committees to the Split between Johnson and Forest**

Upon leaving the SWP, the Johnson-Forest Tendency experimented with existing as a separate organization, Correspondence Committees. Raya Dunayevskaya became chairman of the Committees. First a mimeographed, then a printed paper, Correspondence, was issued.

(1) Report and Discussion on Break with SWP (1951?) and The End of an Epoch (1951?).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1961.pdf
The former document contains "Our Ten Years" and "The Historical Significance of our break from American Trotskyism"; the latter was a letter by J.R. Johnson to a British Marxist.

(2) Our Organization: American Roots and World Concepts

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2042.pdf
an unfinished rough draft, presented by Raya Dunayevskaya for discussion at first Convention of Correspondence Committees, July 1953.

(3) Indignant Heart, by Matthew Ward (Charles Denby), 1952.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2117.pdf
The first part of an autobiography of a Black auto worker on his life in the South, in the Northern auto plants, and in the radical movement. After publication of Part I, Charles Denby became editor of News & Letters, writing his "Worker's Journal" column in its pages. (Part II of the autobiography was written in the late 1970s and published in 1978 together with Part I as Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal. See Vol. IX, Sec. II.)

(4) The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves, by Mbiyu Koinange

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2119.pdf
dated 1955, actually written in 1953 and circulated in manuscript through 1954.

(5) Correspondence newspaper:

a. Mimeographed

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2180.pdf
Nov. 1951 to June 1953, biweekly. Selected articles include dispute with Grace Lee on the significance of Stalin's death.

b. Printed

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2200.pdf
Oct. 1953 to March 1955, biweekly. Selected articles. Raya Dunayevskaya's column was called "Two Worlds: Notes from a Diary," but was unsigned, as was her analysis of the Beria Purge in the lead article of the first issue, which resulted in a continuing dispute in the following issues.

**APPENDIX I: LEON TROTSKY: LETTERS, CONVERSATIONS, UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS**

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2210.pdf

**Section I — Fourteen Letters from Leon Trotsky to Rae Spiegel (Raya Dunayevskaya). June 12, 1937 to Dec. 12, 1939**

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2211.pdf
Subjects include Trotsky's acceptance of Rae Spiegel as Russian secretary; work on the Russian Bulletin of the Opposition; research work for Trotsky's book, Stalin; Moscow Frame-up Trials.

Section II — Twelve Letters and one telegram from Rae Spiegel to Leon Trotsky. June 10, 1937 to Nov. 10, 1939
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2226.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2226.pdf)
Subjects include work for the Russian Bulletin; work in the Black community in the U.S.A.; research on 1907 RSDLP Congress for Stalin book.

Section III — Rae Spiegel's translations of Leon Trotsky's writings; other translations, articles and related letters. 1937-38.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2241.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2241.pdf)
"The Meaning of Hegel," by George Plekhanov. Translation produced while Rae Spiegel was with Trotsky. Microfilm copy is from first publication of the essay in Fourth International, 1949.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2305.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2305.pdf)

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2318.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2318.pdf)
Actual miniaturized copy. Also included is rough list by Rae Spiegel of contents of all issues of Russian Bulletin, 1929-39.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2349.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2349.pdf)
Includes Trotsky's correspondence with Andres Nin, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Martin Abern.
PART TWO

CREATION OF MARXIST-HUMANISM AS ORGANIZATION — NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES — AND AS THEORY FOR OUR AGE

Part Two—which includes Volumes IV through X, and an Appendix to the whole containing the entire collection of "Two Worlds" columns—covers the period 1955 to 1981, and details the development of Marxist-Humanism as philosophy and as an organization, News and Letters Committees.

The 1955 split between the two founders of the State-Capitalist Tendency did not break the continuity of ideas. On the contrary. Between the death of Stalin in March 1953, and the spontaneous outburst of the first mass revolt under state-capitalist totalitarianism in East Berlin on June 17, 1953, came the philosophic breakthrough which discerned in Hegel's "Absolute Idea" a movement from practice to theory as well as the movement from theory to practice. The split allowed some fresh air to come in, with the majority of the group, especially the workers, following Dunayevskaya, both theoretically on Humanism and practically in the establishment of a new paper, News & Letters, to be edited by a Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal. The new paper was first published under the motto taken from Marx's Humanist Essays: "The Root of Mankind Is Man." As the Women's Liberation Movement arose, the motto chosen came from Marx's Capital: "Human Power Is Its Own End." Women had been singled out in 1956 in the very Constitution of Marxist-Humanism as one of the four forces of the American Revolution, rank-and-file labor, Black masses, and Youth being the other three.

Volume X, "What Is Philosophy? What Is Revolution? How the revolutions of our age relate to those since Marx's age: Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution," centers around the decision—made as Women's Liberation became not only an Idea whose time had come but an actual movement—that the concept needed to be fully worked out historically, not only in the life of the great revolutionary theoretician Rosa Luxemburg and in the Women's Liberation Movement of today, but within the context of the totality of Marx's philosophy of revolution, now that our age finally has all of Marx's works. Those works now include the heretofore unknown Ethnological Notebooks, as well as the long unknown and still undigested draft letters to Vera Zasulitch, which related Marx's findings to a possible revolution in backward Russia in advance of the West. Hence the title of the new major work: Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

The above text was written when the first ten volumes of the Collection were donated. Later, Dunayevskaya organized two additional volumes, XI and XII. For the special introductions she wrote to those volumes, please see Volume XI and Volume XII.
Part Two: Creation of Marxist-Humanism as Organization — News and Letters Committees — and as Theory for Our Age


Volume V: 1959-1964 — The Emergence of a Third Afro-Asian, Latin American World and a New Generation of Revolutionaries Also in the U.S. [#2687-3563]

Volume VI: 1964-1968 — As Against Decadent Capitalism on the Rampage, New Stages of Mass Revolt [#3564-4142]


Volume VIII: 1973-1975 — *Philosophy and Revolution* as Book, as Characteristic of the Age [#4937-5179]


Section I. 1981-1982: International Trail to the 1980s and a Trilogy of Revolution [#7090-7638]

Section II. 1983: The Marx Centenary Year [#7639-8061]

Section III. 1984-1985: Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism in the Historic Mirror [#8062-8441]

Volume XII: Retrospective and Perspective — The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, 1924-1986 [#8442-10639]

Section I. From the Impact of the Russian Revolution to the Outbreak of World War II [#8470-8844]

Section II. The Birth of State-Capitalist Theory and Marx’s Early Essays [#8845-9208]

Section III. Philosophic Correspondence, Miners' Strike and the Beginning of the Break-Up of the State-Capitalist Tendency, 1948-55 [#9209-9356]

Section IV. Marxist-Humanist Archives and International Relations [#9357-9888]

Section V. The Battle of Ideas [#9889-10217]

Section VI. The Marxist-Humanist Archives — the New Additions as well as New Findings from the Old [#10218-10639]
PART TWO

CREATION OF MARXIST-HUMANISM AS ORGANIZATION — NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES — AND AS THEORY FOR OUR AGE

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2408.pdf

VOLUME IV: 1955-1958 — LAYING NEW THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL FOUNDATIONS, CULMINATING IN MARXISM AND FREEDOM, FROM 1776 UNTIL TODAY

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2409.pdf

In the period of McCarthyism and war clouds over Formosa, on the one side, and, on the other side, the East European revolts, wildcats against Automation in America, and the birth of the Civil Rights Movement with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-56, News and Letters Committees was founded and began its practical-critical activity. At one and the same time, it established the newspaper News & Letters and completed the writing of Marxism and Freedom by its National Chairwoman Raya Dunayevskaya, with the aim of establishing the American roots of Marxism and the re-establishment of Marxism in its original form, which Marx called "a thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism." Marxism as the unity of theory and practice was analyzed both philosophically and politically, and shown to be in the very structure of Capital, which Marx completed under the impact of the Civil War in the U.S. and the Paris Commune.

Section I. New Beginning, New Paper

(1) Conference Bulletin, No. 1

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2410.pdf

Chairman's Report by Raya Dunayevskaya, April 1955. Her "Political Organizational Report" included discussion of Johnsonism, of the new book to be written, of the form of the paper, and of the political perspectives of the organization. Also included is Watkins' letter. This report was translated and published in the Italian Marxist journal Prometeo, Spring 1956. Appendix: Letter on method of Johnsonism. (Reissued by News and Letters Committees, 1980.)

(2) News & Letters newspaper.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2430.pdf

Vol. I No. 1 came out on June 23, 1955 commemorating the second anniversary of the East German uprising, June 17, 1953. The paper was edited by Charles Denby, the only Black production worker-editor of a Marxist paper. From its beginning the conception of News & Letters was to be a combination of workers and intellectuals. The two focal points for the conception have been Dunayevskaya's "Two Worlds" (TW) column and Charles Denby's "Worker's Journal."

(3) Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2431.pdf

first English translation, by Raya Dunayevskaya, issued Nov. 1955. This was the first pamphlet issued by News and Letters Committees. Also includes "An exchange of letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea from 1953." (See Vol. III, Sec. 1E).

Section II. First National Convention, First Constitution

(1) Discussion Bulletins in Preparation for First News and Letters National Convention:
    a. Johnsonism: A Political Appraisal
Section III. From the Hungarian Revolution to the Publication of Marxism and Freedom and its Ramifications

The new epoch opened by the Hungarian Revolution, which was hailed at once by Dunayevskaya in News & Letters (Nov. 13, 1956) in her Two Worlds column entitled "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary," entered into the last part of Marxism and Freedom as one of the three new pages of freedom--East Germany 1953, Vorkuta 1953, and Hungary 1956--in Chapter 15, entitled "The Beginning of the End of Russian Totalitarianism." Though the publication is dated 1958, Marxism and Freedom was actually off the press in 1957. Moreover, while correcting the galley proofs, another world event occurred—Mao's famous speech, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." Dunayevskaya at once added a footnote (#17) which anticipated the Sino-Soviet conflict-to-be.

(1) Marxism and Freedom . . . from 1776 until today

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2620.pdf

After Marxism and Freedom was published, Raya Dunayevskaya undertook a number of international trips. They established new international relations both in Europe and in Africa. In 1959, under the impact of the retrogressive move of De Gaulle's coming to power, the state-capitalist tendencies of Europe and the U.S. decided to hold an international conference in Milan, where Dunayevskaya spoke and where it was decided to publish a forum for international discussion, for which purpose a separate section of Prometeo (Milan) was created. In 1962, Dunayevskaya made a trip to Africa where a new Third World had been developing since the establishment of an independent Ghana in 1957. At home these were the years of News & Letter participation in the movements of workers, Blacks, and anti-Vietnam war students.

Section I. The Black Dimension In Africa
(See Section IV for the Black Dimension in the U.S.)

(1) Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions


(2) Report on Organization
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2723.pdf

Section II. Activity and Philosophy

(1) Resolution on Workers Battle Automation
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2735.pdf
Pre-Convention Bulletin, June 1960. (This was preceded by struggles of workers against Automation in the U.S. and England, and inspired some English co-thinkers to establish a special section of News & Letters, called "British Labour News," Jan. 1960. Although it was published only two years, until Dec. 1961, Harry McShane, the outstanding revolutionary labor leader and Marxist, continued to issue "The Scottish Marxist-Humanist" in mimeographed form.)

(2) Leone Trotsky come teorico
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2740.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya, Prometeo, Milan, Italy, March 1960.

(3) Bureaucratie et capitalisme d'etat
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2746.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya, Arguments #17, Paris 1960.

(4) War and Peace
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2750.pdf
Draft Perspectives Resolution, July 1960.

(5) From Organizational Consciousness to Organization Building
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2766.pdf

(6) War and Peace
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2789.pdf
Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 1960

(7) Summaries of Hegel's Major Writings.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2806.pdf

(8) Workers Battle Automation
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2843.pdf

Section III. 1961-1963 — Establishment of Weekly Political Letters; the Africa Trip; and New Youth Developments
There were two series of Weekly Political Letters. The first series was begun in opposition to the Bay of Pigs Invasion in April 1961; the second began when the world was thrown to the brink of nuclear disaster by the Cuban Missile Crisis, in Oct. 1962. This was also the period of great activity around the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in which Marxist-Humanists participated. The first series included the letters from Africa, which were published in Africa Today.

(1) Weekly Political Letters, by Raya Dunayevskaya.
The weekly political letters were begun on April 22, 1961 after the Kennedy speech following the invasion of Cuba, when Raya Dunayevskaya felt the necessity of being able to respond immediately to world developments without waiting for a monthly issue of News & Letters. This first series covered the widest range of political subjects spanning every continent and major development for a period of some 16 months. A second series of political letters was begun on Oct. 25, 1962, in the midst of the Cuban missile crisis.

(2) 1961: Resolutions, Plenum Reports:
   a. Ideas and Organization
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3153.pdf
   b. Perspectives: Ideas, Organization and World Development
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3166.pdf

(3) 1962: Year of the Africa Trip:
   a. In the Gambia during elections ... It's a long hard road to independence
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3184.pdf
   by Raya Dunayevskaya, published in Africa Today, July 1962
   b. Ghana: Out of Colonization, into the Fire
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3189.pdf
   c. Socialismes africains et problemes negres
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3193.pdf
   d. Perspectives
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3204.pdf
   Draft Resolution, July 1962.
   e. Excerpts from Convention Discussion
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3220.pdf
   1962 Convention, Sept. 1962. Includes discussion by Dunayevskaya on three different methods of three different pamphlets.
   f. The Time is Now
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3232.pdf

(4) 1963: Resolutions, Plenum Reports, Publications:
   a. Facing the Challenge: Nationally and Internationally
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3251.pdf
   Draft Resolution, July 1963.
   b. Author's special introduction to Italian edition of Marxism and Freedom
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3266.pdf
   April 1959.
   c. Author's Special Introduction to Japanese Edition of Marxism and Freedom
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3273.pdf
   August 6, 1963. (Two years later Dunayevskaya was invited to make an extensive speaking tour of Japan.)
   d. The Need to Transform Reality
   link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3279.pdf
   e. The Young Marxist-Humanist, 1963
a News & Letters pamphlet. This is the first youth pamphlet written by young Marxist-Humanists. Includes "Why the Young Marxist-Humanist" by Robert Ellery; "The Heritage and the Challenge" by Raya Dunayevskaya; "From the Pen of Karl Marx"; and a number of contributions by young members and friends.

f. The Marxist-Humanist

1963-1966, a newsletter published on the University of California at Los Angeles campus. Selected issues.

g. Remembrance of Things Past in the Future Tense

by Raya Dunayevskaya, in The Activist (Oberlin College student journal), March 1965.

Section IV. Pamphlets on the Black Revolt at Home

Ever since the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-56, News and Letters Committees have participated directly in the Black struggle. First there were in-person reports on Montgomery by News & Letters editor Charles Denby. Next were reports and participation in all of the activities, from the sit-in movement, South and North, to the Freedom Riders of the early 1960s, the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, the Maryland Freedom Union and the rebellions in the cities from Watts to Detroit of the mid and late 1960s. The first News and Letters pamphlet on the Black struggle was Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves.

(1) American Civilization on Trial

"The Negro as Touchstone of History, 100 Years After the Emancipation Proclamation." A Statement by the National Editorial Board of News & Letters, May 1963; a News & Letters pamphlet. (A third edition, subtitled "Black Masses as Vanguard," was published in August 1970, and contained as Appendix "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby.)

(2) Freedom-Riders Speak for Themselves

by Mary Hamilton, Louise Inghram and others, Nov. 1961; a News & Letters pamphlet.

(3) The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution

by Mario Savio, Eugene Walker and Raya Dunayevskaya, 1965; a News & Letters pamphlet. (This pamphlet was translated into Japanese.)

(4) Black Mass Revolt


(5) The Maryland Freedom Union, Workers Doing and Thinking

by Mike Flug, Spring 1969. Participant reports of the formation of a union by workers, primarily from nursing homes. The workers, mostly Black women, relate their experiences in organizing, striking and demonstrating.

VOLUME VI: 1964-1968 — AS AGAINST DECADENT CAPITALISM ON THE RAMPAGE, NEW STAGES OF MASS REVOLT

With U.S. decadent capitalism on the rampage, as manifested in the Goldwater campaign of 1964, and as coming to a climax in Lyndon Johnson's raining bombs on Hanoi in 1965, there arose a new great mass anti-Vietnam War youth movement. The mass movements, of youth especially, in 1968 — be it in the so-called Cultural Revolution in China, or in Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia, or the Columbia occupation in New York — came to a climax in May 1968 in Paris; but still without a total philosophy. The Sino-Soviet
dispute that had now become open Conflict, the war in Vietnam and in the Middle East, the 1968 of Czechoslovakia and of France: all showed at one and the same time the non-viability of capitalism on a world scale, the new subjective forces of revolution in motion abroad and at home, and the need for revolutionary philosophy as the missing link for social revolution. We had reached a turning point in both theory and practice, which Marx called "History and its process." This volume therefore begins with the International Symposium on Socialist Humanism in 1965, followed by Dunayevskaya's trip to Hong Kong and Japan, and culminating in the theoretical and practical preparation for Philosophy and Revolution.

Section I. Turning Points

(1) Marx's Humanism Today
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3565.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya, an essay written for the International Symposium, Socialist Humanism, edited by Erich Fromm, Doubleday, 1965. Contributors to the Symposium included Iring Fetscher, Germany; Karel Kosik, Ivan Svitak, Czechoslovakia; Bronislaw Baczko, Poland; Mihailo Markovic, Yugoslavia.

(2) The Turning Point
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3577.pdf

(3) Theory and Practice at the Turning Point
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3591.pdf

(4) Excerpts from session on Latin America
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3622.pdf

(5) Theory is a Hard Taskmaster in ever-changing practice
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3630.pdf

(6) ...Toward a Unity of Thought and Action
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3641.pdf

Section II. The Trip to Hong Kong and Japan

Ever since the 1960 snake dances of the youth which stopped Eisenhower's trip to Japan, it became evident that a very new voice from “the Orient” had emerged. They had proceeded to publish a Japanese translation of the Humanist Essays of Marx. At the same time, there had been an independent analysis of Russia as a state-capitalist society by Tadayuki Tsushima, an original founder of the Communist Party in Japan. A letter from him, saying he had begun translating Marxism and Freedom, reached Dunayevskaya while she was in Africa. There was also contact with one section of the Zengakuren. Those who had broken with the Communist Party helped to arrange a tour of Japan by Dunayevskaya, which was preceded by a trip to Hong Kong.

(1) Minutes of Dunayevskaya's presentation to the Resident Editorial Board on proposed trips to Japan and Hong Kong
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3652.pdf
Jan. 6, 1965.

(2) Hong Kong Interview: Alienation or Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3660.pdf
in News & Letters, June-July 1966. An interview Raya Dunayevskaya conducted while in Hong Kong with a Chinese refugee of the Left. This refugee was sufficiently impressed with the chapter on Mao in Marxism and Freedom that she translated it into Chinese. It was published by the Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, in China Monthly, No. 39, June 1, 1967.

(3) The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3664.pdf
Section III. Worldwide Expressions of Revolution Yet Still the Lack of Philosophy

(1) State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism, or Philosophy and Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3791.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1967; a News & Letters pamphlet. An essay originally written as a contribution to a discussion on state-capitalism with a Japanese Marxist, Tadayuki Tsushima. Both articles, by Dunayevskaya and Tsushima, were first published in a special issue of News & Letters, Dec. 1966. This pamphlet includes as Appendix Dunayevskaya's 1946 "Analysis of Rosa Luxemburg's Accumulation of Capital" (see Vol. I, Sec. IV).

(2) The Arab-Israeli Collision, The World Powers and the Struggle for the Minds of Men
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3831.pdf
a Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya, June 1967. (Included on the microfilm are all the analyses of that world crisis spot, entitled War, Peace or Revolution: Shifting alliances in the Middle East, a series of analyses by Raya Dunayevskaya from the 1967 Six-Day War to the 1980 Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem.)

(3) Lenin on Hegel's Science of Logic: Notes on a Series of Lectures
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3885.pdf
for "Materialist Friends of the Hegelian Dialectic," by Raya Dunayevskaya, Dec. 14, 1967. A series of five lectures tracing Lenin's commentary on Hegel's Science of Logic. (These lectures were republished as part of the News and Letters pamphlet Dialectics of Liberation in 1974.)

(4) Mao's China and the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution,"
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3907.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya, Dec. 31, 1967, written for New Politics, Spring 1968 and reprinted by News and Letters. (This essay appears as the final chapter in the 1971 edition of Marxism and Freedom, "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction." Microfilm version is as reprinted in The Revolution is Dead, Long Live the Revolution, by the 70s Group, Hong Kong, 1976.)

(5) France, Spring, 1968: Masses in Motion, Ideas in Free Flow
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3926.pdf

(6) Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3940.pdf

(7) Raya Dunayevskaya on Racialism, 1968
Section IV. Transition Point: Theses and Reports

(1) Organization: Philosophy and Reality
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4029.pdf

(2) Perspectives: 1966-67
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4040.pdf

(3) Theory, Organization and Politics
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4060.pdf

(4) It Remains to Be Done
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4070.pdf
Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to the National Editorial Board Plenum, Sept. 2, 1967

(5) Letters from Raya
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4092.pdf
June 1968. On Perspectives on relation of book to organization, on East Europe, on international relations, on Enoch Powellism.

(6) Philosophy and Revolution: The Point of Transition
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4109.pdf

(7) The Missing Link
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4123.pdf

VOLUME VII: 1968-1973 — OBJECTIVE CRISES
COMPELLING THEORETIC CLARIFICATION OF
REVOLUTION, CULMINATING IN THE WORK AROUND
PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4143.pdf
The failure of the highpoint of 1968 to bring forth completed revolution, but at the same time the
continuing passion for a new society by masses worldwide, meant a decision by Raya Dunayevskaya to
complete the working out of a philosophic expression of revolution in what was to become Philosophy and
Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao. At the same time, the objective compulsion of a
need for philosophy was made crucial by the intensity of the youth revolts against Nixon's extension of the
Vietnam War through the unprovoked bombing of Cambodia, as witness the massacres at Kent and Jackson
State Universities and at Augusta, Ga. (See News & Letters, June-July 1970.)

Section I. Draft Chapters of Philosophy and Revolution
Because Raya Dunayevskaya feels that the process of writing is as important to understand as the actual
result, the following draft chapters are included in this collection.

(1) Sartre's Search for a Method to Undermine Marxism, 1963.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4144.pdf
Originally written as a review of Search for a Method.

(2) Leon Trotsky as Theoretician, 1967.
Section II. Conferences and Bulletins on Actual Revolts and on Draft

Chapters of Philosophy and Revolution

(1) The Black/Red Conference.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4338.pdf
Jan. 12, 1969. Welcome by Charles Denby; Introduction by Ray; Presentation by Raya Dunayevskaya; Excerpts from the six-hour discussion; Motions.

(2) Women's Liberation Conference with Raya Dunayevskaya

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4355.pdf

(3) World Crises and the Needed American Revolution

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4365.pdf

(4) On International Relations and Theoretic Challenges

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4377.pdf
a pre-Plenum discussion article by Raya Dunayevskaya, July 28, 1969.

(5) The Needed American Revolution, Perspectives Report

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4385.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya to the National Editorial Board Plenum, Aug. 30, 1969.
Section III. The Crucial Early 1970s

(1) Nixon's Wars at Home and Abroad

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4417.pdf

(2) Totality of the Crises: Nixon's Wars at Home and Abroad, Rampant Racism, and Recession

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4421.pdf

(3) What is Theory? or "History and its Process,"

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4431.pdf

(4) War and Revolution

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4454.pdf

(5) Nixon, the Stunt Man, and Mao, the Artificer, Aim for Global Change in State-Capitalism as "New" System to Throttle Social Revolution

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4472.pdf
Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to the National Editorial Board Plenum, Sept. 4, 1971

(6) Ways to Combat "Pax Americana": Nixon's Scorched Earth Policy, Plunge into State-Capitalism: The New World Counter-Revolutionary Order, and Raging Racism

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4486.pdf

(7) Perspectives 1972-73

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4497.pdf

Section IV. The 200th Anniversary of Hegel's Birth and 100th Anniversary of Lenin's Birth

While working on the draft chapters of Philosophy and Revolution, Raya Dunayevskaya presented to conferences and journals her work in progress on the relation of Lenin and Hegel.

(1) Lenin's Philosophic Ambivalence

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4516.pdf

(2) Hegelian Leninism

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4543.pdf

(3) Critique of "Lenin's Impact on the U.S."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4562.pdf
by Daniel Mason and Jessica Smith, by Raya Dunayevskaya, in Telos, Fall 1970.

(4) Author's Special Introduction to French edition of Marxism and Freedom

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4565.pdf
Section V. Ongoing Revolts, Youth Especially

(1) American Youth Revolt, 1960-69
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4573.pdf

(2) A Discussion of Racism and Class
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4582.pdf

(3) China: Voices of Revolt
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4589.pdf

(4) 8 to 3: High School Prison Notes
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4602.pdf
Nov. 1970; a News & Letters Youth pamphlet published together with the Radical Student Union, Los Angeles. A collection of articles written by high school students about their experiences, including articles on walkouts, what is education. By white, Black, and Latino students.

(5) "Culture," Science and State-Capitalism
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4633.pdf

(6) Shipyard Workers Revolt Against Communist Party Leaders
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4646.pdf
(Smuggled out of Poland), 1971; a News & Letters pamphlet. A partial transcript of the meeting between striking shipyard workers occupying the Adolf Warski shipyard in Szczecin and leaders of the Polish Communist Party led by Edward Gierek.

(7) Black, Brown and Red: The Movement for Freedom Among Black, Chicano, Latino and Indian
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4664.pdf
1972; a News & Letters pamphlet. Includes section in Spanish.

Section VI. For the Record

(1) For the Record: The Johnson-Forest Tendency, or Theory of State-Capitalism, 1941-1951; its Vicissitudes and Ramifications
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4742.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1972. A polemic against the magazine Radical America which had attempted to rewrite the history of the Johnson-Forest Tendency, presenting it all as "the James group" and deleting Forest's name from documents. Also included are two other contributions by Dunayevskaya: "A Critique of Johnson's Facing Reality" (letters from 1958, sent to a comrade then in France), and "A Critique of C.L.R. James' Notes on the Dialectic" (excerpts from a letter in response to a professor's inquiry.)

(2) Russia as State-Capitalist Society, The Original Historical Analysis
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4760.pdf

(3) Two Articles by Raya Dunayevskaya:
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4787.pdf

(4) Heaven and Earth Change Places
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4807.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4807.pdf)

(5) Humanism and Marxism
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4812.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4812.pdf)

**Section VII. The Emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement**

(1) Who We Are and What We Stand For...
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4818.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4818.pdf)
issued by the News and Letters Women's Liberation Committee, May 1971

(2) Women's Liberation section in News & Letters.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4820.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4820.pdf)
Beginning in 1969, a section of News & Letters was devoted to the presentation of articles written by women's liberationists. Included on the microfilm is the inaugural page, Nov. 1969.

(3) Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4821.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4821.pdf)

(4) Rosa Luxemburg: Revolutionary Theoretician
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4912.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4912.pdf)


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4937.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4937.pdf)

**Section I. Actual Publication of Philosophy and Revolution**
The book, containing three major parts — "Why Hegel? Why Now?"; "Alternatives"; "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation" — has in Chapter One a Marxist-Humanist interpretation of the major works of Hegel. In Chapter Nine, there is a discussion of today's new passions and forces of social revolution in America, as well as an analysis of Castro/Debray focoism. Chapter Eight was written in collaboration with East European revolutionaries. The "Alternatives" part contains not only chapters on Mao vs. the revolutionaries of the Sheng Wu-lien, and on Trotsky, but as well on Jean-Paul Sartre as "Outsider Looking In." A special Convention was held in October 1973 to amend the News and Letters Committees Constitution to include Philosophy and Revolution as theoretic foundation.

(1) Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4938.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4938.pdf)
German, 1981, by Europa Verlag. All foreign editions have a new chapter, "Post-Mao China.") (The text of Philosophy and Revolution is not included on the microfilm.)

(2) Constitution and By-Laws of News and Letters Committees

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4945.pdf


(3) REB Draft Perspectives 1973-74

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4952.pdf


(4) Perspectives 1973-74

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4964.pdf


(5) Philosophy and Revolution as Organization Builder

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4982.pdf


**Section II. Revolution and Counter-Revolution: Where do we go from here?**

The 1970s had revealed the arduous labor of the dialectics of revolution when it must develop under the whip of the counter-revolution in the context of the myriad global crises. Thus, although the second stage of the African Revolutions — Angola, Mozambique, Guine-Bissau — helped produce the revolution in Portugal, and the Latin American revolts continued unabated, U.S. imperialism continued to hold in its iron grip NATO and Latin America, as well as the Middle East.

(1) Draft Perspectives Thesis

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5005.pdf


(2) On the Threshold: Philosophic Preparation for Revolution

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5022.pdf


(3) Dialectics of Liberation

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5041.pdf

by Raya Dunayevskaya, issued Sept. 1974. A collection of Dunayevskaya's writings on Hegel and Lenin. Summaries of Hegel's major works (see Vol. V, Sec. II); excerpts from 1953 Letters on the Absolute Idea (see Vol. III, Sec. I); Lecture Notes: Lenin on Science of Logic (see Vol. VI, Sec. III)

(4) Latin America and the U.S.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5110.pdf


(5) El Humanismo de Marx en la Actualidad

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5120.pdf

by Raya Dunayevskaya, Sept. 1974; a News & Letters pamphlet. Erich Fromm's Symposium Socialist Humanism had been translated into Spanish, and Dunayevskaya's essay, "Marx's Humanism Today," was issued separately by News and Letters Committees. (See Vol. VI, Sec. I.)

(6) Where Do We Go From Here?

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5138.pdf


(7) Counter-Revolution and Revolution in Every Corner of the Globe: What Can We Do?

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5148.pdf

VOLUME IX: 1976-1978 — FORCES OF REVOLUTION AS REASON; PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION AS FORCE

1976-1977 were the years of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, of the Soweto Rebellion and the murder of Steve Biko. These were also years of development in Women's Liberation. News and Letters Committees published works on the Black movement in South Africa and America, on the Women's Movement, and on revolutionary forces in early American history. Raya Dunayevskaya wrote a new series of Political-Philosophic Letters covering world events. A collection of four of her philosophic essays (New Essays) was also issued.

Section I. The Political-Philosophic Letters of Raya Dunayevskaya

In 1976 Raya Dunayevskaya began a series of political-philosophic letters on a wide range of topics; the series was published in pamphlet form by News and Letters Committees in Jan. 1977.

(1) Will the revolution in Portugal advance? Under the whip of the counter-revolution

(2) The UN Resolution on Zionism — and Ideological Obfuscation Also on the Left


(4) West Europe and its Communist Parties; Portugal and its Socialist Party; New Stage of State-Capitalist Crises

(5) Two Summits: The U.S. Calls "Western" Summit in Neo-Colonial Puerto Rico and Russia Calls One in its East German Satellite

(6) Lebanon: The Test Not Only of the P.L.O. but the Whole Left

(7) Henry Kissinger's African Safari: Pressuring Rhodesia while Bolstering Apartheid South Africa

(8) Post-Mao China: Who is Hua Kuo-feng? What is Mao's Legacy? Are there any changes in global relations coming out of the People's Republic of China?
Nov. 17, 1976

(9) Today's Global Crisis, Marx's Capital, and the Marxist Epigones Who Try to Truncate It and the Understanding of Today's Crises

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5282.pdf


Section II. The Black Dimension — Class and Race, National and International

(1) Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5300.pdf


(2) Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5305.pdf

by Lou Turner and John Alan, with Introduction by Charles Denby and Raya Dunayevskaya, June 1978; a News & Letters pamphlet.

Section III. Woman as Revolutionary Force

As Dunayevskaya had shown in the six lectures on women she had been asked to give at the Wayne State University-University Center for Adult Education (WSU-UCAE) for International Women's Year, women have been a crucial revolutionary force throughout history — whether we are talking about the early 20th century, including the 1917 Russian Revolution, the 1919 German Revolution, or the Abo uprising in Africa in 1929; or whether we are talking about the 1974 Portuguese Revolution in our own decade — and that has held true whether we are talking about working women, the Black dimension, literature and revolution, or the women theorists of today.

(1) Summary of six lectures on Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5363.pdf

given by Raya Dunayevskaya in 1975 at WSU-UCAE. Summation by Olga Domanski, Nov. 6, 1975.

(2) Working Women For Freedom

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5370.pdf

by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes, 1976; a Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees pamphlet. Written by working women on their experiences. Includes as Appendix essay by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries."

(3) Sexism. Politics and Revolution in Mao's China

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5423.pdf


(4) Revolutionary Feminism—Women as Reason

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5439.pdf


Section IV. The Latin Dimension: in Latin America and in the U.S.

(1) Spanish edition of Marxism and Freedom (Marxismo y libertad)

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5461.pdf

published by Juan Pablos, Mexico, 1976, with special introduction by Raya Dunayevskaya.

(2) La Lucha Latina Para La Libertad Y La Filosofia Marxista-Humanista De Liberacion

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5471.pdf
Nov. 1978; a News & Letters pamphlet. Spanish translations of "The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions," by Raya Dunayevskaya, including her correspondence with Silvio Frondizi; and articles on struggles in North and South America, the U.S. coal miners' strike of 1977-78, International Women's Year, and excerpts from Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought. (Microfilm edition contains only the author's special introduction, in both Spanish and English.)

(3) The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5514.pdf


Section V. Revolutionary Forces in Early American History

(1) America's First Unfinished Revolution

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5527.pdf

By M. Franks and J. Hillstrom, 1976; a News & Letters pamphlet. The untold story of the true creators of independence — the workers, yeomanry, Blacks and women during the American Revolution.

(2) Then and Now: On the 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5577.pdf

by Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer, 1977; a News & Letters pamphlet. The story of the St. Louis General Strike of 1877, with sections on the Black Revolt, forgotten women Hegelians, Marx and the First International.

Section VI. The Force of Philosophy

(1) Our Original Contribution to the Dialectic of the Absolute Idea as New Beginning: In Theory, in Leadership, in Practice

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5622.pdf

Presentation by Raya Dunayevskaya to the East Coast National Editorial Board, April 18, 1976.

(2) New Essays

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5631.pdf


(3) Reflections on Notes from a Diary: Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks and the State-Capitalist Tendency

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5678.pdf

by Raya Dunayevskaya, August 1978.

(4) New Beginnings that Determine the End: Convention and Plenum Reports, 1976-1978


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5689.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5696.pdf

c. Time is Running Out


It's Later, Always Later — except when spontaneity upsurges and you realize it is here and now, and you aren't there and ready


d. Politicalization, Battle of Ideas and Organizational Growth


e. It's Later, Always Later — except when spontaneity upsurges and you realize it is here and now, and you aren't there and ready


f. 1977 Plenum Proceedings

a summary of the National Editorial Board Plenum, Sept. 3-4, 1977.

g. New Beginnings that Determine the End


h. The Dialectic of Today's Crises and Today's Revolts


(5) Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis


Draft chapters of Dunayevskaya's new book, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, which had been circulating in 1979, greatly illuminated the revolution in Iran as it was developing and as it related to the first Persian Revolution in 1906. What few knew was that that first revolution, which had developed under the impact of the 1905-06 Russian Revolution, had manifested so great a uniqueness of its own that out of it—for the first time anywhere in the world — there developed a Woman's Anjumen (Council). (See Dunayevskaya's "Two Worlds" column, News & Letters, Dec. 1978, "Iran's Revolutionary Past — and Present.") The 1979 Revolution signaled nothing short of a shift in global power, since it not only overthrew the Shah but undermined the U.S.’s dominance in the Gulf region. The present, ongoing, deep, global recession, with its ever-expanding militarization, has reached nuclear heights that threaten Apocalypse Now, and make it imperative to grapple with the dialectics of revolution under the whip of the counter-revolution. This becomes especially urgent because the revolutions in our era — from Iran to Poland, from the Black Revolt in South Africa to the revolution in El Salvador — must contend not only with the mailed fist of counter-revolution in their own countries, but with the struggle for global power.
by the two nuclearly-armed Titans, U.S. and Russia, which are now threatening the very existence of humanity. The primary reason for News and Letters designating 1980 as "the year of the book" was not merely as deadline for the completion of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, but because its three elements — Rosa Luxemburg, as great revolutionary theoretician whose appreciation of the spontaneity of the masses illuminates the present revolutionary struggle for new forms of organization; women's liberation today, as a new revolutionary force; and Marx's philosophy of revolution, rooted in his discovery of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution — create ground for us to contend with the reality of the crises today by working out revolutionary perspectives for the 1980s.

Section I. 1979: New Forms of Revolt; New Forms of Organization

(1) Ongoing News and Letters Discussion Bulletin

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5861.pdf
February 1979. Includes "Organization, Organization, Organization," by Raya Dunayevskaya; excerpts from presentation by Mike Connolly on "Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted."

(2) Syllabus for Four Classes in Philosophy and Revolution

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5882.pdf
held at Wayne State University, Detroit, April 1979.

(3) A Guide to and a Collection of 40 Critical Essays of Raya Dunayevskaya in the Battle of Ideas

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5888.pdf
August 1979.

(4) Outline of Marx's Capital Volume One

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5895.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya (Freddie Forest), 1979; a News & Letters pamphlet. Reproduction of the outline originally prepared in the mid-1940s (see Vol. I, Sec. IV), for study along with Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution. (For full pamphlet, see Vol. I, Sec. IV.)

(5) The Shift in Global Politics and the Need for a Philosophy of Revolution

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5897.pdf

(6) On the Threshold of the 1980s, As Objective Revolutionary New Beginnings and as Deadline for Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5904.pdf

(7) Report on Organization/News & Letters

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5943.pdf

(8) An Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Discussion Bulletin

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5967.pdf

(9) Newsletter of the International Society for the Sociology of Knowledge

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5985.pdf

(10) The Political-Philosophic Letters of Raya Dunayevskaya

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5998.pdf
Vol. II, 1980; a News & Letters publication. Includes:

   a. The Carter/Brzezinski-Ordered Imperialist Intrusion Into Iran — and What About Khomeini/Bani-Sadr's "Holy War" Against the Left?

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5999.pdf
April 29, 1980.
1789-1793; 1848-1850; 1914-1919; 1979
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6004.pdf

c. Grave Contradictions in the Iranian Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6013.pdf
Nov. 27, 1979.

d. Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6019.pdf
March 25, 1979.

e. Special Introduction for Iranian Edition of Marx's Humanist Essays
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6034.pdf
Nov. 1980.

f. The Two Russian Revolutions, and Once Again, On the Theory of Permanent Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6037.pdf

g. The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6050.pdf

(11) Translations of writings of Raya Dunayevskaya into Farsi by IranianYouth:

a. Iran's Revolutionary Past — and Present
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6063.pdf
Dec. 1973 "Two Worlds"

b. Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6066.pdf
March 1979 Political-Philosophic Letter.

c. Women as Reason and as Force of Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6092.pdf
a pamphlet collection of writings by Raya Dunayevskaya on Women's Liberation, issued for International Women's Day, March 8, 1980. Includes also "Women's Suffrage and Class Struggle" by Rosa Luxemburg, and "Thoughts on March 8" by Ding Ling.

d. The Two Russian Revolutions, and, Once Again, On the Theory of Permanent Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6177.pdf

e. Introduction to Iranian Edition of Marx's Humanist Essays
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6198.pdf
Nov. 1980.

Section II. 1980: 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
(1) Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6201.pdf

(2) Marx's Concept of Woman, 1843-1883, and Today
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6212.pdf

(3) Marx's Concept of Organization
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6219.pdf
(4) Tomorrow is Now: U.S. Imperialism in the Iranian Desert, and at Home, in Deep Recession and Resurgent Racism


(5) Today and Tomorrow


(6) From the Pen

a publication of the Wayne State University (Detroit) News and Letters Youth Committee. 1977 through 1980.

(7) Today's Polish Fight For Freedom


(8) 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.: A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments


Section III. Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution — and Perspectives for the Future

(1) Table of Contents and Introduction for Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

by Raya Dunayevskaya, May 1981.

(2) Before and After the 1905 Revolution


(3) The Break with Kautsky, 1910-11


(4) Letters from Dunayevskaya on process of writing Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

1978-81.

(5) Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted.

(6) Theory and Practice
link to PDF file:  http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6475.pdf
by Rosa Luxemburg. First English translation by David Wolff of Luxemburg's 1910 debate with Kautsky.

(7) Speech on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
link to PDF file:  http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6542.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya. Delivered at Women's Center, University of California-Berkeley, April 1981.

Appendix II: Two Worlds columns
link to PDF file:  http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6561.pdf


INTRODUCTORY NOTE FOR VOLUME XI

Open the original Volume XI listing document: 7072
The overall title of this volume, which covers the four years, 1981-1985, returns to the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., when Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 Until Today, in 1957, defined the two aims of that work to be the American roots of Marxism and its world Humanist dimension. We had practiced Marxist-Humanism before 1957, but we had focused at first on the theory which saw state-capitalism as the new world stage of capitalism, a theory we felt had been proved by a three-year study from original Russian sources published in 1942. We had not then proclaimed Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. as an important, independent, historic Tendency. Even in 1957, although Marxism and Freedom was rooted deeply in the revolutionary dialectic, we had not singled out, along with the two aims we had specified, the third characteristic of Marxist-Humanism — the dialectics of revolution. That is what characterized every chapter of the book, as it was traced through the historic periods from the French Revolution and the Abolitionist Movement in America, through the 1917 Russian Revolution, to the revolutions in our own post-World War II age.

The transcription and publication of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks in the 1970s made "provable" our claim that the new moments of Marx's last decade had seen him return to his first, 1844 declaration for a "new humanism," greatly deepened now that he had discovered the economic laws of capitalist development. This view of Marx's Marxism as a totality made it clear that from the start, in the early years when he had written his "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," Marx had not only broken with capitalism but also critiqued both Feuerbachian mechanical materialism and what Marx called "vulgar communism."

It was Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution that first created the category of post-Marx Marxists as having begun with Frederick Engels, and that challenged all post-Marx Marxists today to find in Marx's Marxism "the trail to the 1980s for the transformation of reality." This became the title of our Perspectives Thesis for 1982, the year that Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation,
and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution was published. It was that concept that characterizes the whole of this Volume XI, which begins on the eve of the publication of that work, and ends on the eve of the publication of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future.

The strong sense of internationalism that permeated the four years of this volume, 1981-1985, was demonstrated both in our theory and in our activity. The voices of revolutionaries in other countries speak for themselves in a bi-lingual bulletin on the unfinished Latin American Revolutions; a translation by Peruvian feminists of "Woman as Reason and as Revolutionary Force"; a pamphlet where the voices of Guatemalan revolutionaries are heard; special bulletins and translations by Iranian exiles. We recorded, as well, the rise of women dissidents in Russia as Women's Liberationists; the developments of revolution and counterrevolution in Poland; our opposition to Israel's totally genocidal invasion of Lebanon.

We celebrated the Marx Centenary Year, 1983, with an extensive National Lecture Tour. It was especially significant to us that Humanities Press, the publishers of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, had chosen to publish, on the eve of that Centenary, new editions as well, of both Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao. This we called our "trilogy of revolution." 1983 was likewise the year the Constitution of News and Letters Committees was amended to include a new paragraph on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. It was, nevertheless, a tragic year for us, since that was the year we suffered the death in October of our Black production worker-editor, Charles Denby, whom we honored in our "In Memoriam" in the November issue of News & Letters.

We rose to the demands of News & Letters by assigning, in January 1984, two new columns to the page one space Denby's "Worker's Journal" had filled for 28 years. One was "Black World" by Lou Turner and the other "Workshop Talks" by John Marcotte and Felix Martin. Later that year, we published our pamphlet on A 1980s View: The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya. The impulse for this pamphlet had come during the Marx Centenary Tour, when Dunayevskaya returned to West Virginia, where, at one and the same time, she had been active in that historic 1949-50 strike and had been translating Lenin's Philosphic Notebooks, initiating a three-way correspondence around them with C.L.R. James and Grace Lee. (See Volume III for 35 letters from this correspondence.)

It was during the Marx Centenary Year itself that we had published a pamphlet on Marx and the Third World by Peter Hudis, as well as new editions of both Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions and American Civilization on Trial. The last letter of Charles Denby to Raya Dunayevskaya had centered on the importance of the expanded edition of the latter and the essay it was to include entitled "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa."

At the end of 1983, Grenada proved that philosophy is no abstraction, and that to think all that is needed is activity, is to submit to the halfway dialectic that can become a road to the counter-revolution. The shock of Grenada was the way in which the counter-revolution right within what considered itself the revolutionary party of Grenada had paved the way for U.S. imperialism's invasion.
The next year (1984), the Convention of News and Letters Committees voted to move the Center of Marxist-Humanism to Chicago. In making this decision, we considered that we were attending the Marx Centenary Year both chronologically and conceptually. Thus we saw the pamphlet, *Eleanor Marx in Chicago*, as one that had caught the "trail to the 1980s." Indeed, so did our discussion bulletin around the first English translation of Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts, which we called: *The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts*.

This volume ends with the year 1984-85 and the exciting developments in the new home of News and Letters Committees, which are reflected in three publications in particular:

1) "Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism in the Historic Mirror: A Revolutionary Critical Look" (#8334);
2) "Marxist-Humanism as a Body of Ideas" (#8348);

The final inclusion in Volume XI consists of the page-proofs of the Introduction/Overview to *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*. This new book, which covers 35 years of writings on Women's Liberation, is the first major theoretical work to present Marxist-Humanism as it itself developed dialectically. While it focuses on a single force of revolution, Women's Liberation, it actually includes all forces of social revolution — revolutions which have been carried out by men and women throughout history. The dual rhythm of any social revolution lies in the task of both destroying the old exploitative society and creating totally new human relations.

Raya Dunayevskaya, March 1, 1985

**Section I. 1981-1982: International Trail to the 1980s and a Trilogy of Revolution**

1) The Trail in the 1980s for Transforming Reality.

   **link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7090.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7090.pdf)


2) The Two Worlds in Each Country; The Need to Transform Reality.

   **link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7127.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7127.pdf)


3) Post-Plenum Bulletin #2.

   **link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7134.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7134.pdf)

   Includes reports to Plenum by Michael Connolly on Organization; Eugene Walker on News & Letters; discussion by Charles Denby. Sept. 6, 1981.

4) Latin America's Revolutions/Las Revoluciones de Latinoamerica

   **link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7157.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7157.pdf)


5) Deng revises not so much Mao, as Marx.

   **link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7217.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7217.pdf)

   "Theory/Practice" column by Raya Dunayevskaya, August, 1981.

6) Iran: Revolution and Counter-revolution.

(7) Farsi edition of Iran: Revolution and Counter-revolution.

(8) Middle East women: liberation and social revolution.

(9) Kurds' continuous struggle challenges Khomeini regime.

(10) Ireland: Revolution and Theory


(12) Begin's Israel Moves Further and Further Backward to his Reactionary, Terrorist Beginnings.

(13) Down with the Perpetrators of the Palestinian Slaughter

(14) Poland: Counter-revolution drives the revolution underground; the resistance continues

(15) Twenty-Five years of East European revolt and of the re-creation of Marx's Marxism.

(16) Andropov's ascendancy reflects final stage of state-capitalism's degeneracy.

(17) Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution.

(18) La mujer como razon y fuerza revolucionaria.

(19) The revolutionary activity of Polish women.

(20) A 1981 view of Marx's 1841 dialectic.

(21) The French edition of Capital, 100 years after.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7478.pdf

(22) On the 150th anniversary since Hegel's death: How valid for our day are Marx's Hegelian roots?
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7481.pdf

(23) Hobsbawm and Rubel on the Marx centenary, but where is Marx?
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7483.pdf

(24) On the Battle of Ideas: Philosphic-Theoretic Points of Departure as Political Tendencies Respond to the Objective Situation.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7486.pdf

(25) Dialectics of Liberation
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7501.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya. New cover to this 1974 News and Letters pamphlet was created after critique by Dunayevskaya pointed to the lack of a listing of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind as a subject of her May 20, 1953 letter on Hegel's Absolutes.

(26) Material proposed by Dunayevskaya for the jacket cover of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7502.pdf

(27) Two letters by Dunayevskaya during Pre-Convention discussion
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7503.pdf

(28) A Philosophy of Revolution Needed: Mass Opposition to Reaganomics and the Drive for Nuclear War.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7508.pdf

(29) What to Do: Facing the Depth of Recession and the Myriad Global Political Crises as well as the Philosophic Void.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7515.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7539.pdf

(31) Post-Convention Bulletin #3.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7560.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7610.pdf

(33) Brochure by Humanities Press, 1982
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7613.pdf
announcing the publication of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya. Offers at the same time new printings of her Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution.

(34) Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 Until Today
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7617.pdf

(35) Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7622.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya. 1982 edition published by Humanities and Harvester. Included here is "New Introduction to the 1982 Reprint" by Dunayevskaya, which responds to George Armstrong Kelly's critique of the 1973 edition of Philosophy and Revolution in his Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis.

(36) Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7629.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya. First publication Nov. 1982 by Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Britain. Included here is the Table of Contents and the Introduction by Dunayevskaya.

Section II. 1983: The Marx Centenary Year

(1) Marxist-Humanism, 1983: The Summation that is a New Beginning, Subjectively and Objectively.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7639.pdf

(2) The National tour on the Marx centenary.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7667.pdf
"Theory/Practice" column by Raya Dunayevskaya. June, 1983.

(3) Listing of lectures given on the Marx centenary tour
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7669.pdf
by Dunayevskaya. In March and April of 1983, she delivered more than 40 lectures nationwide, and participated in several radio and television interviews, numerous press conferences, and informal meetings with activists.

(4) Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7671.pdf

(5) Preface to the Iranian edition of Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7682.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7684.pdf
Translated into Farsi by Iranian youth and published Mar., 1983.

(7) Marx and the Third World: New Perspectives on Writings from his Last Decade.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7742.pdf
A News & Letters pamphlet by Peter Hudis. This essay was reprinted with additions after its original publication in South Asia Bulletin (Vol. III, No. 1, Spring 1983).

(8) First English translation of Rosa Luxemburg's "Martinique"
Section III. 1984-1985: Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism in the Historic Mirror

(1) Eleanor Marx in Chicago


(2) Marx's "New Humanism" and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies.

by Raya Dunayevskaya. This article was first published in Praxis International (Vol. 3, No. 4, Jan. 1984), a Yugoslav-international dissident journal. It was reprinted as a News & Letters pamphlet in April, 1984.

(3) Luxemburg, Feminism and Marx: a discussion of the works of Raya Dunayevskaya.


(4) Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions


At the Jan. 1, 1984 meeting of the Resident Editorial Board of News & Letters, a motion was passed to continue to represent the Black and proletarian dimensions of our movement on the front page of the newspaper after the death of Charles Denby with two new columns: "Workshop Talks," by the Labor Editor, Felix Martin, and John Marcotte; and "Black World" by Lou Turner. (For earlier writing by Felix Martin, see his review of Denby's Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal in N&L Jan.-Feb., 1979.) Included on the microfilm is Lou Turner's "Black World" column: "Significance of Marcus Garvey study."
(3) Black opposition to U.S. imperialism at the end of the 19th century
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8120.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8123.pdf
A News & Letters pamphlet, with an account by Andy Phillips of "A Missing Page from American Labor History", and an essay by Raya Dunayevskaya on "The Emergence of a New Movement from Practice that is Itself a Form of Theory". Includes as appendix a list of 35 letters from the 1949-50 philosophic correspondence between Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James and Grace Lee (Boggs). (See Vol. III for the letters themselves.) Published June 17, 1984, on the 31st anniversary of the East German workers uprising, and the 29th anniversary of the creation of News & Letters, whose first issue honored that revolt.

(8) Where Are the 1980s Going? The Imperative Need for a Totally New Direction in Uprooting Capitalism-Imperialism
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8174.pdf
Draft Perspectives Thesis, April 26, 1984

(9) Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya to "Revolutionary Sisters" and to the Youth
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8183.pdf
as part of the Pre-Convention discussion. May 1, 1984 and June 5, 1984. The letter to the Youth is entitled: "On Listening to Marx Think as Challengers to All Post-Marx Marxists".

(10) The Movements from Theory as Well as from Practice vs. the Great Artificer, Ronald Reagan, for whom the Whole World is a Stage.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8193.pdf

(11) Post-Convention Bulletin #3.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8229.pdf

(12) Marx's philosophy of revolution vs. non-Marxist scholar-careerists in "Marxism".
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8261.pdf
"Theory/Practice" column by Raya Dunayevskaya, April, 1984. A critique of Terrell Carver.

(13) Marx's last writings on Russia: new paths to revolution and philosophic continuity.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8264.pdf
Guest "Theory/Practice" column by Michael Connolly, June, 1984.

(14) Marx's critique of culture — a new study.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8267.pdf

(15) Farsi translation of "Intellectuals in the Age of State-Capitalism"
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8270.pdf

(15) Marx and Dunayevskaya: writings on the Paris Commune.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8280.pdf
Farsi translation of excerpts from Marx's Civil War in France, and excerpts from Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom. Published by Iranian youth, May, 1984.

(17) Proposed Syllabus for new Six-Class Series on Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and the Dialectics of Revolution
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8296.pdf
VOLUME XII: RETROSPECTIVE AND PERSPECTIVE —
THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION, 1924-1986

INTRODUCTION/OVERVIEW TO VOLUME XII


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8394.pdf


(22) Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8430.pdf

War I period came back to me. That was not because my memory instantly recalled what happened over a half century ago.

No, the spur to the remembrance of things past was the present, Reagan's ongoing retrogressionism and his super-patriotic fanaticism of calling each revolutionary national independence movement "Communist", as he does all dissidents at home. Counter-revolutions have a way of repeating themselves during world crises, whether in the Palmer Raids in the 1920s, or in the rise of McCarthyism in the post-World War II period following the 1949 revolution in China and the creation of apartheid South Africa. The struggle now makes it imperative to trace the absolute opposite of the counter-revolution — the revolutions in thought as well as in fact. Our epoch is crucial, not alone because that challenge is the task of this generation, but because in those three decades of the post-World War II world there arose a movement from practice that was itself a form of theory.

That movement challenged the theoreticians to work out so new a relationship of practice to theory as to have that unity achieve a totally new stage. To get a feeling for the revolutionary opposition in the 1920s, see Section I, Part A, especially the documents on the Negro Champion, the organ of the American Negro Labor Congress, on which I worked. Thus, America's Black Dimension, far from being broken by the post-World War I riots against them, gave rise, at one and the same time, to both the largest mass movement of Blacks ever in the U.S., Garveyism, and to the American Negro Labor Congress, which expressed the Russian Revolution in its internationalism.

"Black/Red" was also pivotal in the labor struggle of the 1930s, which transformed the industrial face of the nation with the creation of the CIO. Before the CIO, however, the labor struggles reached their highest point in the San Francisco general strike of 1934. While San Francisco had always been a union town, the strike posed not just a union question or a strike in a single industry — the longshoremen — but a political, revolutionary, general strike in which I was very active. I was then the organizer of the Spartacus Youth Club in Los Angeles. In order to show that these types of revolutionary strikes, far from being "foreign," as the Hearst papers were screaming, were very American, I wrote an article for the Young Spartacus (June, 1934) which went back to the railroad strikes of the 1870s, concentrating on the very first General Strike in St. Louis — 1877 — when "the strikers took possession of the city and ruled for an entire week."

The Depression certainly shook up America, and the strike struggles of the 1930s created both industrial unionism and introduced new paths in cognition itself. Far from pragmatism and American thought being one and the same, Marxian dialectics was very much on the American scene and was reflected in the multifaceted discussions engaged in by workers as well as intellectuals. I experienced this when I was conducting classes in Los Angeles on Marxism for the youth. I then returned to the Midwest, East and finally to Washington, D.C. (Hitchhiking was the main mode of transportation in those years.)

By 1936, when I was living in Washington, D.C., I became active in support of sharecroppers' struggles in the South. Interracial relationships became a key question during the Depression. In Washington, D.C., for example, which was still a "Jim Crow" town except for streetcars, Ralph Bunche — then chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at Howard University — was instrumental in establishing, with the Communists, a new National Negro Congress, and helped the socialists, who had
organized the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, to establish the Washington Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers as a support group for the 1936 Arkansas sharecroppers' strike. (See my "Two forgotten pages of Ralph Bunche's life story," News & Letters, March 1972.) I was a member of this committee, which included Carter G. Woodson, founder of the Journal of Negro History, and Prof. Dorsey, a political economist at Howard, who was to become the Washington chairman of the International Defense Committee for Leon Trotsky in 1937. The Black Dimension here opened the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa for me, especially since Nnamdi Azikwe was then in the U.S. writing his Renascent Africa.

Along with these new findings from the 1920s and 1930s first being introduced into the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, I want to add also to the section on my work as Russian secretary to Leon Trotsky in 1937-38. The three pieces I translated on the Spanish Revolution, and Leon Trotsky's letter of Jan. 5, 1938, to Max Shachtman, which informed Shachtman that I was translating part of Trotsky's work, How the Revolution Armed Itself, were all part of making the 1917 Russian Revolution so relevant to the 1937 Spanish Revolution that Trotskyists should become both active participants and theoreticians. In a word, what the Trotsky letter doesn't say is that it was done for the Spanish revolutionaries so that they could have the 1917 ground for the 1937 Revolution.

The same type of ground for current (1937) activity in South Africa was attempted by Trotsky in his introduction to the South African publication of Marx's Communist Manifesto on the 90th anniversary of its writing.

On the other hand, the shock of the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939, followed by the outbreak of World War II and Trotsky's call for the defense of Russia, signaled the beginning of the end of world Trotskyism. The many tendencies that sprang up within Trotskyism questioned the very nature of the Russian state and the Russian economy, rather than just the political bureaucratization that Stalin introduced and that Trotsky had fought.

I plunged into the study of all the Russian Five-Year Plans. (The most valuable research work was done in the Slavic Division of the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and Hoover Institute in California.) What the new additions to documents on the theory of state-capitalism reveal is that, at the same time I was engaged in research on the Russian economy of 1928-39, I was translating for myself philosophic works of Marx, those that were listed by David Ryazanov as "Preparatory Works for The Holy Family" and which we now know as the famous Humanist Essays [also known as Marx's Paris Manuscripts or Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844], as well as Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic. My translations have now been found in their very first form. (See #8845.) In a word, the relationship between philosophy and economics was intensified. Indeed, by the 1940s I saw philosophy as inherent in new revolutionary forces — labor, Black, women, youth.

Thus the studies in state-capitalism were integral to the intensified activities in the 1940s with, once again, the Black Dimension being pivotal. See especially the documents on my debate with David Coolidge (Ernest Rice McKinney), #9008. The Schomburg Collection [at the New York Public Library] was the place where I did much of my research on Black America, which was reflected in my 1948 article, "Maintain the Schomburg Collection!"
In 1947 the Fourth International allowed me to present the theory of state-capitalism at their world conference in France. I debated Ernest Mandel (Ernest Germain) there. What is most memorable from that trip was, however, not the Trotskyists but the meeting with a Camerounian who told me of the revolution they had when the Germans left and the "Free French" were going to return. (See my 1947 letters, #661.)

When I completed the translation of Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic in 1949, I looked for a publisher for it, knocking on many doors and meeting with the Columbia University Russian Department, but publication had to wait until 1957 with my Marxism and Freedom. The many letters in this period disclose the relationship of philosophy and economics — specifically of Hegel's Science of Logic to Marx's Capital — and connect those studies to the letters I wrote to miners on the general strike in 1950. These reveal that I was changing the form of my work on state-capitalism and Marxism to what became Marxism and Freedom. (See Section III for the letters of this period.)

It all resulted in the breakup of the state-capitalist tendency known as "Johnson-Forest," and the critique of all post-Marx Marxists. I called for a reorganization of Marxist groupings, and the theoretical work that resulted in 1957-58, Marxism and Freedom, spelled its aim out as re-establishing Marxism in its original form, which Marx called a "thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism." That period saw my first attempt to make an outline of what would become the Marxist-Humanist Archives. (See #9357.)

The whole question of the relationship of any ongoing event with the past, with the very concept of Archives, depends on the two opposite words—continuity and discontinuity. Whereas only great divides in epochs, in cognition, in personality, are crucial, and may relate to turning points in history, no discontinuity can really achieve that type of new epochal "moment" unless it has established continuity with the historic course of human development.

Naturally, the significance of Archives for any Marxist-Humanist has, as ground, what we learned from Marx's Archives, especially from the writings in his last decade, and especially the Ethnological Notebooks which were first transcribed in 1972. That work cast a totally new illumination both on Marx's multilinearism as it relates to his studies of pre-capitalism and indeed the whole course of human development. These Notebooks so integrally related the "new moments" of Marx's last decade that it made it possible to grasp Marx's Marxism as a totality. In a word, the new moments of his last decade, and the very first writings of his break from capitalism and his founding of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution in 1843-44, were one continuous development of what Marx called a "new Humanism." This is the reason why we considered the 1880s a "trail to the 1980s." Put differently, neither the first nor the last of Marx's new moments were a question of something that happened in the 19th century, but became an imperative for our age.

To return to 1958, that was the year DeGaulle came to power in France and I saw, at one and the same time, a new form of fascism and the imperative need for new international relations of those who opposed both poles of capitalism — U.S. and Russia — whether they held fully to the theory of state-capitalism or not. A correspondence developed with Battaglia Communista in Italy (Onorato Damen); Grandizo Munis, a Spanish exile; Chaulieu [Cornelius Castoriadis] and Vega [Albert Masó], as well as Jean Malaquais in France; and Harry McShane in Britain. An International Conference was held in Milan, Italy, in November 1959, and I made a trip to Europe to attend and hold
other discussions. I had in my hand for the trip *Marxism and Freedom* as well as our new pamphlet, *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, and I insisted that all those who attended had to focus on the new revolutions in the Third World. I asked that the African comrades be invited. (I continued corresponding with Africans until I went to Africa in 1962, and they helped map my trip to Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, and the Gambia.)

The European International Conference itself, while not grounded in philosophy, Marxist-Humanist or otherwise, and not agreeing with my analysis of the very new African Revolutions, did approve my motion to continue discussion on a regular basis in the Italian journal, *Prometeo*. Out of this trip, a Marxist-Humanist group was established in Britain, headed by Harry McShane.

The pivotal points of my address to the International Conference were further developed in the 1960 Thesis, "The World Crisis and the Theoretic Void," which was published in Italian and French in *Prometeo*, the publication of the International Center of Correspondence. (Onorato Damen had introduced me to the publisher La Nuovo Italia, which published the Italian edition of *Marxism and Freedom*.) That special section of *Prometeo* continued to publish my articles, which included my critique of Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*, as well as one on the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The 1960s were as turbulent in the U.S. as anywhere else in the world and the new voices from below are well enough recorded in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection from the *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves to The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution*. (I co-authored the latter with Free Speech Movement leader Mario Savio and Eugene Walker from the Mississippi freedom schools.) The Black Dimension was by no means just an American question; the African Revolutions initiated a new world epoch, indeed a new world, the Third World. Whereas the European International Conference hadn't followed my suggestion to invite some African revolutionaries, I followed through with the Africans I met in England, especially Dixon Colley of the Gambia, who had chaired my meeting in London.

The new correspondence that is now being added includes communication with Leopold Senghor, Sekou Toure, and Nnamdi Azikwe, as well as the letter to Thomas Kanza, UN Ambassador from the Congo, on the death of Patrice Lumumba. The trip to West Africa in 1962 is thus now more fully documented and shows more than just the fact that *Présence Africaine* published my article "Marxist-Humanism," which I had originally titled "African Socialism: Why Not a New International?" That didn't impede my activities and writings on the American scene, as witness the new contributions we now make of my articles for *The Activist*, the student journal at Oberlin College for which I was both sponsor and writer, as well as a critic of some of their writings, like that of Tracey Strong on China.

The Third World was naturally not only Africa, but also Latin America, Asia and the Middle East. Most relevant and important here is my correspondence with Silvio Frondizi, the great Argentinian independent Marxist who was murdered by the fascist regime. He had in fact translated *Marxism and Freedom*, but was unable to publish it. Nearly all of my major works have now been translated and published in Spanish. Erich Fromm was instrumental in introducing my work to the publishing house, Siglo XXI.

The section on the battle of ideas speaks well enough for itself, whether it is correspondence with Silvio Frondizi or Alasdair MacIntyre, with Erich Fromm [1959-]
or Peter Bergmann, Jean Malaquais or Paul Piccone, Dixon Colley or John O'Neill, or even C.L.R. James and Grace Chin Lee. Indeed, the correspondence and some of the interviews would result in a chapter within a book itself. I am referring to a 1965 Hong Kong interview, which became a part of a chapter of Philosophy and Revolution. The Chinese refugee I interviewed, "Jade," was so taken with my chapter "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" in Marxism and Freedom that she translated it into Chinese and sent it to the underground at Peking University, where she had been a student. That was in 1966, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

The trip I made to Japan has been reported in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection before, but the new that is added now is especially important for two reasons. It wasn't only my Marxism and Freedom that was translated and published in Japan, but also News & Letters pamphlets like Charles Denby's Workers Battle Automation and other new voices from the Black Revolution. The Zenshin (the Japan Revolutionary Communist League) sponsored my many lectures throughout the Islands. Also new is the typescript of my talk in Japan on Hegel.

What is of the essence in the 1970s were the new open doors in academia in the U.S. In 1970, the year of the 200th anniversary of Hegel's birth and 100th of Lenin's, the battle of ideas kept crisscrossing between the Left and academia. The specific essay which was to attract special attention was "The Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin," which became the basis for my talk to a conference of the then young New Left philosophic journal, Telos. The Yugoslav journal Praxis then reprinted it, and so did the Italian journal Aut Aut. That work was not just on Lenin, but on Hegel, and it became a part of the section in Philosophy and Revolution on "Why Hegel? Why Now?" This allowed me to present a paper at the 1974 conference of the Hegel Society of America. What is new in Volume XII is the documentation of the critiques of my views on Hegel that came from old radicals like Peter Bergmann (1974) as well as a critique of my interpretation of Hegel's Absolute Method by George Armstrong Kelly in his Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis (1978). I answered Kelly in the introduction to my 1982 edition of Philosophy and Revolution. Also new is my letter to Bertell Ollman in critique of the academic classes in socialism, especially Marx's Capital.

The 1970s were in general characterized by a new passion for a philosophy of revolution. On the one hand, it was spurred by the fact that the 1960s revolutions had been aborted at their highest point, 1968. On the other hand, it was the very counter-revolution of the early 1970s against Vietnam, when both Russia and China were rolling out the red carpet for Nixon, that made the youth, the Black Dimension, and even some old radicals, begin to ask questions serious enough to have them attempt to work out a new philosophy of revolution for their age. At any rate, they were ready to listen and not to dismiss theoreticians on any superficial basis of age. Rather, they themselves wanted to see a continuity as well as a discontinuity in Marxism.

This became the more intense when finally Marx's Ethnological Notebooks were transcribed in the 1970s and the whole question of the relation of technologically advanced countries to underdeveloped countries was seen in a new light — the multilinearism of Marx — as he turned anew to the idea of pre-capitalist societies and the then new science of anthropology. Just as this new objective/subjective situation led us to
create the category of "post-Marx Marxism" as a pejorative in the 1982 publication of \textit{Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution}, so the 1983 Marx Centenary Tour, with this work in hand, opened new doors, especially in the Black Dimension and Women's Liberation.

Already handed in at the March 21, 1985, lecture — though we then only had page proofs — was my latest book, \textit{Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution}. Where it covered 35 years on the single subject of women's liberation, I have now completed my "30-Year Retrospective/Perspective of News & Letters" which is the history of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. — the paper, the organization, and the philosophic works, as well as the pamphlets. At the present moment I am in the process of working on my next book, \textit{Dialectics of Organization: Philosophy, the "Party," and Opposite Forms of Organization Born Out of Spontaneity}.

The Black Dimension, which was central in \textit{News & Letters} from its birth with a Black production worker, Charles Denby, as its editor, remains intrinsic to our body of ideas and has just been spelled out again in our latest publication, a new expanded edition of \textit{Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought}. This booklet includes appendices on Negritude and Language by René Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o as well as my Political-Philosophic Letter, "Grenada: Counter-Revolution and Revolution." It as well includes this recent communication we received directly from a group of South African revolutionaries:

"We can understand why the Marxist-Humanists felt a need to call themselves not just Marxists but Marxist-Humanists, because the humanism has been removed from Marx to such an extent that people thought they could come with certain theories and ideas just from the top — the intellectuals theorizing and telling the people how to liberate themselves."

\textit{Raya Dunayevskaya}

February 28, 1986

\textbf{Postscript, April 10, 1986}

Between the time (February) when Volume XII was handed in for microfilming, and its release for public view by Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs (April), News & Letters has created a new cover for the Guide to the entire twelve-volume collection. This new title for the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection —"Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development"—reflects the range of the new discoveries of old manuscripts predating 1941, as well as extending the collection to 1985/86. Put differently, the 1930s are the focal point now. The Depression signaled the end of private capitalism, while out of the Spanish Civil War there emerged a new kind of revolutionary who posed questions not only against Stalinism but against Trotskyism, indeed against all established Marxists. The 1981 Introductory Note to the Archives repeats what we said when we first handed in the Collection in 1969: "The entire collection is divided into two parts. Part One covers Marxist-Humanism in its origin as State-Capitalist theory… Part Two … covers the period 1955 to 1981, and details the development of Marxist-Humanism" as organization and as philosophy. With the addition of Volume XII, the new cover more fully reflects the whole range, "Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development."
Section I. From the Impact of the Russian Revolution to the Outbreak of World War II

A. Early Years, 1924-28

(1) New words to the "Pledge of Allegiance"
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8470.pdf
Written by Rae Spiegel (Raya Dunayevskaya), December 1923, at the age of 13. Dunayevskaya had arrived in the U.S. a little more than a year earlier from Russia. Published in the Young Comrade, newspaper of the under-15 age group of the Workers (Communist) Party in January 1924. The pledge became widely used by youth groups in the U.S. Dunayevskaya credits the impact of the 1917 Russian Revolution on a young child with her early rebellion against conditions in the U.S.

(2) Cregier Public School strike
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8471.pdf
April, 1924. Newspaper article and photo from Chicago Tribune, April 8, 1924. The strike broke out April 7, 1924, as elementary school students demanded the removal of school principal Mary E. Tobin. Dunayevskaya and other student leaders of the protest charged Tobin with practicing corporal punishment and anti-Semitism. The strike gained national news attention because of the age of the students.

(3) Harvester Worker.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8473.pdf
Issues of February and March 1927. Newspaper of the Communist shop caucus at International Harvester in Chicago. Distributed by Dunayevskaya at the plant gates of the old McCormick Works, the scene of the first events of the Haymarket tragedy of 1886.

(4) The Fourth National Convention, Workers (Communist) Party of America.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8481.pdf
Held in Chicago, August, 1925. Included on the microfilm is the section on "The American Negro and the Proletarian Revolution," with a discussion of plans to found the American Negro Labor Congress.

(5) Negro Champion.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8494.pdf
Issue of June, 1926. This is the only known copy of the newspaper of the American Negro Labor Congress during its Chicago years, 1925 through 1927. The Negro Champion was edited by Lovett Fort-Whiteman, with Irving Dunjee as managing editor. Dunayevskaya worked in the office of the Negro Champion and wrote book reviews for the paper, until its removal to New York in 1928.

(6) Eric Walrond letter to Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya)
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8511.pdf
July 28, 1927. Dunayevskaya had written to him about his essay on Charles Chesnutt and Paul Laurence Dunbar, published in 1922. Walrond, essayist and short story writer, was one of the major figures of the Harlem Renaissance.

(7) William Pickens letter to Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya)
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8512.pdf
Aug. 26 and Nov. 28, 1927. Pickens, Field Secretary of the NAACP in New York, wrote to Dunayevskaya about her dramatization of his story. "Vengeance of the Gods."

(8) Associated Negro Press letter to Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya)
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8514.pdf
Nov. 5, 1927. The ANP accepted Dunayevskaya's article on Paul Laurence Dunbar. Dunbar, poet, novelist, short story writer and son of ex-slaves, was acknowledged by the Garvey movement as the "poet laureate of the Negro race."

(9) Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) letter to Chauncey Townsend
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8515.pdf
editor of the Gary American, a Black newspaper in Gary, Indiana. June 4, 1928 letter responds to Townsend's request that Dunayevskaya participate in a symposium on Blacks and Jews. Also included is a reference to Dunayevskaya in the Gary American, Sept. 7, 1928.

(10) Review of E.B. Reuter's The American Race Problem
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8518.pdf
by Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya). Published in the Young Worker, June, 1927. Young Worker was the newspaper of the Young Workers League, the youth section of the Workers (Communist) Party. In 1928 Dunayevskaya was expelled from the Young Workers League for questioning a resolution to denounce Leon Trotsky. Called a "Trotskyist," though no such group then existed, Dunayevskaya left Chicago for New York.

(11) Medallion with bust of V.I. Lenin.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8520.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8520.pdf)
Given to Dunayevskaya for work in Daily Worker subscription drive, 1927. The medallion is on deposit at WSU Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs.

B. The 1930s — The CIO; the Spanish Revolution; Leon Trotsky

(1) Photographs of Dunayevskaya in New York.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8521.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8521.pdf)
Taken September, 1928. Photographs held by the WSU Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs.

(2) Leninbund, Germany. Memo to Max Shachtman
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8523.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8523.pdf)
June 14, 1929. Early document of the German Left Opposition. Typescript in German. Also included is a 1929 Russian document from the Leninbund.

(3) Sketch on Maxim Gorki's life and work
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8527.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8527.pdf)

(4) Max Sterling letter to Dunayevskaya
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8529.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8529.pdf)
May 10, 1933. A description of the protest demonstration against Rockefeller's destruction of murals by Diego Rivera in New York. Dunayevskaya was visiting Chicago at the time.

(5) "Chicago branch in Militant drive"
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8535.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8535.pdf)
Article by Dunayevskaya in Militant, June 3, 1933.

(6) National "Free Tom Mooney" conference.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8536.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8536.pdf)
Held in Chicago, May, 1933. Dunayevskaya was a participant from the Spartacus Youth Clubs, the youth group of the Communist League of America. Note published in Young Spartacus, June, 1933.

(7) "Just Received! October Russian Bulletin"
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8537.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8537.pdf)
Article by Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) in Militant, Nov. 4, 1933. Dunayevskaya served as Business Manager of the Russian Bulletin of the Opposition, 1933-34, and again in 1938.

(8) Russian Bulletin of the Opposition.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8538.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8538.pdf)

(9) Special issue of the Militant
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8771.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8771.pdf)
Feb. 17, 1934. Issue devoted to Hitler's threat to Austria. During the emergency, the Militant appeared three times a week. Dunayevskaya sold hundreds of copies in one day in Union Square.

(10) "On the Resolution of the National Youth Committee"
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8772.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8772.pdf)
Discussion article by Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya), March 24, 1934. On proletarian revolutionary traditions in America and their links to Marxism. A dissent from the "confusion" of the proposed Spartacus Youth Clubs resolution. Published in the Militant.

(11) "Organizing the Home Relief Workers"
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8774.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8774.pdf)
(12) "Strike Struggles Continue Militant Traditions"

Article by Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) in Young Spartacus, June, 1934. On the 1934 strike wave, which reached high points in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco, and its roots in the 1877 strikes, especially the St. Louis general strike. During June and July, 1934, Dunayevskaya participated in the street demonstrations of the San Francisco general strike.

(13) Note on the first public meeting of the Spartacus Youth Club in Los Angeles.

Published in Young Spartacus, June, 1934. Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) spoke on "War," May 9, 1934 and later gave classes to the youth. In this period Dunayevskaya participated in the Los Angeles free speech fight, protesting police restrictions on open air speeches.

(14) Announcement for "The C.I. Turns Right Again"

a forum in Los Angeles sponsored by the Workers Party of the U.S. Speakers are Charles Curtis and Rae Ruskin (Raya Dunayevskaya). Published in New Militant, Feb. 2, 1935.

(15) Announcement of class in International Workers School (Los Angeles)


(16) "Outline for Course in ABC of Marxism, Lesson IV"

Class in International Workers School taught by Dunayevskaya, in Los Angeles, 1935. Fragment only.

(17) Sara Weber letter to Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya)

Sept. 11, 1936. On the security situation for Trotsky in Norway. Dunayevskaya was then living in Washington, D.C. and helped raise money for Trotsky's defense from sympathizers. During this period she was also involved in support work for striking Arkansas sharecroppers.

(18) Albert Goldman letter to Leon Trotsky

June 11, 1937. Recommends Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) for job as secretary to Trotsky and describes some of her work from 1931-37.

(19) Letters to and from Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) in Mexico with Leon Trotsky. Correspondents are James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman.

September-November 1937. See # 2305 for other letters by Dunayevskaya as Trotsky's secretary. Also see # 2241 for Dunayevskaya's translation of Trotsky's "Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto," referred to in letter of Nov. 17, 1937.

(20) Articles on the Spanish Revolution by Leon Trotsky in original typescript as transcribed/translated by Dunayevskaya.

Articles include: 1) "The Insurrection in Barcelona," May 12, 1937; 2) "The Test of Ideas and of Individuals through the experience of the Spanish Revolution," Aug. 24, 1937; 3) "Answers to Questions Concerning the Spanish Situation," Sept. 14, 1937. See # 2241 for letter by Trotsky mentioning Dunayevskaya's translation of Trotsky's Civil War speeches on the Red Army, which were sent to Spain in December, 1938.

(21) Photographs from Dunayevskaya's period in Mexico with Trotsky, 1937-38

Some signed by Trotsky. Includes signed photograph of Leon Trotsky, presented to Dunayevskaya when she left Mexico in 1938. The inscription reads: "To my dear Rae, who came at a difficult moment, as a true collaborator, in appreciation and with love, L. Trotsky." Photographs held by the WSU Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs.
(22) "From Exile Trotsky Mocks His Foe"
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8822.pdf

(23) "Trotsky, with Pistol at Hand Against Foes, Combats Invalidism to Spread His Doctrine"
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8825.pdf

(24) Letters to and from Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) after her return to the U.S.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8826.pdf
Correspondents are Sara Weber and Lillian Curtis, on the Trotsky staff in Mexico. August-December, 1938.

(25) Charles Malamuth letter to Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya)
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8832.pdf

(26) Articles by John F. Dwyer on his expulsion from the Socialist Party, and on left-wing activity in the party.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8835.pdf
Published in the Socialist Appeal, September-October, 1937. Three articles. Dwyer was a founding member of News and Letters Committees and columnist for News & Letters under the pen name Peter Mallory. For a full view of the work of John F. Dwyer in the 1930s — in the CIO, the Socialist Party and Trotskyism — and his independent development of a state-capitalist position in the 1940s, see the John F. Dwyer Collection held at the WSU Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs.

(27) Articles and ads by Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) in Socialist Appeal
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8838.pdf

(28) Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) to Max Shachtman
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8842.pdf

(29) Max Shachtman letter to "Freddie" (Raya Dunayevskaya)
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8844.pdf
Oct. 23, 1940. On Dunayevskaya's article, "The Man Trotsky."

Section II. The Birth of State-Capitalist Theory and Marx's Early Essays

A. Notes and Translations on Marx and Marxism

(1) Translations of extracts of Marx's unpublished writings
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8845.pdf
by Dunayevskaya. Early 1940s. Documents include what we now know as Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays, but which then had been published in Russian by Ryazanov in Book 3 of the Marx-Engels Archives, under the title "Preparatory works for The Holy Family". Translations include: 1) "Private Property and Labor"; 2) "Private Property and Communism"; 3) "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic". Also includes translation of Prefaces to the Russian edition of Capital. These are the earliest translations by Dunayevskaya of extracts from the Humanist Essays, which were first published in English by her as Appendix to Marxism and Freedom, in 1957.

(2) Notes on Marx's letters on Capital not translated into English.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8859.pdf
A list made up from Russian sources by Dunayevskaya. Early 1940s.
(3) Notes on Marx, Civil War in France and on Jellinek, The Paris Commune of 1871
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8862.pdf
by Dunayevskaya. Early 1940s.

(4) Notes on Lenin's State and Revolution and Selected Works
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8866.pdf
by Dunayevskaya. Early 1940s. In 1941 Dunayevskaya also translated for herself portions of Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic from the Russian text in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. C.L.R. James refers to these "at-sight translations" as his first encounter with Lenin's Notebooks (Notes on Dialectics, p. 99.)

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8873.pdf
Report by Trotsky. Resume of report by "FF" (Dunayevskaya). Early 1940s.

(6) Notes on "Last Writing of Trotsky".
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8879.pdf
Reference is to article published in Fourth International, December 1940. Notes by Dunayevskaya. Early 1940s.

(7) "The Theory of Strumiline: What the Balance Ought to Contain".
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8880.pdf
Unpublished critique by Dunayevskaya of this Russian economist. Undated.

(8) Notes on Marxian Economics and Modern Economic Theory by Oscar Lange.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8884.pdf
Notes by Dunayevskaya. Undated.

(9) Notes on An Essay on Marxian Economics by Joan Robinson.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8886.pdf
Notes by Dunayevskaya. Undated. See also # 472 for Robinson's 1947 notes on Dunayevskaya's outline of "State-Capitalism and Marxism".

B. Development of State-Capitalist Theory
(1) "Is Russia Part of the Collectivist Epoch of Society?"
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8888.pdf

(2) "The Law of Value and Capitalist Society".
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8895.pdf
A section of the original Part I of "The Nature of the Russian Economy" by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya). Unpublished typescript, August 1943. For other sections of the original manuscript, see # 69, 87, and 102. The section included here outlines the theoretic basis for Dunayevskaya's concrete analysis of Russian state-capitalism.

(3) Library of Congress and New York Public Library letters to Rae Adams (Raya Dunayevskaya)
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8922.pdf
on her research on Russia and on Marx and Luxemburg. March 1942 and April 1943.

(4) Freddie Forest (Dunayevskaya) letters to Max Shachtman
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8925.pdf
November (?) 1942 and Feb. 24, 1943. On Tukhachevsky and on Russian war propaganda.

(5) Dunayevskaya letters to C.L.R. James.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8927.pdf
Undated (early 1940s). On law of value and "how a commodity arises in the process of production".

(6) C.L.R. James letters to Dunayevskaya.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8931.pdf
Sept. 13, 1943; rest undated (early 1940s). On Dunayevskaya's early work on development of state-capitalist theory. Handwritten.

(7) F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) letter to Al Gates
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8961.pdf

(8) Correspondence surrounding the publication of "Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union" and "A New Revision of Marxian Economics"
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8962.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya in American Economic Review (AER) September 1944. Letters to and from Dunayevskaya, plus one telegram. Correspondents are Will Lisner, New York Times; Paul T. Homan, AER; Fritz Machlup, AER. May 1944 through April 1945. For the articles as published in AER, see # 192, 209, 213.

(9) F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) letters to the Political Committee, Workers Party.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8982.pdf

(10) Dunayevskaya letter to Shachtman.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8987.pdf
Oct. 14, 1946. On "democracy and strikes in the early Soviet state". Part of a discussion around articles by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) in Labor Action on Russia under Stalin. For text of these articles, see # 448.

(11) James T. Farrell letters to Dunayevskaya.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8989.pdf

(12) Lydia Beidel letter to Dunayevskaya
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8997.pdf

(13) Report of debate between Dunayevskaya and Shachtman
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8999.pdf
May 25, 1947 in New York on "the Russian Question". Debate held prior to the state-capitalist tendency leaving the Workers Party. Report written by Dunayevskaya. Last page(s) missing.

C. Writings on the "Negro Question"

(1) "Major Points in Coolidge's to be answered".
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9008.pdf
Notes by Dunayevskaya for debate with David Coolidge (Ernest Rice McKinney) at Workers Party convention, May 1946. Accompanied by summary of differences with Coolidge in Dunayevskaya letter to "Rex" (undated, but written on the eve of the convention.) See also # 296 for documents on Dunayevskaya's debate with Coolidge.

(2) "Com. Coolidge, Com. Trotsky and the Negro Question".
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9012.pdf
Unpublished article by Dunayevskaya against David Coolidge. Typescript, 1946.

(3) March on Washington movement literature
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9023.pdf
1943. Includes leaflet from Harlem meeting, 1943, and brochure from the "Interracial Club". Dunayevskaya was a member of the Harlem branch of the Workers Party from 1941 through 1947.

(4) Articles in Labor Action by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) on NAACP drive for a Fair Employment Practices Commission and on the Democratic Party in Harlem.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9032.pdf
Published Feb. 14, 1944 and Oct. 8, 1945.
(5) Notes on Collapse of Cotton Tenancy by Johnson, Embree and Alexander, and on Farmers in a Changing World

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9034.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9034.pdf)


(6) Outline of speech on Black Boy by Richard Wright

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9039.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9039.pdf)
given by Dunayevskaya in 1948(?).

(7) "Industrialization of the Negro"

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9043.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9043.pdf)
an article by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) published in Fourth International, January-February, 1948. Written Dec. 1, 1947. See # 311 for typescript draft of this article.

D. Studies on, and Classes in, Marx's Capital

(1) "Brief Resume of Marx's Capital, Vol. I"

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9047.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9047.pdf)
Typescript by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya). Written 1945-46 for use of students in Capital class in Workers Party. For the "Outline of Marx's Capital, Vol. One" used in these classes, see # 324.

(2) "Marx's Capital, Vol. I — Its Aim, Structure and Scope".

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9068.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9068.pdf)
Typescript by Dunayevskaya is draft of part of her "Outline of Marx's Capital". Written 1945.

(3) 'Aim, Structure and Scope of Vol. I, Marx's Capital".

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9078.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9078.pdf)
Typescript of original Introductory lecture by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya), Nov. 16, 1945.

(4) "Significance of Marx's Volume II of Capital for our Day".

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9084.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9084.pdf)

(5) "Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx".

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9107.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9107.pdf)
Mimeographed handouts for Lectures 6, 7, and 8 of new series of classes by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya), given in 1947.

(6) Ads for Dunayevskaya's classes in Capital as printed in Labor Action

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9111.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9111.pdf)
1945-47, and in brochure for Labor Action School.

(7) "The Inevitability of Socialism and the Laws of Motion of Capitalist Society: A Reply to Comrade Gates".

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9119.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9119.pdf)

E. Writings and Activity in Post-World War II Period

(1) Campaign against the "No-strike pledge".

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9126.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9126.pdf)
Newspapers and leaflets issued in 1945. Includes Rank and Filer, UAW opposition newspaper produced in Detroit (Vol. I, #1-3); Local #6 UAW leaflet/poster; UAW Local #659 Leaflets. Dunayevskaya corresponded with several of the campaign leaders, including John Zupan.

(2) "Russian Secret Police, CHEKA-OGPU-NKVD-MVD".

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9157.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9157.pdf)

(3) "Speech of F. Forest" (Dunayevskaya)

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9166.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9166.pdf)
(4) Dunayevskaya's trip to Europe, 1947, as representative of the state-capitalist tendency.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9171.pdf
Included here are letters by Dunayevskaya of Aug. 2, 1947 and Sept. 21, 1947 from London and Paris. Also included: outline of speech on "Europe" given by Dunayevskaya on her return to the U.S. (Most of Dunayevskaya's correspondence on her 1947 trip can be found under # 661.)

(5) Grace Lee letter to "Rae" (Dunayevskaya)
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9184.pdf
Oct. 3, 1947. Written to Dunayevskaya in Europe, it includes a response to her critique of the work of C.L.R. James and Grace Lee in the "Interim Period", including her protest against their view of the centrality of the struggle in Palestine, 1947.

(6) "The 31st Anniversary of the Russian Revolution".
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9186.pdf
Outline of a speech by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) to a meeting of the Pittsburgh branch of the Socialist Workers Party, Nov. 14, 1948.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9194.pdf

(8) Natalia Trotsky letters to Dunayevskaya.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9202.pdf
Natalia Trotsky's letters of March 20, 1942 (in Russian); April 29, 1947; May 26, 1951. Also included is Dunayevskaya letter to Natalia Trotsky, March 22, 1951. For the rest of this correspondence, see # 728.

Section III. Philosophic Correspondence, Miners' Strike and the Beginning of the Break-Up of the State-Capitalist Tendency, 1948-55
The letters included in this section supplement the 35 unpublished letters that appear in Vol. III of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection (# 1595 through 1734). For a full view of developments in this period, the documents listed below should be read together with Vol. III of the Collection, beginning at # 1476.

Letters on the eve of Dunayevskaya's translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9209.pdf

Letters after Dunayevskaya's study of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, 1949
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9224.pdf
The Miners’ General Strike of 1949-50 and the Road to the Break-Up of the State-Capitalist Tendency

April 4, 1950 – Dec. 2, 1950

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9234.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9234.pdf)

2. RD to CLRJ. May 5, 1950. On Engels as "my chief enemy".
7. RD to CLRJ. Dec. 2, 1950. On the "placing of our tendency historically".


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9250.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9250.pdf)


March 2, 1951 – Nov. 27, 1951

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9291.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9291.pdf)

11. RD to CLRJ. March 2, 1951. On Bukharin, tying up "intelligensia and labor bureaucracy with plan"
15. RD to CLRJ. June 16, 1951. On the exact date of "Lenin's LEAP" in his Hegel studies.
16. RD to "Hermann" (John Zupan). Sept. 13, 1951. On the new miners' strike and the first issue of mimeographed Correspondence. A division, however, appeared in the Committees even before the first issue of their mimeographed paper, Correspondence.
17. CLRJ to "Irv". Sept. 17, 1951. CLRJ's letter of opposition to "the whole West Virginia business", declaring that even if 500,000 miners struck against John Lewis, it would not change his plans for the newspaper. He did not want to center the newspaper around new worker activity coming out of the 1949-50 miners' general strike.
19. RD to CLRJ. Nov. 23, 1951 and Nov. 27, 1951. Two letters on his "tone."

20. "Two Worlds: Notes from a Diary".

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9328.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9328.pdf)

Selected columns by Dunayevskaya from printed Correspondence, Oct. 3, 1953 through Dec. 25, 1954. The columns appeared unsigned. Subjects include discussion of A.J. Muste and the 1930s; Russia in economic crisis; McCarthy's lawyer, Roy Cohn; the Vorkuta labor camp revolt; David Walker's Appeal; Wendell Phillips and Eugene V. Debs.

Section IV. Marxist-Humanist Archives and International Relations

First Draft of the Marxist-Humanist Archives, July, 1958

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9357.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9357.pdf)

Earliest draft of what would become the "Raya Dunayevskaya Collection." Six-page outline of documents 1941-58, with a cover letter signed by the "REB," written by Dunayevskaya. Outline prepared for the 1958 News and Letters Committees Convention, the first to have a session devoted to international reports. Outline submitted July 17, 1958

European Trip of 1959

"Della sinistra Internazionale: Memorandum Internazionale"

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9364.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9364.pdf)

Article by Dunayevskaya published in Italian in Prometeo, Milan, Italy, March 1957. An earlier article by Dunayevskaya had been published in Prometeo, Spring 1956.

Report on 1958 International meeting in Milan, Italy.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9378.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9378.pdf)
Letter by Bess to Dunayevskaya, July 29, 1958. Handwritten. Excerpts transcribed. Appended to the report are notes on the Milan conference and on discussions with workers, held by Louis Gogol.

Dunayevskaya letters to Bess, while Bess was in Europe as representative of News and Letters Committees.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9396.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9403.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9407.pdf
On preparation for trip to West Europe.

Dunayevskaya's letters to Onorato Damen, Battaglia Communista, Milan, Italy.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9410.pdf
Dec. 18, 1957 through Sept. 2, 1959. On Damen's work in securing the Italian edition of Marxism and Freedom; on the "International Center of Correspondence" established in Milan; on preparations for Dunayevskaya's trip and the International Conference to be held November 1959. DeGaulle's rise to power in France is the focal point of discussion of the objective situation.

Dunayevskaya letters to and from Jean Malaquais, Paris.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9419.pdf
May 28, 1958 through June 6, 1958. On their differing views of DeGaulle's rise to power and on the maturity of the proletariat.

Dunayevskaya letters to and from Maximilien Rubel.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9426.pdf

Dunayevskaya letters to Grandizo Munis.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9429.pdf

Dunayevskaya's letters during her trip to Europe.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9433.pdf
Sept. 11, 1959 through Oct. 30, 1959. Letters written to Marxist-Humanists in the U.S. and to friends in Britain. On preparation for the trip; on prospects for Marxist-Humanism in Britain; on discussions with Harry McShane; on events in Britain, France, and Italy, as well as comments on the African revolutions; on Dunayevskaya lectures and discussions in Italy and in Britain; on the International Conference in Milan, Italy.

Dunayevskaya speech to Italian workers meeting in Genoa, Italy.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9470.pdf
September, 1959. Typescript.

Dunayevskaya speech to meeting in Milan, Italy.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9474.pdf

"Marx's Debt to Hegel"

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9478.pdf

Notes from the International Conference, Milan, Italy. Nov. 8, 1959.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9485.pdf
Notes for speech by Dunayevskaya and discussion.

"State Capitalism and the Bureaucrats"

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9488.pdf

Dunayevskaya letter to Chaulieu and Vega.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9494.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9494.pdf)

Dec. 10, 1959. Letter reports on the decisions taken at the November 1959 Milan conference, which Chaulieu and Vega did not attend. Asks their participation in the discussion following the conference.

"The World Crisis and the Theoretic Void"

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9495.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9495.pdf)

Article by Dunayevskaya published in special section of Prometeo, as part of the work of the International Center of Correspondence. The section was established at the Milan conference, November 1959. Published in French, March 1960, in Prometeo. Included also is the original English text, written by Dunayevskaya, Feb. 2, 1960.

"International Report" by Bess.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9513.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9513.pdf)


"La teoria dell'accumulazione della Luxemburg"

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9517.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9517.pdf)


"Premesse per l'annalisi della crisi Cubana"

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9527.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9527.pdf)


"La Sfida di Mao Tse-tung"

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9533.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9533.pdf)


Africa Trip of 1962


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9573.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9573.pdf)

Written to Marxist-Humanists in the U.S. and other friends. Reports on Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and the Gambia. Includes leaflets, reports on protest meetings and demonstrations, discussions with Nnamdi Azikwe in Nigeria and Leopold Senghor in Senegal. For further discussion on Dunayevskaya's trip to Africa, see her "Weekly Political Letters" written during the trip — April 30, 1962 and May 28, 1962 — and her summation, July 6, 1962. These are included with the full series of Weekly Political Letters, beginning on # 2906. Other reports by Dunayevskaya on Africa begin on # 3184.

Notes on the Gambia.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9600.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9600.pdf)

Taken by Dunayevskaya. On unions, and on the "Independence Manifesto of the Peoples Progressive Party."

Horoya, newspaper from Guinea.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9605.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9605.pdf)

April 10, 1962, issue obtained by Dunayevskaya contains extract of Frantz Fanon's "Wretched of the Earth."

Dunayevskaya letter to Leopold Sedar Senghor.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9608.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9608.pdf)


Dunayevskaya letter (for the National Editorial Board of News & Letters) to Thomas Kanza, UN Ambassador from the Congo.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9609.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9609.pdf)

Sekou Toure, President of Guinea, letter to Dunayevskaya.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9612.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9612.pdf)

A reply to her letter of July 12, 1961.


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9614.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9614.pdf)

Draft of an article for Presence Africaine on "African and American Socialism: Why Not a New International?" For the article as published, see next entry.

"Marxist-Humanism"

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9622.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9622.pdf)


"On the difference between a Political Tendency and a Political Movement"

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9629.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9629.pdf)


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9635.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9635.pdf)


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9675.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9675.pdf)

On correspondence between Nigerian revolutionaries and those in the U.S. Also included is schedule of organizational meetings of "The Marxist-Humanist," Nigeria, 1964.

Japan and Hong Kong Trip, 1965-66

Dunayevskaya letters from Hong Kong and Japan during her trip, Nov. 25, 1965 through Jan. 2, 1966.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9678.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9678.pdf)

Written to Marxist-Humanists in the U.S. and to Japanese friends while in Japan. Includes a postcard sent by Dunayevskaya from Hiroshima. Letters report on meetings, discussions, demonstrations in Japan and Hong Kong during Dunayevskaya's trip. Letters to Japanese revolutionaries include discussion of impact of Maoism, and of future relations between Japanese and U.S. revolutionaries. For more documents from the trip to Japan and Hong Kong, see the section beginning on # 3652.

"Lecture on Hegel in Japan"

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9697.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9697.pdf)

Typescript of lecture given in Tokyo, Jan. 2, 1966 to a group of activists and writers from Zenshin.

Brochure for Dunayevskaya lecture at Nagoya University

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9711.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9711.pdf)


Dunayevskaya correspondence with Japanese friends in preparation for, and as follow-through to, the December 1965-January 1966 trip.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9723.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9723.pdf)

Letters from Feb. 21, 1959 through May 21, 1966. Correspondents are Iwasaki Shigeo; Tadayuki Tsushima; Kenichi Koyama; Yoshimasa Yukiyama; Takaaki Sawa. For Dunayevskaya's analysis of the Japanese New Left that accompanied this correspondence, see her "Weekly Political Letter" of March 5, 1962.

Japanese translations of writings by Dunayevskaya and other Marxist-Humanists.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9743.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9743.pdf)

Included here are Workers Battle Automation, a 1960 pamphlet edited by Charles Denby; and "A New Revision of Marxian Economics" and "The Nature of the Russian Economy" by Dunayevskaya. Published in Japan by the Social Science Research Club, a shipyard workers' group. For other such translations, see # 3753.
Discussion articles from Japan

Published as News and Letters Pre-Convention Bulletin #5, August 1966. Includes contributions from Zenshin on the class struggle in Japan and on the Vietnam War.


Section V. The Battle of Ideas


Section V. The Battle of Ideas

Correspondence with Herbert Marcuse, 1954-1978


Nine letters. Discussion by RD of Hegel's Absolutes begins (Feb. 12, 1955); HM criticizes RD's viewpoint (April 14 and June 22, 1955); HM reads outline of RD's Marxism and Freedom; RD reports on her West Coast lecture tour (Oct. 27, 1955).


17 letters. Begins with HM's comment that RD's ideas are an "oasis in the desert of Marxist thought". Letters center around HM's work to assist RD in finding a publisher for Marxism and Freedom, around RD's writing of a final draft of the book, and on HM's critique of RD's discussion of the American roots of Marxism. Includes RDs "recapitulation" of Marxism and Freedom (June 11, 1957); discussion of HM's preface (July 22, 1957); and tracing of American roots of Marxism (Oct. 11, 1957). Also included are RD letters to John of Nov. 27 and 28, 1956, reporting on RD meeting with Marcuse at Brandeis.


Four letters. After the publication of Marxism and Freedom, RD opens discussion on Hegel's Absolutes, saying that she is thinking of a "supplement" to Marxism and Freedom even before the reviews are in. Includes RD's discussion of relationship of Hegel's Absolutes to Marx (July 15, 1958). Correspondence breaks off in period when DeGaulle comes to power in France and RD prepares for International Conference of state-capitalist groups. See here RD's letters to Damen and other European Marxists, # 9410.


Begins with HM's request for assistance on work-in-progress, One-Dimensional Man (Aug. 8, 1960), and RD's response on automation in current social science literature and in Marx (Aug. 16, 1960). RD writes on the Absolute Idea and the African revolutions (Oct. 16, 1960); on Bukharin, Hegel's Logic and Hegel's
Philosophy of Mind (Nov. 22, 1960). Letters conclude with RD's response to HM's question on "why you need the Absolute Idea" (Jan. 12, 1961). For other discussions of Marxism and Freedom and its ramifications, see reviews by Alasdair MacIntyre, George Lichtheim and others.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9951.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9951.pdf)  

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9966.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9966.pdf)  

Correspondence with Erich Fromm, 1959-1978
Letters between Raya Dunayevskaya (RD) and Erich Fromm (EF), June 6, 1959 through Dec. 8, 1961.  
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9976.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9976.pdf)  
Five letters. Begins with EF's request to RD to translate unpublished writings of Marx for a projected book. RD declines and discusses history of her translations. Letters resume in 1961 with RD's critique of EF's Marx's Concept of Man (Oct. 11, 1961) and EF's reply on the "concrete nature of Marx's Humanism".

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9982.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9982.pdf)  

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10005.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10005.pdf)  
Six letters. Letters include comments by both RD and EF on Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir; RD discussion of Marx's 1841 doctoral thesis (May 16, 1966); and on RD's 1965-66 trip to Japan and her battle of ideas with the non-Stalinist left there, as well as her experience in Hiroshima.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10012.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10012.pdf)  
Seven letters. Includes EF's critique of Marcuse and RD's discussion. Comments also on Czechoslovakia dissidents after the Russian invasion of 1968.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10021.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10021.pdf)  
20 letters. Letters center around publication of Philosophy and Revolution by RD in 1973. EF calls it "a great contribution to the theoretical and hence political situation re socialism" (March 6, 1973). Also includes discussion of EF's book To Have or To Be; EF asks RD for sources for Marx's categories on having and being; RD reports on her experience at 1974 Hegel Society of America conference and confrontation there with Sir T. M. Knox; RD and EF discuss Bukharin; RD responds to joint postcard to her by EF and Mihailo Markovic. Letters conclude with discussion of American Hegelians Putnam and Blow and Putnam's relation to Freud (June 21 and July 8. 1975).

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10049.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10049.pdf)  
Nine letters. Letters begin with EF's preface to German edition of RD's Philosophy and Revolution. Discussion also takes up early ideas by RD on Rosa Luxemburg for her 1982 work, Rosa Luxemburg,
Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Includes EF's comments on Frankfurt School writers Adorno and Horkheimer; RD's discussion of her demand for Freedom of Information Act files; and final exchange of letters on Rosa Luxemburg, with RD's comments on Luxemburg's reference to Penthesilea.

Two Letters on Marxism and philosophy
"Letter to Editor" of Philosophy of Science, by Dunayevskaya.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10062.pdf

"Letter to the Editor" of New York Review of Books, by Dunayevskaya
April 8, 1965. On George Lichtheim's view of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks and Dunayevskaya's discussion of them in Marxism and Freedom. For Lichtheim's review of Marxism and Freedom, see # 10103.

Correspondence with Silvio Frondizi, 1963
Six letters between Dunayevskaya and Silvio Frondizi from March 28, 1963 through June 20, 1963.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10064.pdf
On the possible publication of a Spanish edition of Marxism and Freedom, and on the differences between Frondizi's uniting of philosophy and organization in Argentina and the form of News and Letters Committees in the U.S. For Dunayevskaya's Introduction to the Spanish edition of Marxism and Freedom as it was eventually published in Mexico in 1976, see # 5421.

Articles of Dunayevskaya published in The Activist a "student journal of politics and opinion" (Oberlin, Ohio, 1964-1968)

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10069.pdf

Dialogue with Telos (a journal of radical philosophy), 1970-72
Six letters between Dunayevskaya and Paul Piccone, editor of Telos, 1970-72.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10084.pdf
on her articles for Telos and her participation in Telos conferences of 1970 and 1972. Included also are the announcements for both conferences.

Two Exchanges of Ideas on Dunayevskaya's Philosophy and Revolution

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10093.pdf

On "educators" and "the educated"
A letter by Dunayevskaya in response to an inquiry on "socialist teaching", as published in Studies in Socialist Pedagogy

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10098.pdf

Critical Responses to Dunayevskaya's Major Works: Selected Reviews of Marxism and Freedom; Philosophy and Revolution; Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
Reviews of Marxism and Freedom:

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10103.pdf

- a. Industrial Worker, Chicago. March 17, 1958. (Fred Thompson)  
- g. Mankind, Hyderabad, India. November 1960. (M.T. Khan)  
- i. II Popolo, Rome. Feb. 8, 1963. (Silvio Bertocci)  
- m. Uno Mas Uno, Mexico City. Jan. 30, 1979. (Margarita Sordo)

Reviews of Philosophy and Revolution:

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10129.pdf

- e. Telos, Buffalo, New York. Winter 1974-75. (John O'Neill)  
- h. Uno Mas Uno, Mexico City. May 1979. (Virgilio Torres)  
- l. Africa Today, Denver, Colorado. No. 4, 1982. (Kevin Anderson)  
- m. Local Newsline, New York. March 1985 (Dave Beasley)  
- n. Marxist Review, Calcutta. September 1985 (Gabrielle Dietrich)

Philosophers Index Retrospective Bibliography, 1978.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10216.pdf

Entry on "Raya Dunayevskaya". A summary of Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution by the Philosophy Documentation Center, Bowling Green, Ohio, as published in their "retrospective index to U.S. publications from 1940".

Section VI. The Marxist-Humanist Archives — the New Additions as well as New Findings from the Old

From the March, 1985 Marxist-Humanist Archives Exhibit and Lecture to the August, 1985 National Plenum

"Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts".

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10218.pdf

A lecture by Raya Dunayevskaya and an exhibit prepared by Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, March 21, 1985. On the microfilm is a special section of News & Letters, April, 1985, devoted to coverage of the lecture and exhibit. Includes presentation by Dunayevskaya on her life and work; "Raya Dunayevskaya's living archives" by Eugene Walker; "Origins of Black Marxism" by Lou Turner; "Readers' Views from the Archives lecture audience", edited by Michael Connolly.

"Marxist-Humanism, an interview with Raya Dunayevskaya".

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10228.pdf

"Youth and the Dialectics of Revolution Today" by Ida Fuller.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10234.pdf

"Political-Philosophic Notes on Reagan's Visit to Bitburg".

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10236.pdf

"Garvey Papers, Vol. III"

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10239.pdf

"Dunayevskaya on Rosa Luxemburg, women and revolution: a response to Peter Beilharz"

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10241.pdf

Rosa Luxemburgo, la liberacion feminina y la filosofia marxista de la revolucion

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10244.pdf
by Raya Dunayevskaya. Spanish edition of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, published by Fondo de Cultura Economica in Mexico City, Mexico, 1985. Translated by Juan Jose Utrilla. Two major excerpts from this work were published in Spanish in advance of their publication in book form: a. "Los Cuadernos Etnologicos de Marx" by Raya Dunayevskaya. Selections from Ch. 12 of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution on Karl Marx's Ethnological Notebooks. Published in Criticas de la Economia Politica, 22/23, 1984, a special issue devoted to "Karl Marx: Life and Work". b. "Teorias de la revolucion permanente" by Raya Dunayevskaya. Selections from Ch. 11 and the Afterword to Ch. 11 of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution organized in such a way as to present and contrast Luxemburg, Trotsky and Marx on theories of permanent revolution. Published in Criticas de la Economia Politica, No. 26, 1985, a special issue devoted to "Revolutionary Theory and Action."

Pre-Plenum Discussion 1985: Documents from the News and Letters Committees Bulletins.

These include:

Pre-Plenum Discussion Bulletin #1, July, 1985.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10266.pdf
Selected articles are: "Official Call for 1985 Plenum" by the Resident Editorial Board; "A Revolutionary Critical Look Over the Historic Barrier" by Jim Mills; "Marx's Ethnological Notebooks: Its Relation to Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution" by Peter Wermuth; "An Exchange of Letters between Roy and Raya on Philosophy and Revolution".

"A 1980s View of Youth as a Revolutionary Category"

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10306.pdf
by Peter, Los Angeles. Published in Pre-Plenum Discussion Bulletin #4, August, 1985.

Pre-Plenum Discussion Bulletin #5, August, 1985.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10318.pdf

"Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1985-86"
A Retrospective/Perspective Look at 30 Years of News & Letters: From the 1985 Plenum to the New Edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought
"Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1985-86"


"The Undeclared and Ongoing Civil War in South Africa"

by Raya Dunayevskaya. A lead article in News & Letters, October 1985, which expands the analysis of South African events and the task of Marxist-Humanists given by Dunayevskaya at the 1985 Plenum.

"A View of Forms of Revolutionary Journalism: on the Road to a Bi-Weekly News & Letters"

by Eugene Walker, Managing Editor. Published as Post-Plenum Bulletin #1, September 1985. A report to the 1985 Plenum.

Post-Plenum Bulletin #3, October 1985

"Still another version of the dialectic?"


"Geneva 1985: the summit that wasn't"


"A Decade in the Methodology of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives—1975-1985"

by Eugene Walker. Published as a News and Letters Discussion Bulletin, January 1986. Includes a study of ten years of Marxist-Humanist Perspective Theses; an Index to both Draft and Full Perspectives, 1975-85; and a reprinting of the Table of Contents of each of them.

First Farsi publication of Karl Marx: Economic Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.

Published by Anjoman Azadi (Iranian Marxist-Humanists), January 1986. Includes an Introduction to the Farsi edition by Raya Dunayevskaya, and a Preface by Raha, an Iranian revolutionary in exile.

"New Beginnings that Determine the End".


"The concrete-Universal: a retrospective/perspective look at thirty years of News & Letters".


Volume XII concludes on 10637.
SUPPLEMENT TO THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION

MARXIST-HUMANISM: A HALF-CENTURY OF ITS WORLD DEVELOPMENT

Up to Dunayevskaya's death in 1987, all volumes of the Collection were organized by her. For this reason, subsequent volumes, which were organized by others, are designated as "Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection." News & Letters, the newspaper of the Marxist-Humanist organization, News and Letters Committees, is available 1955 to the present online at www.newsandletters.org/category/newspaper/.

Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection


Section I, Presentations and Notes on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: 'the party' and forms of organization born out of spontaneity" [#10664-11001]

Section II, "The Changed World": Current Events and the Dialectic Method [#11002-11214]

Section III, The Battle of Ideas: Philosophic Correspondence and Reviews [#11215-11448]

Section IV, Retrospective/Perspective: "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism" [#11449-11627]


Section I, The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism [#11723-11784]

Section II, Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 until Today [#11785-12196]

Section III, Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and From Marx to Mao [#12197-14190]

Section IV, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution [#14191-15378]

Volume XV: From the Marx Centenary Year to Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, and from Reagan's Invasion of Grenada to Raya Dunayevskaya's Work on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" [#15379-17358]

Section I, 1983—The year of projecting a new category, "post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative" [#15410-16139]

Section II, 1984—"Not By Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory" [#16140-16321]

Section III, 1985—From the projection of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution to "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Retrospective and Perspective" [#16322-16830]
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The sudden death of Raya Dunayevskaya on June 9, 1987, halted in midcourse her intense probing on the question she called "the dialectics of organization and philosophy," the subject which was her preoccupation in the last years of her life. Her 1982 book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, had concluded: "It is not a question only of meeting the challenge from practice, but of being able to meet the challenge from the self-development of the Idea, and of deepening theory to the point where it reaches Marx's concept of the philosophy of 'revolution in permanence.'" Before that work was even off the press, Dunayevskaya offered a new paragraph that added:

*This is the further challenge to the form of organization which we have worked out as the committee-form rather than the "party-to-lead." But, though committee-form and "party-to-lead" are opposites, they are not absolute opposites. At the point when the theoretic-form reaches philosophy, the challenge demands that we synthesize not only the new relations of theory to practice, and all the forces of revolution, but philosophy's "suffering, patience and labor of the negative," i.e. experiencing absolute negativity."

For the last five years of her life Dunayevskaya labored to concretize that "absolute opposite" in the dialectics of organization and philosophy. No subject she took up, whether analyses of current world events or participation in dialogues with activists in freedom struggles, was separated from this work.

By 1986 Dunayevskaya began work on a projected new book, which she had tentatively titled *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: 'the party' and forms of organization born out of spontaneity*. That book was left unfinished at her death; she did not leave any chapters in manuscript form. Her work in 1986-87 did, however, approach the subject in correspondence with scholars and activists, in journalism on world events, in presentations to Marxist-Humanist colleagues, and in a whole new kind of dialogue she created in that last year, which she variously called "Talking to Myself", "Random Thoughts", or just "Notes".
In these last writings Dunayevskaya explored new perceptions of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence, precisely at the point of Lenin's greatest philosophic breakthrough — on Hegel's Idea of Cognition and on the threshold of the Absolute Idea. She projected a new view of Hegel's *Phenomenology*, both in relation to Marx's 1844 Essays and as pivotal to confronting the problems of the dialectics of organization today. She dug into a study of forms of organization — from the International Workingmen's Association to the Soviets and from the Bolsheviks to the Hungarian Revolution. Her final work, the presentation Dunayevskaya wrote for the June 1, 1987, meeting of the Resident Editorial Board of *News & Letters*, singled out the philosophic point from which the Self-determination of the Idea unfolds, whether in Hegel's 1807 work on the *Phenomenology*, Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays, or in Dunayevskaya's own 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. The driving force in all of these studies was Dunayevskaya's re-examination of her own archives, especially these 1953 Letters. She called that process of re-examination "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism."

Archives were central to Dunayevskaya's work throughout her life, beginning with her 1940s translations of Marx's 1844 *Humanist Essays* and Lenin's *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic*. Her own unique concept and practice of the archives of Marxist-Humanism was developed in part from her critique of the attitudes of "post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels" to Marx's archives.

With her first donation of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection to Wayne State University in 1969, Dunayevskaya sought to share and record the development of the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas, its method, its test in world events, its battles with other revolutionary ideas, while she lived. She approved the documents to be included, organized the categories of their presentation, and wrote the introductory texts. The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Vols. I-XII, thus represents not only a vast assemblage of Marxist-Humanism's documents, but her concept of the organization of Marxist-Humanist thought, its categories.

In February 1986 Dunayevskaya expanded her archives with the donation of Volume XII: "Retrospective/Perspective — the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, 1924-1986." Here she traced what she called the "biography of an idea," from her earliest work in the 1920s, through her posing of questions "against all established Marxists" during the Spanish Civil War, to her most current writing, a new Introduction/Overview to the 1986 edition of *Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought*. As she donated these documents she summed up her concept of archives:

The whole question of the relationship of any ongoing event with the past, with the very concept of Archives, depends on the two opposite words — continuity and discontinuity. Whereas only great divides in epochs, in cognition, in personality, are crucial, and may relate to turning points in history, no discontinuity can really achieve that type of new epochal "moment" unless it has established continuity with the historic course of human development.

The present work, Volume XIII, is the first not organized by Dunayevskaya herself. For this reason, we have designated this volume and all subsequent volumes which we will donate as "Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection." In donating this Volume XIII only eight months after Dunayevskaya's death, and by including in it documents not edited by her for publication, we seek to sharply contrast Marxist-
Humanism's attitude to the archives of a founder, with those post-Marx Marxists of whom Raya asked: "Why a century to publish the whole of Marx?"

At the same time we seek to underline the importance of the last writings of an epochal thinker, writings which as a final determination in the journey of the Idea of freedom, reach both back to the philosophic moment of the Idea's birth and forward into the future.

The outpouring of sorrow at Dunayevsky's death and the deep appreciation of her life from friends around the globe point to the objectivity of her last writings and her whole body of ideas. It demands that we continue the work of making Raya's documents available for study by all. For this purpose, the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund has been established. We hope to be able to add new volumes to the "Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection" in the near future.

Michael Flug, archivist for The Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund*

February 22, 1988

The Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund was established in July, 1987. Its trustees are Robert French and Franklin Bell. The Fund can be reached at rdmf@rayadunayevskaya.org

News & Letters, the newspaper of the Marxist-Humanist organization, News and Letters Committees, is available 1955 to the present online at www.newsandletters.org/category/newspaper/.

Section I. Presentations and Notes on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: 'the party' and forms of organization born out of spontaneity"

A. Presentations on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" to News and Letters Committees

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10664.pdf

1. In Lieu of Minutes of REB Meeting of August 5, 1986 on Executive Session.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10665.pdf

Excerpts from presentation by Dunayevskaya, August 6, 1986. Also included here is a copy of "In Lieu of REB Minutes" as marked-up by Dunayevskaya, May, 1987.

2. Dear Friends letter by Dunayevskaya on "the point of collectivity as the whole organization becomes central to the book-to-be".

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10677.pdf


3. Presentation by Dunayevskaya to the REB on Dec. 1, 1986.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10678.pdf

On "A Whiff of the New Book in relation to the Changes in the Editorial Statement..." Also included here is original draft of presentation by Dunayevskaya.

4. The Year of Only 8 Months.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10690.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10727.pdf
On "What has happened to our projection of Marxist-Humanism — that a difference seems to have emerged in two aspects of the dialectics of organization between 1) the concept, and 2) organizational growth as a 'practical question'?". Also includes excerpts from "Dear Friends" letter of March 24, 1987 on the presentation. Marginalia on both documents made by Dunayevskaya, May, 1987.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10734.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10734.pdf)
On "Why a Special Supplement on 'Why Phenomenology? Why Now?'". Also includes excerpts from "Dear Friends" letter of April 21, 1987 on the presentation.

7. Presentation by Dunayevskaya written for REB meeting of June 1, 1987
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10737.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10737.pdf)
and characterized by her as "Pre-pre-Post Plenum, i.e. Executive Session Type of Talk". This manuscript, which Dunayevskaya had prepared for oral delivery, was not checked by her for presentation in written form. It is included here in two forms: 1) as published in a mimeographed bulletin by News and Letters Committees in November 1987, and 2) as originally prepared by Dunayevskaya on June 1, 1987. Also included is a "reading outline" for the talk by Dunayevskaya on June 1, 1987.

B. "Talking to Myself": Dunayevskaya's Notes for the "book-to-be"
In June, 1986, Dunayevskaya began writings of a new kind for the book-to-be, which she variously called "Talking to Myself", "Random Thoughts", or just "Notes". As she sought to deepen new philosophic insights for her work on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy", she re-examined her own body of ideas on Hegel, Marx, Lenin and Marxist-Humanism. Some of the documents are drafts for works later developed in another form; others contain material Dunayevskaya discussed only here. These documents are presented as Dunayevskaya left them. They have not been edited, and only one (Jan. 21, 1987, #20 below, or page 10848) was checked by Dunayevskaya for publication in any written form.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10769.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10769.pdf)
Developed from an earlier letter on philosophy and organization in the Iranian Revolution, written May 5, 1986. On Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind (1807) as "ground for the Absolutes", including Hegel's "three final syllogisms" (1830) added to his Philosophy of Mind.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10770.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10770.pdf)
On Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind, and commentary on it by Gustav Emil Mueller.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10772.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10772.pdf)
A critique of Dunayevskaya's own 1960 study of Hegel's Phenomenology, and comments on a 1982 symposium at L'Université d'Ottawa (Canada) on the meaning of Hegel's "Absolute Spirit".

4. Notes on Louis Dupré's article "Hegel's Absolute Spirit: A Religious Justification of Secular Culture"
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10779.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10779.pdf)

5. Notes on Dialectics of Liberation pamphlet. 
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10781.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10781.pdf)
Dictated by Dunayevskaya Sept. 29, 1986. Marked-up by her and noted as "uncorrected". A view of the path to writing Dunayevskaya's 1960 Notes on Hegel's major works, and of their reception within News and Letters Committees.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10785.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10785.pdf)
On "the long, tortuous road of the two decades between 1953 and 1973".

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10788.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10788.pdf)
Notes on organization and religion in Hegel.
8. Talking to Myself on mathematics and science in Hegel, in Marx, in Russia of the 1930s and today.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10790.pdf
Written Nov. 5, 1986. First page missing. Followed by "Some very Rough Notes for a Letter if I will decide to write one, to Robert Cohen".

9. Notes after Talking to Myself that was Random Thoughts #4.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10798.pdf
Written Nov. 7, 1986. On Marx and the First International in the period 1871 to 1874.

10. Talking to Myself in relationship to all the people (who have done research for Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10800.pdf
Written Nov. 14, 1986. On studies on Marx by Johnston, Cunliffe and Rossanda; on studies on Lenin by Service; on Lasalle and Mehring; on Pannekoek and Mattick.

11. On Third Attitude to Objectivity.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10811.pdf
Written Nov. 15, 1986. On paragraphs 62 through 78 of Hegel's Encyclopedia Logic. Another document on "Third Attitude to Objectivity" was written by Dunayevskaya on Nov. 7, 1986. It is missing.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10813.pdf
Notes on the development of Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy.

13. Very Rough First Look at what I might develop for Dec. 1 REB.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10814.pdf
Written Nov. 15, 1986. On "the new that is being combined at one and the same time, of 1) transforming News & Letters into a biweekly, and 2) seriously plunging into a new kind of book on the Dialectic of Organization AND Philosophy". Marginalia on this document are by Michael Connolly.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10816.pdf
Written about Nov. 15, 1986. Also includes fragment by Dunayevskaya of much earlier notes on methodology — comments on a page of CLR James' 1948 work, "Notes on Dialectics."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10821.pdf
Written Nov. 18, 1986.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10825.pdf

17. Substitutionism, or Theory/Philosophy.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10830.pdf
Written Dec. 17, 1986. On "the party" and philosophy in "post-Marx Marxism". Includes also one page fragment on this question as taken up in Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom.

18. Very rough sudden decision to include Phenomenology pretty much at the beginning (of presentation for Jan. 3, 1987 Expanded REB Meeting).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10837.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10846.pdf
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10848.pdf
A 1987 view of Dunayevskaya's 1953 letters on Hegel's Absolutes. This is the only one of the "Talking to Myself" documents mimeographed and sent to friends for individual study.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10852.pdf
Review of "Random Thoughts" on Phenomenology since Sept. 1986. Includes within text a fragment from "Talking to Myself" written Oct. 6, 1986

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10856.pdf

23. No title. Notes by Dunayevskaya for her secretaries. 
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10860.pdf

24. What is Marxist-Humanism? Prolegomena as introductory stimulant to reconsideration of '1, not 2' in 1951.  
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10863.pdf
Written March 8, 1987. Fragment only.

25. Post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative: why did it take till the end of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (RLWLKM) before it was so expressed...? 
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10865.pdf
Written March 9, 1987. Quotation from Hegel on "artificer" has been removed, and now appears in April 3 document.

26. Re: Chapter 12, RLWLKM.  
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10867.pdf

27. What is Marxist-Humanism? How to Project it at Momentous Historic Moments?  
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10869.pdf

28. Off the top of my head. 
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10877.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10880.pdf

30. (From 3/16/87) Why Phenomenology? Why Now? What is the Relationship either to Organization, or to Philosophy, not Party, 1984-87? 
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10883.pdf

31. No title. Notes on Pannekoek, especially letter from Pannekoek to Chaulieu (Castoriadis), dated Nov. 8, 1953.  
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10901.pdf
Written April 4, 1987. Includes discussion of research by Peter Wermuth on Pannekoek and Mattick.
32. On Organization.


33. The Organization, the Paper, the Book–All Equal Philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. All were grounded in May, 1953.


34. One possible outline for Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy.

Dictated by Dunayevskaya May 11, 1987. Marked "keep for pre-Plenum".

35. Talking to Myself: Crucial on Book, yet 1953 as concept vs. experience.


36. Another Talking to Myself, this time on what has happened since "Not by Practice Alone", 1984-87.


37. New Beginnings, Historic Turning Points, Great Divides.

Handwritten May 24, 1987, but not dictated until May 28. Includes a first outline of "parts" for Dunayevskaya's presentation for the June 1, 1987 REB meeting, and a review of research by colleagues on Marx and organization.

38. Notes on the relationship of the Philosophic Moment to Organization in Marx.

Written May 25, 1987. Parts of this document were used in the writing of Dunayevskaya's June 1, 1987 presentation.

39. No title. On the "residue of the intellectual sloth that followed the death of Lenin", and on "Organization and becoming practicing dialecticians".


Dictated May 28, 1987. First pages dictated to Olga Domanski, the handwriting is by Dunayevskaya.

41. No title. Notes on the June 1 presentation.


43. Parts for June 1 presentation.

Written May 29, 1987. Outline for talk to REB.

44. On Form of Presentation, Talking to Myself.

Written May 29, 1987. Notes on the form of the June 1 presentation and the "meaning of the global crisis, and not abstractly, but organizationally, i.e. its philosophic ground."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10989.pdf
Notes written May 29, 1987. On the 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes; on "the books and the moment".
46. An Aside.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10994.pdf

47. "Conclusion" for June 1, directly, finally, on the question of "where to" with the biweekly.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10997.pdf
Written May 30, 1987. This is a different final section than that actually written on June 1, 1987 for the final draft of the presentation.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11000.pdf
Written June 6, 1987. Notes handwritten by Dunayevskaya June 6, 1987 while in the hospital. Written on the back of her Oct. 1982 Political-Philosophic Letter "On the Battle of Ideas", which she had included in both the June 1 presentation and her last "Theory/Practice" column for News & Letters.

Section II. "The Changed World": Current Events and the Dialectic Method

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11002.pdf
A. Reagan's attacks in the Gulf of Sidra and Marxist-Humanist Perspectives

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11003.pdf
Written March 27, 1986. On Reagan's attacks against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra and "the practice of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives". Written by Dunayevskaya while she was hospitalized with a broken leg.
2. Dear Colleagues letter.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11005.pdf
Written by Dunayevskaya April 10, 1986. On the relationship of the U.S. assault in the Gulf of Sidra to the "historic roots of global counter-revolution" as seen in 1936-37 in Spain; and on organizational response to moments of crisis.
3. Pre-pre-Convention Bulletin: Responses to the March 27 'Special/Special/Special' and Raya's April 10 Letter to Colleagues.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11008.pdf
Published by News and Letters Committees, May 1, 1986. Bulletin includes introductory letter of April 28, 1986 by Dunayevskaya on "organizational responsibility for the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism"; letters from Kevin A. Barry and Peter Wermuth to Dunayevskaya in response to her earlier letters; comments on the current crisis and Marxist-Humanist response by Felix Martin. Copy included here is Dunayevskaya's; she appended her letters of March 27 and April 10 to the bulletin. Marginalia on cover and on last pages is by Dunayevskaya.
4. Official Call for Convention.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11020.pdf
Written June 1, 1986 and signed by "Resident Editorial Board" of News and Letters Committees. Principal author was Dunayevskaya. A first, preliminary, view of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for Convention to be held Aug. 30-31, 1986.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11026.pdf
Written June 17, 1986, and signed by "Resident Editorial Board". Principal author was Dunayevskaya. Copy included here was printed in News & Letters, July, 1986.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11035.pdf

B. Revolutionary Journalism of Dunayevskaya in the pages of News & Letters
1. Lesotho coup, Savimbi and Reagan.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11057.pdf
A brief analysis of the Reagan-Botha agenda for Southern Africa, written Feb. 16, 1986 as part of presentation by Dunayevskaya to the first in a series of "Workshops/Classes" on "Current World Events and the Dialectic Method". Copy included here published in N&L, April, 1986. Also included is brochure for the workshops.

2. Stop Reagan's Acts of War!.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11060.pdf

3. Open letter to Paul Buhle.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11061.pdf
Written May 1, 1986. An exposé of "wide-ranging distortions of the history of the State-Capitalist Tendency" in oral history interviews by Grace Lee Boggs and James Boggs, as recorded by Buhle's "Oral History of the American Left" project. Copy included here published in N&L, June, 1986. Also included here is an exchange of letters between Dunayevskaya and Fred Shelley, written May 18 and May 26, 1987, on Buhle's book, Marxism in the USA.

4. In Memoriam for Pat (Eve Strong).
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11068.pdf
Written June 30, 1986, two days after the death of this labor and women's liberation activist and writer for N&L. Published in N&L, Aug.-Sept., 1986.

5. In Memoriam — Joe Giganti.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11069.pdf

6. Ongoing world revolts and economic crises challenge superpower grip.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11072.pdf

7. Reagan, Gorbachev in Iceland: all things fall apart.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11075.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11085.pdf
Editorial statement by Dunayevskaya written Nov. 25, 1986, and published in N&L, Dec. 1986. On the emerging Iran-contra scandal, the "changed world" of the 1980s, and the need to increase the frequency of appearance of N&L.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11087.pdf
10. Whither China?

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11088.pdf

11. Two of a kind: Reagan and Gorbachev and their bipolar world.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11125.pdf
"Theory/Practice" column written in two parts — March 14 and March 28, 1987. Published in N&L issues of March 27 and April 10, 1987. Included also are Dunayevskaya's drafts for the first column. These are dated March 8 and March 13, 1987.

12. Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11144.pdf
A Special Supplement in N&L, May 8, 1987. Includes 1) New Introduction by Dunayevskaya, written May 1, 1987, on the todayness of Hegel's Phenomenology; 2) Dunayevskaya's original "Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind (Geist)", written Dec. 12, 1960; 3) "Further comments on Hegel's concept of tragedy", from a letter written by Dunayevskaya Nov. 17, 1968. One paragraph was added May 1, 1987 to the original 1960 Notes. This paragraph concerns Hegel's citation, in the Science of Logic's chapter on "The Idea of Cognition", to the Phenomenology's section on "Spirit Certain of Itself: Morality".

13. Russia's latest play is no freedom road.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11154.pdf

14. Reader's View sent to News & Letters by Dunayevskaya

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11162.pdf

15. On political divides and philosophic new beginnings.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11163.pdf
"Theory/Practice" column written by Dunayevskaya from her hospital bed on June 5, 1987. A re-examination of her Oct. 1982 Political-Philosophic Letter entitled "On the Battle of Ideas; Philosophic-Theoretic Points of Departure as Political Tendencies Respond to the Objective Situation", in light of her new work on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy". This is the last writing Dunayevskaya prepared for publication. (For the text of the 1982 letter, see #7486.)

C. Writings to Colleagues and Friends on Revolutionary Forces – the Black Dimension, Workers, Women, Youth – and the Force of Philosophy Within Each

1. Presentation to the REB on New Edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11165.pdf
Jan. 12, 1986. Discussion of what is new in this 1986 edition of the pamphlet by Lou Turner and John Alan originally published in 1978. Dunayevskaya's presentation centers on the new Introduction written by Dunayevskaya, Turner and Alan, and on the new Appendices on Negritude and on the 1983 events in Grenada. Included here also is Dunayevskaya's draft of her presentation. (For the text of the 1986 edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, see #10528.)

2. Dunayevskaya letter to John Alan

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11171.pdf
3. Dunayevskaya letter "to all organizers"

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11173.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11173.pdf)

written Jan. 22, 1986. On publication by Críticas de Economica Politica (Mexico City) of excerpts from Dunayevskaya's Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution; on new correspondence on the Middle East; on the "new" in the new edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought.

4. Dunayevskaya letter to Cyrus Noveen

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11175.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11175.pdf)


5. Dunayevskaya letter to Middle East scholar Hanna Batatu

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11178.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11178.pdf)


6. Dunayevskaya letter to Saikou (a Gambian correspondent)

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11179.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11179.pdf)

written April 1, 1986. On the Third World and the superpowers since World War II.

7. Dunayevskaya letter to Neda Azad

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11182.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11182.pdf)

written May 5, 1986 (excerpts). On revolution and counter-revolution in Iran and Hegel's development from Phenomenology of Mind to his three final syllogisms, written in 1830. Also included here are excerpts from Dunayevskaya's draft of her letter to Azad.


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11185.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11185.pdf)

On the Black Dimension in Marxist-Humanism. Includes discussion of Dunayevskaya's experiences in Black freedom struggles in the 1920s and 1940s.


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11187.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11187.pdf)

Notes by Dunayevskaya for Terry Moon, as part of a dialogue on a draft of Moon's report to be given to a national meeting of Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees, Aug. 29, 1986. Letter written July 28, 1986. Marginalia are by Terry Moon.

10. Dunayevskaya letter to Franklin Dmitryev

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11190.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11190.pdf)


11. Youth of the '80s, Youth of the '60s, in a Changed World.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11193.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11193.pdf)

Dunayevskaya's notes for her speech given Oct. 30, 1986 at University of Illinois-Chicago. This presentation, and another one at Northern Illinois University on April 13, 1987, entitled Youth of the 1980s, Youth of the 1960s: The 'Other America' and the Idea of Freedom, were her last public appearances. Also included here are reports on both meetings by student journalists in The Chicago Illini and The Northern Star. (Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs holds videotapes of both of these meetings in their photographic archives.)

12. Dunayevskaya letter to Terry Moon

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11204.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11204.pdf)

written Nov. 4, 1986. On Women's Liberation and the Myriad Global Crises pamphlet by Dunayevskaya.

13. Dunayevskaya letter to Neda Azad

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11206.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11206.pdf)


14. Dunayevskaya letter to Ron Brokmeyer

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11207.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11207.pdf)


15. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues"

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11208.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11208.pdf)

16. Dunayevskaya letter to Lou Turner

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11210.pdf

17. Notes on William Blake

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11211.pdf
sent to Kevin A. Barry and Peter Wermuth for projection to a student who had asked Dunayevskaya about Blake when they met at Dunayevskaya's lecture at Northern Illinois University. Notes written April 22, 1987.

18. Dunayevskaya letter to Lou Turner

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11213.pdf
written April 24, 1987. On Turner's recent trip to the South and the "ever-developing creativity" of struggles there.

19. Dunayevskaya letter to Katherine Davenport

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11214.pdf

Section III. The Battle of Ideas: Philosophic Correspondence and Reviews

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11215.pdf

A. Dialogue with "Non-Marxist Hegel scholars"

1. Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and George Armstrong Kelly (1932-1987).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11216.pdf
Letters of Sept. 26, Oct. 6, and Dec. 8, 1986 and April 17, 1987. Correspondence centers on 1) Dunayevskaya's new view of the relationship between the "Idea of Cognition" as Hegel expressed it in the Science of Logic and as he re-stated it in the smaller Logic, and the interpretation of both by Lenin in his Philosophic Notebooks; 2) on Hegel's "Third Attitude to Objectivity" in the smaller Logic, and its relation to organization — of the Church and of thought.

2. Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Louis Dupré.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11228.pdf

3. Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Arnold V. Miller.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11239.pdf
Letters of Nov. 17 and Dec. 12, 1986. Correspondence concerns Miller's translation of the last four paragraphs of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind (Spirit), and Miller's assessment of the Wallace translation of the Encyclopedia Logic, especially the section on "Third Attitude to Objectivity". Included here is Miller's translation (unpublished) of the final four paragraphs of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind (Spirit).

4. Dunayevskaya letter to Warren Steinkraus

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11248.pdf

B. Dialogue with Marxist-Humanists on the Hegelian-Marxian Dialectic

1. Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11251.pdf
written Jan. 30, 1986, on "private enclaves" and the critique of them in Hegel's Science of Logic and in Lenin's notes on the chapter on "Life" from that work.

2. Dunayevskaya letters to Lou Turner

3. Dunayevskaya letters to Franklin Dmitryev


4. Correspondence between Kevin A. Barry and Dunayevskaya.


5. Dunayevskaya letter to John W.

written July 13, 1986. On attitudes to Hegel's Absolutes, in Dunayevskaya's own work and in her correspondence with Marcuse.

6. Dunayevskaya letter to Michael Connolly

written Sept. 26, 1986. On her new work on the dialectic in Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind; on Dunayevskaya's plans to reprint her 1960 Notes on Phenomenology, with a new Preface by her.

7. Correspondence between Kevin A. Barry and Dunayevskaya


8. Michael Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya


9. Dunayevskaya letter to Wayne Carter


10. Eugene Walker letter to Dunayevskaya


11. Michael Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya

written March 31, 1987. A comparison of the German original, the Baillie translation and the Miller translation, of the last paragraph of Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind. Marginalia on letter are by Dunayevskaya. Also included here is Dunayevskaya's one-page comparison of the two translations, with her notes.


A guest "Theory/Practice" column on Dunayevskaya's recent work written by Eugene Walker, and published in N&L, April 24, 1987.

13. Correspondence between Kevin A. Barry and Dunayevskaya.

C. On the Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas and its expression within Women's Liberation: Reviews and Correspondence

1. Living the Revolution.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11293.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11293.pdf)


2. Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Louis Dupré

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11310.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11310.pdf)

Published in Owl of Minerva (Villanova, Pa.), Vol. 18, No. 1 (Fall 1986).

3. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Diane Lee

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11313.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11313.pdf)


4. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Michelle Landau

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11320.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11320.pdf)

Published in Off Our Backs (Washington, D.C.), March, 1986. Also included here is a letter from Dunayevskaya to Landau on her review, written March 10, 1986.

5. Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Meridel LeSueur.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11326.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11326.pdf)

Letters of April 4 through April 25, 1986. On LeSueur's reading of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, and on her own life experience as a radical in the Midwest; on the concept of "retrospective/perspective"; and on the international women's conference in Kenya.

6. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Anne Jaclard

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11334.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11334.pdf)

Published in Womanews (New York), April, 1986.

7. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Laurie Cashdan

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11335.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11335.pdf)

Published in The South End, student newspaper at Wayne State University (Detroit, Michigan), April 22, 1986.

8. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Susan Van Gelder

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11337.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11337.pdf)

Published in Women's Studies News (East Lansing, Michigan), Spring, 1986.

9. Feministe et revolutionnaire

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11340.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11340.pdf)


10. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, by John F. Welsh
11. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, by Flora Crater

12. Recent Writings of R. Dunayevskaya. Article by Kevin Anderson

13. Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution and Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, by Kevin Anderson


Section IV. Retrospective/Perspective: "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism"

1. The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II

2. Dunayevskaya letter "to all organizers"

3. Presentation by Dunayevskaya given to the REB Feb. 13, 1986


5. The Trail to the 1980s from the 1880s: Marx's New Moments and Those in Our Age
originally available only on videotape, was reproduced in this form for the 1986 Convention of News and Letters Committees.

6. Remarks by Dunayevskaya at REB Meeting of May 12, 1986.
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11533.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11533.pdf)
   Comments on Vol. XII of her archives and points of departure for today; on "how long it took to penetrate to the Absolute Idea, the process."

7. Dunayevskaya letter to Susan van Gelder
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11534.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11534.pdf)

8. Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11535.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11535.pdf)

9. The Black-Red Conference.
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11554.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11554.pdf)
   A News and Letters Committees Reprint of the proceedings of a conference originally held in Detroit, Michigan, Jan. 12, 1969. Bulletin includes: Welcome by Charles Denby; Introduction by Ray McKay; Presentation by Ray Dunayevskaya, on her work-in-progress, Philosophy and Revolution; excerpts from the six-hour discussion. Reprint published August, 1986. Also included here are comments on the reprint by Dunayevskaya, from a "Dear Friends" letter written May 29, 1986.

10. Dunayevskaya letter to "G. and J."
    link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11572.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11572.pdf)
    written Sept. 21, 1986. On collectivity and the responsibilities of the National Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees.

11. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues"
    link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11574.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11574.pdf)
    written Nov. 3, 1986. On the "very near disappearance from our vocabulary of the phrase 'organizational growth'". Marginalia on the letter were made by Dunayevskaya in May, 1987.

12. Dunayevskaya letter to M. Franki
    link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11578.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11578.pdf)
    written Nov. 15, 1986. On questions of philosophy in the Johnson-Forest Tendency in the period 1948-53; on attitudes to "Humanism".

13. Dunayevskaya letter to "I. and G."
    link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11580.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11580.pdf)

14. Presentation written for "Humanism and Marxism" session of the Midwest Sociological Society
    link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11582.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11582.pdf)


Volume XIII concludes on # 11627.
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the last year of Raya Dunayevskaya's life, as she worked on a projected new book, which she had tentatively titled *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: 'The Party' and Forms of Organization Born Out of Spontaneity*, her studies turned again and again to a reexamination of the whole Marxist-Humanist body of ideas. By March, 1987, after more than three decades of experience with the concretization of Marxist-Humanism as organization, as journalism, as archives, she asked: "What Is Marxist-Humanism? How to Project It at Momentous Historic Moments?" Her probing spanned the years from her first book, *Marxism and Freedom* (1957), through *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973) to the final work in what she called her "trilogy of revolution," *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982).

During her 1986-87 studies, Dunayevskaya became dissatisfied with what she considered the "incompleteness" of the archives of Marxist-Humanism, the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, despite the fact that Vol. XII, completed in 1986, had extended the reach of the Collection back to 1924 and so expanded the number of documents that it now totaled more than 10,000 pages. She sought to "disclose the process of development of the philosophic dimension" even more fully, and requested 1) that an inventory be taken of the "chapter files" created during the writing of *Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*; and 2) that an attempt be made to locate draft chapters and letters from the writing of *Marxism and Freedom*. No work was undertaken on either of these requests before Dunayevskaya's death.

After the donation of Vol. XIII, Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, in February, 1988, work was begun on the present volume, which seeks to document, as fully as possible, the process of development of Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution," from her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes to the paragraphs she added in 1982-83 to *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* after the book was already set in type.

This volume includes "chapter files" of documents created by Dunayevskaya during the writing of *Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. The files for the former book had been organized in their present form by Dunayevskaya before that book was published; the files for the latter were organized by Dunayevskaya's secretary and colleague, Olga Domanski, after publication. Draft Chapters, Tables of Contents and Outlines for all three books were taken from files in Dunayevskaya's home and in the office of the Marxist-
Humanist organization, News and Letters Committees. Also included here are correspondence, presentations and notes, selected from Dunayevskaya's files, the files of News and Letters Committees, and from donations made by those with whom Dunayevskaya corresponded.

In the arrangement and description of the documents included in Vol. XIV, we were able to draw on the concept and practice of archives Dunayevskaya developed throughout her life. By 1986 she held that:

"The significance of Archives for any Marxist-Humanist has, as ground, what we learned from Marx's Archives, especially from the writings in his last decade, and especially the Ethnological Notebooks which were first transcribed in 1972... These Notebooks so integrally related the 'new moments' of Marx's last decade that it made it possible to grasp Marx's Marxism as a totality. In a word, the new moments of his last decade, and the very first writings of his break from capitalism and his founding of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution in 1843-44, were one continuous development of what Marx called a 'new Humanism.'"

Whether Dunayevskaya considered the works of Hegel, of Marx, or of Marxist-Humanism, her concept of archives focused special attention on those writings which marked the "birthtime" of an Idea, and on those which represented its final determination, its summation. Taken together, these works not only offered a view of the work of a founder "as a totality," but made it possible for another age to grasp this totality "as new beginning."

In one of her last writings, her June 1, 1987 presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy, Dunayevskaya deepened this view, singling out her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes as "the philosophic moment" which had determined her development of the Idea of Marxist-Humanism from the 1950s through the 1980s. There she wrote:

"In Hegelian dialectics, the philosophic moment is a determinant; even if the person who was driven to articulate the Idea of that 'moment' was very nearly unconscious as to its depth and its ramifications, it remained the element that governed the concretization that follows the laborious birth that poured forth in a torrent nevertheless."

Each of the works in her "trilogy of revolution," she concluded, developed as a concretization of, and return to, those 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. Dunayevskaya called that process "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism."

Dunayevskaya's 1986-87 re-examination of her "trilogy of revolution," and of the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas as a whole, discloses two movements: 1) the "long, hard trek and process" in the self-determination of the Idea of Marxist-Humanism, from its birth in the 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, through its test in revolutionary and counterrevolutionary events and in battles with other ideas over three decades and more, to Dunayevskaya's final, 1986-87 view; 2) the labor of summation of the totality of the body of ideas from the vantage point of the last years of Dunayevskaya's life. This summation, reaching back over that whole process of development, is the founder's philosophic self-comprehension of the freedom Idea, or what Hegel called Erinnerung — a summation that is at one and the same time a recollection and an inwardization of the Idea, and thus a "new beginning."
We have therefore begun Vol. XIV with the text of The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: two historic philosophic writings by Raya Dunayevskaya, published in 1989. It includes both her June 1, 1987, Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy, and her Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, written May 12 and 20, 1953. This appears as Section I. Section II presents documents from the writing of Marxism and Freedom (1957): draft outlines, draft chapters, correspondence, presentations and notes. Section III includes documents from the writing of Philosophy and Revolution (1973): chapter files, draft chapters, correspondence, presentations and notes. Section IV contains documents from the writings of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (1982): titles and tables of contents, draft chapters, chapter files, correspondence and notes. All four sections are arranged within a single Volume XIV to underline their unity as a body of ideas.

Volume XIV is not, however, a self-contained entity, despite the fact that it reaches through three books and over 30 years. A study of the writing of Marxism and Freedom would have to include preliminary work on the book, which began as "Marxism and State-Capitalism," documents included in Vols. I-III of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, as well as Vol. IV, which covers the years 1955-58, when the book was written in its present form. Also pertinent are documents contained in Vol. XII, including additional writings from the 1940s, and correspondence with Herbert Marcuse in the 1950s. This holds true for the writing of Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution as well.

Especially important are the draft chapters and letters from the writing of both of these works, found in Vols. VII and X; international trips to Europe, Africa and Asia by Dunayevskaya, as well as further correspondence with Marcuse, Erich Fromm and many others, both Marxist intellectuals and Marxist-Humanist colleagues, in Vol. XII; and a re-examination of the whole "trilogy of revolution" in relationship to Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, in Vol. XIII. In truth, however, no subject Dunayevskaya took up, from the 1940s through the 1980s, was separate from her work on the books. The fullest study requires the whole of these archives.

The present volume is also incomplete in a very different sense. Missing from the documents on the writing of Marxism and Freedom are several of the draft chapters from 1956, most notably the draft of the original concluding Chapter 16, "Automation and the New Humanism." The most important gap in the documents on the writing of Philosophy and Revolution is the fact that we have yet to find any of the first three draft chapters of that work penned in 1967 — chapters on Hegel, Marx and Lenin. The 1967 Hegel chapter was Dunayevskaya's first articulation of her category, "Hegel's Absolutes as New Beginnings."

When we donated Vol. XIII in February, 1988, only eight months after Dunayevskaya's death, we noted that we were including in that volume many documents not edited by her for publication. We said that in doing so, "we seek to sharply contrast Marxist-Humanism's attitude to the archives of a founder, with those post-Marx Marxists of whom Raya asked: 'Why a century to publish the whole of Marx?'" With this Vol. XIV we have continued Dunayevskaya's perspective of making documents on the "process of development" of the Marxist-Humanist Idea available to all. We appeal to all those who may hold Dunayevskaya's unpublished documents to share them with the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund, just as we appeal to all those who study the Raya
Dunayevskaya Collection to share their thoughts and questions in a dialogue with us.

Michael Flug, archivist for the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund
October 15, 1989

Section I. The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism

In the last month of Raya Dunayevskaya's life, she was preparing a presentation on the subject of her book-in-progress, the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy. This presentation, scheduled for June 1, 1987, was never given. Raya Dunayevskaya died on June 9, 1987. The text she prepared, and the voluminous working notes which preceded it, however, were included in Volume XIII, Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, in February, 1988.

In her June 1, 1987 presentation Dunayevskaya had singled out her May 12 and 20, 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes as the "philosophic moment" from which the whole Marxist-Humanist body of ideas flowed. These 1953 Letters were now seen as the "element that governed the concretization" of the Marxist-Humanist Idea, from the first of Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution," Marxism and Freedom, through Philosophy and Revolution, to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. As a result of their study of this document, her comrades in the Marxist-Humanist organization, News and Letters Committees, decided to publish both Dunayevskaya's June 1, 1987 presentation on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" and her May 12 and 20, 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes together as one book. It appeared in January, 1989 under the title, The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: two historic-philosophic writings by Raya Dunayevskaya.

In their preface to this book, the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees wrote: "We have chosen to issue this publication in its present form — with the Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy appearing first, followed by the 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes — because it is Dunayevskaya's 1986-87 view of her 1953 Letters which enables us to see what she called the 'many Universals inherent' in them for today." It is in that same spirit that the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund has decided to present Vol. XIV — with The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism appearing first, followed by documents on Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution." We believe that Dunayevskaya's final June 1, 1987 writing, and her 1953 "philosophic moment," when taken together, shed powerful new illumination on the "long, hard trek and process of development" of the Marxist-Humanist Idea.

Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987

Letters on Hegel's Absolutes of May 12 and 20, 1953

Section II. Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 until Today

Dunayevskaya's work on what was to become Marxism and Freedom could be said to have begun with her 1941-43 study of "The Nature of the Russian Economy." Her analysis of Stalin's Russia, based on original Russian documents, also involved both a study of Marx's archives, and her first translations of sections of Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays. Two early draft outlines for her book have already appeared in this collection: "State-Capitalism and Marxism" (1947, #472), and "The Lenin Book" (1952, #1735). The actual writing of Marxism and Freedom in its published form, however, began only after two later developments: Dunayevskaya's writing, in May, 1953, of her "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," and the break-up, in March, 1955, of the united "Johnson-Forest Tendency." Immediately after this latter event — the split between C.L.R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya, which resulted in the founding of a new organization, News and Letters Committees — Dunayevskaya returned to concentrated work on the writing of Marxism and Freedom.

Written Nov. 1955. A substantially revised version of the 1947 outline of "State Capitalism and Marxism," this outline was submitted to publishers, interested intellectuals (including Herbert Marcuse, Meyer Schapiro, and Joseph Buttinger), and circulated among the members of News and Letters Committees.

Outline of Contents of Marxism and Freedom.

Written April, 1956. Outline includes summaries of those chapters not yet written out in draft form.

Table of Contents of Marxism and Freedom.

Written June, 1957. Includes titles of each of the sub-sections of each chapter. This outline contains only a few differences from the table of contents of the book as published in December, 1957.

Letter "to the NEB" (National Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees).

Written Oct. 30, 1956. A letter on the writing of the book and the responsibilities of the organizational leadership. Includes "the outline of the book as it has changed in the process of reworking."

Table of Contents of Marxism and Freedom.

Written May, 1957. A draft of what became Chapter 1 of Marxism and Freedom (M&F). Handnotes on the mss. are by Dunayevskaya.

The French Revolution and Classical German Philosophy.

Written May, 1956. A fragment of mss. only. Parts of this document were used in Chapter 2 of M&F.

Ferdinand Lassalle: State Socialist, and The 1850s — Years of Reaction, and Proudhonism.

Written March, 1956. Two fragments from a chapter then called "Theoretic Interlude." Parts of this document were used in Chapters 4 and 5 of M&F.

Marx's Capital and the Paris Commune.

Written August, 1956. A draft of what became Chapter 7 of M&F.

The Logic and Scope of Volumes II and III of Capital (including Theories of Surplus Value).

Written May, 1957.
Written Aug. 22, 1956. A draft of what became Chapter 8 of M&F. Handnotes on the mss. are by Dunayevskaya.

The Great Divide in Marxism.


Lenin's Will.

A brief article written in April, 1952 and published in the mimeographed bulletin, Correspondence (Vol. II, No. 2, May 15, 1952). Parts of this document were used in Chapter 12 of M&F.

State Capitalism and Workers' Revolt.


Written October, 1956. A draft of three chapters of what was then Part IV: 1) "Russian State Capitalism vs. Workers' Revolt"; 2) "Portrait of a Totalitarian"; 3) "The Beginning of the End of Russian Totalitarianism." The second and third chapters written in fragmentary form only. These mss. used as Chapters 13, 14, and 15 of M&F.

Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic.

Draft translation by Dunayevskaya of Karl Marx's 1844 essay, completed October, 1956. Included in the Appendix to M&F as published.

Correspondence and Notes on the Writing of Marxism and Freedom February – December, 1955


Marcuse letter to Dunayevskaya, written April 14, 1955.

Dunayevskaya letter to Arthur Kunkin, written April 15, 1955.

Dunayevskaya letter to Will Lissner, written April 18, 1955.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Editing Chairmen" (of News & Letters)
written April 23, 1955. Draft of "Two Pages of Today's History that have shown the way to Freedom." An article on the 1953 East Berlin workers' revolt and the revolt at the Vorkuta labor camp inside Russia. Portions of this article were used in Chapter 15 of M&F.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12047.pdf
On why she "translated Absolute Mind as the new society"; asks Marcuse to come to Detroit to discuss this with workers.

Dunayevskaya letter to Saul Blackman, written May 7, 1955.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12049.pdf
On the philosophic foundations in Hegel's Phenomenology and Logic for publishing News & Letters.

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written June 6, 1955.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12050.pdf
On Dunayevskaya's plans for a series of lectures on the book, to begin in West Virginia.

Marcuse letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 22, 1955.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12051.pdf
Reports reading Dunayevskaya's 1947 draft outline on "State Capitalism and Marxism"; denies "immediate" connection between "philosophy and praxis."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12052.pdf
On the difference between her 1947 work and the "form of the book" now projected; on Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.

Dunayevskaya letter to Chaulieu (Cornelius Castoriadis), written July 14, 1955.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12054.pdf
Reports on her work on the book; sends him her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes; asks for Chronique of Marx's life.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12055.pdf
On preparations for her national tour to discuss ideas for the book; on "the opportunity to write the book as a collective effort."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12057.pdf
On the ramifications of the 1950 coal miners' strike against the continuous miner for the work on the new book.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12058.pdf
On the possibility of publishing her translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12059.pdf
Reports on discussions on Hegel, and on Stalinist perversion of the dialectic, as encountered on her tour on the book.

Topics during 1955 lecture tour.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12060.pdf
A one-page outline of subjects of Dunayevskaya's speeches, types of lecture-groups, and universities at which Dunayevskaya spoke during her 1955 tour. Written Nov., 1955.

Foreword to Philosophic Notes.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12061.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12064.pdf
After reading Dunayevskaya's notes on the projected book, says her "ideas are a real oasis in the desert of Marxist thought."


Asks for financial assistance to complete the book; outlines her economic and philosophic studies since World War II.


Correspondence, Presentations, and Notes on the Writing of Marxism and Freedom, January 1956 – December 1956
Presentation by Dunayevskaya on first News and Letters Committees pamphlet, Philosophic Notes.

Speech given Jan., 1956 to Detroit committee. Transcript of speech was not edited or corrected by Dunayevskaya. Includes extended discussion of Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic."

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski and Bess Gogol, written Feb. 21, 1956.

Reports from Boston after meeting with Marcuse that he has agreed to write the introduction to M&F.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written March 10, 1956.

Sends him "the first two chapters of Part I," and "character sketches" of Lassalle and Proudhon.

Dunayevskaya letter to Joseph Buttinger, written April 7, 1956.

On prospects for publishing contracts; sends drafts of sections of book on "The Great Divide in Marxism" and "State Capitalism and Workers' Revolt."

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written April 18, 1956.

Sends drafts of two more chapters, on Capital and "a sort of conclusion": "Toward a new unity of Theory and Practice."

Olga Domanski letter to Dunayevskaya, written April 21, 1956.

Translator's Introductory Note and An Exchange of Letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea.

Two introductions by Dunayevskaya, written for the second edition of the pamphlet, Philosophic Notes. Probably written April, 1956.

Marcuse letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 1, 1956.

On consideration of the book by Beacon Press; comments that "I like your approach and the development of the theory very much."


Reports beginning work on "the chapter on Hegel" which became Chapter 1 of M&F.

Meyer Schapiro letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 13, 1956.

A critique of Dunayevskaya's first outline of M&F.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 18, 1956.
Reports completion of what became Chapter 1 of M&F, on "The French Revolution and Classical German Philosophy." Discusses divergent views of C.L.R. James and Dunayevskaya on Hegelian dialectics; on the dialectic as the method of the Absolute.

Dunayevskaya letter to Meyer Schapiro, written June 20, 1956.

Re-states the aim of M&F; asks for a loan to continue her writing work. During this period Dunayevskaya was preparing for the first Convention of News and Letters Committees. For documents from that Convention which relate to her work on M&F, see #2554-2592.

Resident Editorial Board (REB) minutes of July 17, 1956 (excerpts).

Dunayevskaya asks REB to assign her to work uninterruptedly on the book for "five or six weeks."

Olga Domanski letter to Dunayevskaya, written July 29, 1956.

Extensive commentary on Chapter 1 of M&F, with emphasis on Dunayevskaya's view of Hegel's Absolutes and "our age of absolutes." Also included is Domanski's presentation on Chapter 1 to West Virginia local of News and Letters Committees, given June, 1956.

Dunayevskaya letter to Saul Blackman, written Aug. 1, 1956.

Describes her first days of work in Pennsylvania on the book. Reports finishing the chapter on Marx's early essays; says she has changed her mind about the appendices, and will now include her translations of Marx's 1844 essays.

Dunayevskaya letter to Saul Blackman, written Aug. 6, 1956.

Encloses chapter just completed on the "Organizational Interlude" of the Second International; describes her daily work schedule. Included with this letter is an unfinished letter to Olga Domanski, written Aug. 4, 1956, on Chapter 1 as "the key to the book," and to "the problems of the age." Discusses her process of thinking about the Second International. The letter to Domanski was enclosed in the letter to Blackman.

Dunayevskaya letter to Saul Blackman, written Aug. 23, 1956.

On last day of uninterrupted work on the book; reports that "first draft is entirely finished."

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written Sept. 6, 1956.

On Marcuse's Eros and Civilization; on her progress on M&F.


On the meaning of the "Absolute Idea" for organization today.

Marcuse letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 21, 1956.

Comments on draft chapters of M&F on Marx's early essays, on the Second International; on Russian state-capitalism.


Sends three chapters on Stalinist Russia, which grew from its original draft of one chapter. Includes also a "Postscript" (written Oct. 14, 1956), on "proving" the Absolute Idea vs. "creating" a dialectic which "thereby 'proves' the Absolute Idea." Contrasts her view to that of both C.L.R. James and Marcuse.


On her new translation of "Private Property and Communism" and "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" from Marx's Early Essays; contrasts her translation to that of Grace Lee (Boggs).

Reports signing of contract to publish M&F; comments on the importance of a Preface by Marcuse.

**The New Stage**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12165.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12165.pdf)


**Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 13, 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12170.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12170.pdf)

Sends her Introduction to M&F, and gives the two quotes — from Marx and Hegel — which will appear on the frontispiece.

**Dunayevskaya to Saul Blackman, written May 15(?), 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12171.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12171.pdf)

Reports final editing of M&F has been completed.

**Dunayevskaya, to "Dear Friends," written June 6, 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12172.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12172.pdf)

The mss. of M&F has just been sent to the publisher; "calls attention to some unique contributions we are making" with the book.

**Marcuse to Dunayevskaya, written June 7, 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12173.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12173.pdf)

Asks for a recapitulation of the "gist" of the book to assist him in writing the Preface to the book.

**Dunayevskaya to "Dear Friends," written June 8, 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12174.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12174.pdf)

On promoting the new book; sums up "its unusual character in discussion of Chapter 11, on the relationship of 'spontaneous self-organization' to the 'so-called vanguard party.'"

**Dunayevskaya to Marcuse, written June 11, 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12176.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12176.pdf)

Summarizes the main points of M&F in response to Marcuse's request.

**Dunayevskaya to Olga Domanski, written June 23, 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12179.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12179.pdf)

On Mao's speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"; on Hegel's discussion of "Spirit in Self-Estrangement" as illuminating Mao's direction. During this period, Dunayevskaya composed footnotes on Mao which were later added to the galley proofs of M&F.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written July 22, 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12182.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12182.pdf)

Responds to Marcuse's Preface to M&F.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski and Andy Phillips, written July 22 (?), 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12183.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12183.pdf)

Handwritten note accompanying copy of Marcuse's Preface; Dunayevskaya says Marcuse "sums up all the objections."

**Dunayevskaya letter to Saul Blackman, written July 26, 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12185.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12185.pdf)

On the ramifications of the publication of M&F for organization; projects concept that "organization of thought determines organizational life." Included here also is Dunayevskaya's letter to Blackman written Aug. 5, 1957, which continues this discussion.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Joseph Buttinger, written Aug. 10, 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12187.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12187.pdf)

On her disagreement with the Preface by Marcuse.

**Joseph Buttinger to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 4, 1957.**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12188.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12188.pdf)

On Marcuse's Preface; finds it a 'confirmation of the views you developed.' In this same week, Dunayevskaya, presented her views on "The American Roots of Marxism in the World Today and Our Development." She projected that "Marxism and Freedom will become the polarizing force for the new movement, Marxist-Humanism." See #2596 for the text of this document.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12189.pdf
Final proofs of the book and Index sent in. Dunayevskaya reports adding footnotes on Mao Tse-tung and Milovan Djilas; quotes new final paragraph added to Chapter 16 on Little Rock, Arkansas, school desegregation battle.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12190.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12192.pdf
On educationalos to be held on M&F.

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol and Olga Domanski, written Dec. 9, 1957.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12194.pdf
On the contrast between Dunayevskaya's Introduction and Marcuse's Preface.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12195.pdf
On the need for "personal struggle with a theoretic problem."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12196.pdf
Reports arrival of copies of M&F.

Section III. Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and From Marx to Mao
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12197.pdf
Chapter Files Created During the Writing of Philosophy and Revolution (P&R)
Throughout the 15 years during which Dunayevskaya wrote Philosophy and Revolution — 1958 through 1973 — she created what she called "chapter files" for her work on the book. In these files she placed a wide range of documents from her studies: 1) reading notes on books and articles studied; 2) important correspondence on the subjects discussed in P&R, or on drafts of the chapters; 3) notes to herself — documents she often called "random thoughts" — as she worked out political-philosophic problems; 4) notes and texts from presentations she had given on aspects of the book; and 5) texts of articles by others, taken out of journals, newspapers or books, and marked-up with her own marginalia. In this section Dunayevskaya's chapter files are included as she left them, with two exceptions: 1) texts of articles by others which Dunayevskaya marked up are not included here; 2) documents clearly added to these files by Dunayevskaya after P&R was published in November, 1973 are included only at the end of each chapter file. Although the organization of these files often was drastically altered during the writing of P&R, to reflect the organization of the chapters of the book-in-progress, they are presented here in the order Dunayevskaya left them, i.e., an order corresponding to the sequence of chapters in P&R as it was published.

"Part I — Why Hegel? Why Now?"
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12198.pdf
A revised version of a letter written Oct. 1, 1964 on the proposed outline for a Part of P&R with three "subsections": on "Marx's Debt to Hegel," on "Lenin's ambivalence toward Hegel and his shock of recognition," and on "the task before us."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12201.pdf
Two sets of notes are included.

Notes on G.W.F. Hegel, "Introduction" to Philosophy of History

Notes on George Lichtheim, The Concept of Ideology and Other Essays (1967).


Notes on Donald Egbert and Stow Persons, eds., Socialism and American Life (1952).

Quotations from Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind, Marx's Capital, Dunayevskaya's own writings.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Si" (Charles Denby), written March 10, 1960.


Notes for speech at University Center for Adult Education (Detroit), given in 1975.

On "The Black Dimension," as part of a lecture series on "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries."

Notes for a speech at Berkeley, California, given April 14, 1976

Transcript of presentation given in Detroit on Dec. 5, 1976, entitled "Hegel, Marx, Lenin, Fanon and the Dialectics of Liberation Today."

Transcript not corrected by Dunayevskaya.

Chapter 1 – "Hegel"


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12259.pdf
Excerpts from the History of Philosophy by Hegel," notes created by Grace Lee (Boggs) in the 1940s.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12260.pdf
Some of the handnotes are by Dunayevskaya; others are by Lee.

"Extracts on Labor," notes on Hegel's Jenenser Realphilosophie, created by Grace Lee in the 1940s.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12269.pdf
Most of the handnotes are by Lee.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12306.pdf
Most of the notes are actually on Petry's view of the three final syllogisms (paragraphs 575-577) in the Philosophy of Mind. Also included here are Notes on Jean Hyppolite, Studies in Marx and Hegel, trans. by John O'Neill (1969).


Notes on Walter Kaufmann, Hegel (1965).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12312.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12315.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12317.pdf
Notes on Jean Hyppolite, Genese et Structure de la Phenomenologie de L'Esprit de Hegel (1946).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12323.pdf
All quotations in French; most of the notes in English.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12327.pdf
On Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind, Science of Logic, and Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences, as part of Dunayevskaya's study of "the philosophic foundations of the struggles for freedom in the underdeveloped countries."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12331.pdf
on the difficulties of the Johnson-Forest Tendency in working out the dialectic, 1947-53.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12333.pdf
Cover letter sent out with Dunayevskaya's "Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12334.pdf
Cover letter sent out with Dunayevskaya's "Summation of Hegel's Science of Logic."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12335.pdf
A critique of his paper on Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Mr. Goodwin," written April 25, 1968.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12338.pdf
on Hegel's critique of the institutional church.

Morgan Gibson letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 8, 1971.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12339.pdf
Comments on Chapter 1 of P&R; declines Dunayevskaya's request to help edit the book.
Chapter 2 – "Marx, Section 1"

Notes on Karl Marx, "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic"
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12342.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12342.pdf)
as trans. by Dunayevskaya in Marxism and Freedom (1958). This is a different set of notes than appeared in the previous chapter file.

Notes on Annenkov's "Eine russische Stimme über Karl Marx" (1883)
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12345.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12345.pdf)
Largely in shorthand.

Notes on Karl Marx, "The King of Prussia and Social Reform" (1844).
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12346.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12346.pdf)
A fragment of a larger set of notes.

Notes on Karl Marx, Selected Essays, trans. by H.J. Stenning (1926).
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12347.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12347.pdf)
Notes probably created by Grace Lee.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12355.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12355.pdf)
Notes on Karl Marx, Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (1843).
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12356.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12356.pdf)
Also included is a quotation from Marx's 1844 essay, "Alienated Labor."

Chapter 2 – "Marx, Section 2"

Notes on Karl Marx, Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12357.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12357.pdf)
a section of the Grundrisse, trans. by E.J. Hobsbawm (1965).

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12361.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12361.pdf)
Handnotes are by Bonnie McFadden.

Karl Marx in 1857-58 — Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12364.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12364.pdf)
Commentary written by Grace Lee on her reading of Marx's Grundrisse. Handnotes are by Dunayevskaya. Includes also a translation by Lee of a brief excerpt from the Grundrisse.

Extracts from Marx's Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, trans. by Grace Lee.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12375.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12375.pdf)
Does not include any of the sections published in Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations. Handnotes are by Dunayevskaya.

Notes on a fragment of the Grundrisse as translated by Anthony Barnett, entitled "Notes on Machines."
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12393.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12393.pdf)
Handnotes are by Dunayevskaya.

Notes on "Introduction to the Grundrisse," as published in appendix to Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1904).
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12400.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12400.pdf)
This was the first section of the Grundrisse to appear in English.

Fragment of draft of Chapter 2, Section 2, of P&R, on the Grundrisse, and Section 3, on Capital.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12402.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12402.pdf)
Probably written in 1971.

Notes on "Letter of Marx to Danielson, 4/10/1879."
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12412.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12412.pdf)
Notes created by Dunayevskaya, June 15, 1951.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12413.pdf
Includes quotation from Heidegger on "homelessness," and handnotes on Reinhart Klemens Maurer's discussion of Hegel's three final syllogisms of Philosophy of Mind.

Notes on New Left Review #52 (1968), a special issue on France, 1968.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12414.pdf
Notes concentrate on essays by André Gorz and André Glucksmann.

Notes on Karl Marx, Grundrisse. Fragment on the "automaton."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12418.pdf
Peter Bergmann letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 12, 1964.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12420.pdf
Includes a translation by Bergmann of a passage from the Grundrisse on labor and the development of the individual, in response to Dunayevskaya's request to check the translation of the same passage in Marcuse's One-Dimensional Man. Both Bergmann's handwritten letter and Dunayevskaya's typed copy of it are included.

Dunayevskaya letter to Bergmann, written Nov. 16, 1964.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12428.pdf
On her "obsession" with Hegel and the Hegel-Marx relationship.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12429.pdf
On excerpts from the Grundrisse to be included as Appendix to P&R.

Fred Ehrmann letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 20, 1972.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12430.pdf
Critique of translation of a section of Grundrisse to be included as Appendix to P&R.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12435.pdf
On the first English translation of the whole of the Grundrisse; commentary by Dunayevskaya on the Foreword by the translator, Martin Nicolaus.

Chapter 2 – "Marx, Section 3"

Notes on "Archives of Marx, Vol. 5" (Moscow, 1930).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12440.pdf
A "rough translation" of excerpts from Marx's 1881 writing on A. Wagner. This document is based on Dunayevskaya's 1940s translation of Marx on A. Wagner, which appears in Vol. III of the Dunayevskaya Collection (#1899).

Excerpts from Karl Marx's unpublished Chapter 6 of Capital (the original ending to Vol. I), as translated by Dunayevskaya.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12451.pdf
This document was evidently written for use in Dunayevskaya's 1940s classes in Marx's Capital.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12454.pdf
Also includes a reference to Marx's letter to Engels of Oct. 7, 1858 on the English proletariat.

Quotation from letter written by Karl Marx for the International Workingmen's Association to Pres. Abraham Lincoln, Jan. 7, 1865.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12455.pdf
"The Case of Eugene Varga," an unpublished mss. article by F. Forest (Raya Dunayevskaya), probably written in May, 1949.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12456.pdf

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12463.pdf]

Resumé of Brushlinsky's article based on translation by Dunayevskaya. Also included is translation of "Project of Prospectus of a Scientific Edition of Theories of Surplus Value of Karl Marx."

Quotations from letters of Karl Marx on the writing of Capital.

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12493.pdf]

Also includes a brief discussion of Dunayevskaya's Jan. 15, 1951 letter on the meaning of Capital, Vol. III, for the post-World War II period.


[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12495.pdf]

Fragment from notes on Nikolai Bukharin, Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital (1924).

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12497.pdf]

Notes on Frederick Engels, "Critique of the Social-Democratic Program (Erfurt) of 1891" (1901).

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12498.pdf]

Random Thoughts on the new mode of production.

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12499.pdf]

Discussion by Dunayevskaya on modern machinery's relationship to the development of "the new type of man." Probably written in the late 1940s. Handnotes are by C.L.R. James.

Notes for speech by Dunayevskaya to Universities and Left Review

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12501.pdf]

(link predecessor of New Left Review), given Oct. 26, 1959, in Britain.

Notes for speech entitled "Communism, Marxism and Liberty — The American Humanist Tradition,"

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12505.pdf]

given by Dunayevskaya at UCLA, 1958.


[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12515.pdf]

Includes translation by Greeman from article by Kostas Axelos, a critique of Marx.

Peter Bergmann letter to Dunayevskaya, written Feb. 22, 1967.

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12517.pdf]

On the Hegel-Marx relationship.

The following document was added to this file after Nov. 1973:


[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12521.pdf]

This review appeared in News & Letters, Jan.-Feb., 1978.

Chapter 3 – "Lenin"

"Hegelian Leninism" or Dialectics of Liberation

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12528.pdf]


The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin.

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12546.pdf]


Notes on "Lenin on Hegel's Absolute Idea (Philosophic Notebooks)."

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12575.pdf]
Some of the notes are taken from V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 38 (1961); others are from letters exchanged between Dunayevskaya, Grace Lee and C.L.R. James during 1949.

Text of draft footnote for Chapter 3 of P&R on "the Black Dimension in Lenin's work."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12578.pdf
This footnote does not appear in the published text.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12579.pdf
Fragment of these notes, only.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12584.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12585.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12588.pdf
Dunayevskaya's review of this book was published in The Activist (Oberlin, Ohio, 1966).

Some Notes on Lenin's State and Revolution.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12594.pdf
Notes created by Grace Lee in the 1940s. Handwritten comments are by Dunayevskaya.

Notes on Technology and Culture (Winter 1961).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12597.pdf
Notes on articles by A. Zvorkine on the "history of technology as a science"; notes on David Joravsky, on "The History of Technology in Soviet Russia and Marxist Doctrine."

Notes on V.I. Lenin, from Selected Works.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12602.pdf
Lists his discussions on peasantry.

Notes on Lenin, taken from Dunayevskaya's 1949 Letters to C.L.R. James and Grace Lee.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12603.pdf
Dunayevskaya letter to McKim Steele, written May 16, 1972.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12604.pdf
On the role of intellectuals in the revolutionary movement; on the Marx-Engels relationship; on Lenin.

Chapter 4 – "Trotsky"

Notes on L. Trotsky, War and Revolution (1923).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12607.pdf
Two different texts of these notes are included.

Notes on L. Trotsky, The Permanent Revolution (1930).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12614.pdf
Also includes notes on Trotsky's My Life (1931), and his Diary in Exile (1935).

Notes on L. Trotsky, Stalin (1940), and on Trotsky's "Introduction" to Harold Isaacs, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution (1938).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12618.pdf
The Evolution of the Political Attitudes of Leon Trotsky in his Later Years.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12614.pdf
Text of a lecture by Dunayevskaya given April 30, 1959, at the Russian Circle, University of Chicago.

Notes on "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," from The Founding Conference of the Fourth International (1939).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12630.pdf
Notes for a lecture by Dunayevskaya on "Leon Trotsky as Theoretician,"


Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Revolution Betrayed," but as in "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" (1934), and "What Next?" (1932).

Notes on "Leon Trotsky on state-capitalism," "not as in The Rev
Fragment from notes for "The Revolt of the Workers and the Plan of the Intellectuals" (1951)
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12668.pdf
by Dunayevskaya. On Marx's and Lenin's methods of analysis of capitalism.

Notes on Isaac Deutscher, Stalin: A Political Biography (1949)
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12672.pdf
Notes concern only Deutscher's biographical information.

Production Statistics and the Devaluation of the Ruble.
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Mss. for article by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya), written Oct. 3, 1948. Also included are "Russian Notes," mss. written in Fall, 1948, on economics in Russia and the conditions for the workers.

Chapter 5 – "Mao"
Noted on Roderick MacFarquhar, The Hundred Flowers Campaign (1960).
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12682.pdf
Notes on Franz Schurmann, Ideology and organization in Communist China (1966).
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12686.pdf
Also includes notes on "China's Power Structure," an article by Schurmann in Diplomat (Sept. 1966).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12689.pdf
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12692.pdf
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12693.pdf
Also included are notes on The Dilemma of Mao Tse-tung by Kikuzo Ito and Minoru Shibata.

Notes on Stuart Schram, Mao Tse-tung (1967).
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12695.pdf
Notes on "The Great Cultural Revolution in China," compiled and edited by the Asia Research Centre (1968).
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12698.pdf
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12700.pdf
Notes on Tang Tsou and Ho Ping-ti, eds., China's Heritage and the Communist Political System (1968).
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12703.pdf
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12707.pdf
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link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12716.pdf
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12718.pdf
Notes on Etienne Balazs, Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy (1964).

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Notes on Han Suyin, The Morning Deluge (1972).

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Dunayevskaya's review of this work was published in New Politics (1973).


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in Milorad Drachkovitch, Marxism in the Modern World (1965).


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Notes on O. Edmund Clubb, China and Russia: The "Great Game" (1971).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12750.pdf

Notes on "my own articles on China"

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12752.pdf

on 1) footnotes to 1957 edition of Marxism and Freedom; 2) "Challenge of Mao" (1963); 3) Afro-Asian Revolutions (1959).

Notes on articles in journals and newspapers. Summaries and extracts from a wide variety of articles on China and on Mao Tse-tung

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12753.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12789.pdf

On Mao and Hegel's categories in Phenomenology of Mind.

Jonathan Spence letter to Dunayevskaya, written April 12, 1961.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12791.pdf

On Mao's rise to power, 1927-37. Includes research report on Mao in 1920s and during the Long March.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12800.pdf

A "general chronological outline" of Mao from the 1927 Hunan report to "the present, the communists in power." Includes quotations from Mao's writings.
Notes on reports by Jonathan Spence, created by Dunayevskaya.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12809.pdf
Two different sets of notes on Spence's reports are included here.

Dunayevskaya letter to Jonathan Spence, written June 1, 1961.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12813.pdf
On Absolute Idea in Hegel's Science of Logic, on Lenin's view of Absolute Idea in his Philosophic Notebooks; on Marx's Absolutes in Capital. Dunayevskaya says she "would like to use [the letter] as the basis for my actual writing of that chapter on the Absolute Idea in my book."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12818.pdf

Chapter 6 – "Sartre + HM [Herbert Marcuse] + Lukacs"
Notes on Jean-Paul Sartre, Search for a Method (1963).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12820.pdf
This is the English edition of "Question de Methode" from Critique de la Raison Dialectique. Two different sets of notes are included.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12826.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12830.pdf
Notes on J.P. Sartre, "Materialism and Revolution," from Philosophy in the Twentieth Century.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12832.pdf
Essay originally written in 1946. Also included here are Dunayevskaya's notes on "Existentialism" as it appears in Vol. III of Philosophy in the Twentieth Century; quotations from Martin Heidegger, "Letter on Humanism."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12835.pdf
Two different sets of notes on this work are included here.

Notes on J.P. Sartre, Situations (1965).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12839.pdf
Report by readers from the journal Nous, commenting on Dunayevskaya's 1963 article, "Sartre's Search for a Method."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12840.pdf
This report was received by Dunayevskaya in January, 1967.

Fragment of draft chapter on Sartre from P&R.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12841.pdf
Probably written in 1970. One page only.

Notes on George Lichtheim, "Sartre, Marxism and History," History and Theory (1963).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12842.pdf
Two different sets of notes are included.

Notes on Jean Wahl, A Short History of Existentialism (1949).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12846.pdf
Notes on David Caute, Communism and the French Intellectuals (1964).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12849.pdf
Notes on special issue of Yale French Studies (1955-56) on "Existentialism."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12851.pdf
Articles by Hyppolite, Arnaud, Guicharnaud.


Largely shorthand.


Two different sets of notes are included here.


Two different sets of notes are included here.

Notes on M. Merleau-Ponty, "In Praise of Philosophy" lecture given January, 1953.


Two different sets of notes are included here.

Notes on M. Merleau-Ponty, "In Praise of Philosophy" lecture given January, 1953.

Notes on M. Cranston, Jean-Paul Sartre (1962).


Notes on Paul de Man, "Sartre's Confessions,"


Notes on R.D. Laing and D.G. Cooper, Reason and Violence (1964).

Notes on Leonard Krieger, "History and Existentialism in Sartre,"
in Kurt Wolff and Barrington Moore, Jr., The Critical Spirit (1967).

Notes on Francois Fejto, The Opening of an Era (1948).

Notes on G.H.R. Parkinson, ed., George Lukacs: The Man, His Work, and His Ideas (1970); and George Lukacs, Social Ontology

but limited to the chapter published in Telos (1970) as "Dialectics of Labor." Two sets of notes and commentary on these works by Dunayevskaya are included, as well as quotations from Lukacs' "Dialectics of Labor" as translated in Telos (1970), and special Lukacs issue (1972). These notes were developed in Dunayevskaya's three-part article, "Lukacs' Philosopher Dimension," News & Letters (1973).

Notes on "Neil Mclnnnes on Lukacs."

Publication on which these notes are based remains unknown.


Notes on Herbert Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man (1964).

Two different sets of notes are included here.

Notes on Herbert Marcuse, "From Ontology to Technology: Tendencies of Industrial Society,"
article developed by Marcuse from a course given at Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris), 1958-59. This article was published in Arguments (Paris), 1960. These notes sent to Dunayevskaya by Marcuse; handnotes are by Dunayevskaya.

Notes on Herbert Marcuse, Negations (1968).

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link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12918.pdf

Page references in these notes are to the original French edition (1968).

Chapter 7 – "Africa: Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation"

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12939.pdf

The manuscript contains three parts: 1) "State Planning"; 2) "Analysis of the Third World"; 3) "Relationship of Industrialized World to Underdeveloped." Portions of this mss. were developed in Chapter 7 of P&R.

Notes on James Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (1958).

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link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12953.pdf

Notes on George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism (1955).

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link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12961.pdf


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Dunayevskaya's notes concern Julius Nyerere and Sekou Toure.


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Notes on John Kautsky, Moscow and the Communist Party of India (1956).

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Notes on Ronald Segal, The Anguish of India (1962).

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Notes on Jeanne Mintz, Mohamed, Marx and Marhaen: The Roots of Indonesian Socialism (1965).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12972.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12974.pdf

Notes on George Kimble, Tropical Africa (1960).

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Notes on Aimé Césaire, "The Political Thought of Sekou Toure," Présence Africaine (19597).

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Notes on George Shepperson, Independent African (1915).
Notes on newspaper clippings collected by Dunayevskaya while in West Africa, April, 1962.

Notes on Simon Kuznets, Postwar Economic Growth (1964); Kuznets, Modern Economic Growth (1967).


Notes on Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (1963); and Paul Geismar, Fanon (1971).

Notes on journal articles on Africa: from Dissent; Western World; New Leader; International Socialism.


Dunayevskaya letter to Alan Wallach, written May, 1968.

A response to his critique of Dunayevskaya's draft chapter on "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation."

Notes for speech by Dunayevskaya on "World Revolution and Black Revolt: Africa and U.S.," given at University Center for Adult Education, Detroit, Oct. 27, 1972.

The following documents were added to this file after Nov. 1973:

Notes for speech by Dunayevskaya on "Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought"


Chapter 8 – "East Europe"

Notes on the East European articles on Marxist-Humanism.

Discussion by Dunayevskaya of articles in Erich From, ed., Socialist Humanism (1965). Dunayevskaya concentrates on articles by Suchdolski, Markovic, Kosik, Baczko, Pejovic. For the text of Dunayevskaya's own contribution to this symposium, see #3565.


Two different sets of notes on this work are included here.
Footnote added to the galley proofs of Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom in 1957.

On Tito's Yugoslavia as not signifying "any fundamental change in production relations in Yugoslavia," despite his break with Stalin.


Notes on Francois Fejto, Behind the Rape of Hungary (1957).

Notes on the Hungarian Revolution.

Includes Dunayevskaya's quotations and comments taken from Melvin J. Lasky, The Hungarian Revolution (1957); Hugh Seton-Watson, Neither War Nor Peace (1960); articles from The Review (published by the Imre Nagy Institute) by Miklos Sebestyen, Balazs Nagy, and the Central Workers Council of Greater Budapest.

Notes on George Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness (1971).


This is a translation of a chapter from Les Aventures de la Dialectique (1955), on Lukacs' History and Class Consciousness. Included here are further notes on Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness (1971), and on his "Dialectics of Labor," Telos (1970).


Notes on Nicholas Lobkowicz, Theory and Practice (1967).

Intellectualism and Creativity in the USSR.

Text of a lecture by Dunayevskaya given April 28, 1959, at University of California at Berkeley.

Notes on David Collier and Kurt Glaser, eds., Elements of Change in East Europe (1968).

Notes on Leon Trotsky, 1933-40 period.

Quotations from Trotsky's writings in the 1930s excerpted by Dunayevskaya. Includes excerpts from "Tragedy of the German Proletariat"; "Collapse of the Communist Party of Germany and Our Tasks"; "Joint Declaration for a New International"; "The Soviet Union and Fourth International"; "Whither France?"; "In Defense of Marxism"; The Revolution Betrayed.

Quotation from "Preface" to Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution, by Dunayevskaya and Harry McShane (1968).

Notes on letters exchanged among Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James, and Grace Lee Boggs, in 1949.

On aspects of the Hegelian dialectic.


Fragment from notes by Dunayevskaya on "State-capitalism (as JRJ [C.L.R. James] now — 1969-1970 — explains it)."

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13061.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13061.pdf)

On the Hungarian Revolution; on the "role of the artist."


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Chapter 9 — "New Passions and New Forces"

Draft chapter of P&R, entitled "Part IV — Subjectivity of Self-Liberation."

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13068.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13068.pdf)

Probably written in Spring, 1961. This is the first known mss. from what became P&R. The mss. as included here is the one Dunayevskaya placed in this chapter file. Another copy of this mss., with different marginalia by Dunayevskaya, can be found in Vol. VII of the Dunayevskaya Collection (#4316).

Notes for Book on Relationship of Russian Communism to African Independence Movements.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13073.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13073.pdf)


Fragment of draft of Dunayevskaya's American Civilization on Trial (1963).

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13083.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13083.pdf)

On the Black Populist movement — the National Colored Farmers' Alliance — and Tom Watson's attitude toward them.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13085.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13085.pdf)

Notes on special issue of The Progressive on "A Century of Struggle" (December 1962).

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13087.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13087.pdf)

Dunayevskaya's summaries and comments on articles by John Hope Franklin, Richard Current, C. Vann Woodward, A. Philip Randolph.

Notes on Tom Kahn, Unfinished Revolution (1960); James Green, Wendell Phillips (1943).

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Notes on Africa as Seen by American Negroes, a Présence Africaine publication, by the American Society for African Culture (1958).

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with articles by Ernest Mandel, J.M. Vincent, André Gorz, André Glucksmann.
Notes on Che Guevara, "Notes for the study of the ideology of the Cuban Revolution."
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Quotations from Guevara's writings in 1960.

Notes on Hoang Van Chi, From Colonialism to Communism: A Case History of North Vietnam (1964).
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13101.pdf

Notes on Trade Unionism.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13102.pdf
Brief comments by Dunayevskaya on labor self-organization in 19th century, and attitudes of Owen, Proudhon, Lassalle.

Draft Chapters of Philosophy and Revolution
The first chapter of Philosophy and Revolution (P&R) drafted in outline form by Dunayevskaya was written in the Spring of 1961 (#4316), and was entitled "Subjectivity of Self-Liberation." By 1963, she drafted what was to become Chapter 6, then entitled "Sartre's Search for a Method to Undermine Marxism." Beginning in 1967, Dunayevskaya launched a sustained effort to draft the whole of P&R, writing nearly all the eventual nine chapters twice, and writing some chapters three times before they reached their final published form. A number of these drafts — as well as a brief selection of crucial correspondence about the draft chapters — have already been included in the Dunayevskaya Collection (#4144-4337). In recent years other draft chapters written between 1968 and 1972 have been located. They are added here.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13103.pdf
A draft chapter completed on March 20, 1968. In a cover letter which Dunayevskaya sent out to "Dear Friends" with this draft chapter (#4295), she suggested that it was likely that this chapter would be located much later in the sequence of the book, and that a new Part I would be created, entitled "Why Hegel? Why Now?" The draft chapter included here contains material which appears in Chapter 7 of the book as published — on the "African Revolutions and the World Economy" — and Chapter 2, Section 2 — on "The 1850s: The Grundrisse, Then and Now." For other drafts of these sections of the book, see #4176 (completed March, 1969), and #4227 (completed October, 1968).

Hegel's Absolutes as New Beginnings.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13128.pdf
A draft chapter completed Feb. 2, 1970. This is the third draft of what became chapter 1 of P&R, entitled "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning." The first draft, completed in Jan., 1967, remains missing. The second draft, completed Oct. 13, 1968, is already included in the Collection (#4190). This third draft greatly expands the length of the chapter and Dunayevskaya's discussion of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind.

Marx's Transcendence of, and Return to the Hegelian Dialectic.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13181.pdf
A draft chapter completed Nov. 11, 1970. This is the third draft of what became Chapter 2 of P&R, entitled "A New Continent of Thought." The first draft, completed in February, 1967, is still missing. The second draft, completed in Oct., 1968, can be found in Volume VII of the Collection (#4227). Pages 26-28 of the mss. included here are missing.

The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13210.pdf
A draft chapter completed Feb. 28, 1970. This is the third draft of what became Chapter 3 of P&R, entitled "The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin." The first draft, completed in February, 1967, is missing. The second draft, completed in November, 1968, is already included in the Collection (#4261). Much of the material included here appears in Dunayevskaya's article, "Lenin's Philosophic Ambivalence," Telos, Spring 1970.

Leon Trotsky as Theoretician.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13230.pdf
A draft chapter completed Dec. 14, 1970. This is the second draft of what became Chapter 4 of P&R, entitled "Leon Trotsky as Theoretician." The first draft is already included in the Collection (#4160). Also included here is Dunayevskaya's draft of her Introductory comments to "Part II -Alternatives," completed Dec. 14, 1970. This is the section of the book as published which is entitled "On the Eve of World War II:
Depression in the Economy and in Thought." An earlier draft of these introductory pages is already included in the Collection (#4269).

Jean-Paul Sartre.

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13257.pdf]
A draft chapter probably completed in April, 1971. This is the second draft of what became Chapter 6 of P&R, entitled "Jean-Paul Sartre: Outsider Looking In." The first draft of this chapter was written as a "Weekly Political Letter" in September, 1963, and is already included in this Collection (#4144).

New Passions and New Forces.

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13284.pdf]
A draft chapter completed about May 25, 1971. This chapter was originally drafted in "outline" form in April, 1969, after Dunayevskaya's participation in the "Black/Red Conference," a meeting of Black workers, civil rights activists and Marxist-Humanists. For the original outline, see #4283.

Introduction to Philosophy and Revolution.

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13314.pdf]
Draft completed Nov. 7, 1971. No previous draft of the Introduction is known. This draft, however, differs from the Introduction as published. Handnotes on the mss. are by Dunayevskaya.

Final manuscript of Philosophy and Revolution.

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13317.pdf]
Submitted to publishers Jan. 31, 1972. This is the final typed mss. of P&R. It is included here so that comparisons can be made with the book as published. Dunayevskaya introduced many changes in the book between Jan. 1972 and her release of the page proofs in April, 1973. By comparing this final typed mss. with the book as published, Dunayevskaya's last additions and corrections to the book can be discerned.

Correspondence, Presentations and Notes on the Writing of Philosophy and Revolution, January, 1958 – September, 1960


[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13720.pdf]
One month after the publication of Marxism and Freedom (M&F), Dunayevskaya is "already thinking of a 'supplement'" on "Hegel's Absolute Idea." (This letter and most of the other correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Marcuse are also included in Vol. XII of the Dunayevskaya Collection. They appear again here because of their importance in the development of Philosophy and Revolution (P&R.).)

Dunayevskaya letter to Joseph Buttinger, written April 11, 1958.

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13721.pdf]
On Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind and its illumination of freedom struggles in Southeast Asia.


[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13723.pdf]
On Absolute Method within the Hegelian Absolutes, in Marx's day and in our day. Asks for Marcuse's help in "further development" of these ideas.


[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13727.pdf]
On "Spirit in Self-Estrangement" in Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind.

Final lecture on Marxism and Freedom, given by Dunayevskaya Jan. 18, 1959 in Detroit.

[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13729.pdf]
Included here are Dunayevskaya's notes for the talk. A discussion of Hegel's Absolutes, Marx's Absolutes and our age of absolutes; emphasis not on the "unity of Theory and Practice," but "the incompleteness of each by itself." Includes reexamination of Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes.


[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13732.pdf]
On progress on the new book.


[link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13733.pdf]
Written after Dunayevskaya's return from a trip to Europe which included a conference of state-capitalist tendencies. (Documents from this trip are included in Vol. XII of the Dunayevskaya Collection; see #9364-
Dunayevskaya reports on discussions with Martin Milligan and possible collaboration with him "on any work on Hegel."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Si" (Charles Denby), written March 10, 1960.

On Maurice Merleau-Ponty's "Marxism and Philosophy," as Dunayevskaya "re-read it with Automation in mind." Denby was at that time working on a News & Letters pamphlet entitled Workers Battle Automation (1960, #2843).

"World View of the Negro Question." Transcript of a lecture by Dunayevskaya given May 14, 1960, as part of a series of classes based on M&F.

On the Black Dimension in Africa and America; develops ideas discussed in Dunayevskaya's 1959 work, Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions (#2688). Transcript not corrected by Dunayevskaya; tape ran out before conclusion of lecture.

Excerpts from "From Organizational Consciousness to Organization Building."

The section entitled "The Average Man as Philosopher and the New Book" contains the first public projection by Dunayevskaya, of the work that was to become P&R.

Letters and Summations of Hegelian Philosophy relative to new book, begun 10/12/60, ended 1/26/61.


On Gustav Wetter's Dialectical Materialism, with concentration on Marxism and science.


On Bukharin, Hegel's Absolute Idea and liberation struggles in Africa.


A "rough outline" of the "points of the new book." To be read along with Dunayevskaya's letter to Marcuse written one day earlier. Gives the new book the title: "Philosophic Foundations of Man's Struggles for Freedom in Colonial Countries," though "no such title would actually be used."


Asks for books on "activity of the masses" in Africa.


On Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind, Science of Logic, Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences as part of Dunayevskaya's work on "philosophic foundations of the struggles for freedom."


On contradictions within the Johnson-Forest Tendency from 1947 to 1953 on the Hegelian dialectic and Marx's Humanism.

Olga Domanski letter to "Walt and Betty," written Nov. 12, 1960.
A discussion (at Dunayevskaya's request) of questions on science and Marxism raised in Dunayevskaya's Oct. 12, 1960 letter to Louis Gogol; on Einstein and "unified field theory."

The Philosphic Foundations for the Struggles for Freedom in the Latin American and Afro-Asian Countries.

Transcript of a lecture by Raya Dunayevskaya given in Detroit, Nov. 13, 1960. This is the first presentation on Dunayevskaya's work on the new book. Transcript not corrected by Dunayevskaya.


On Bukharin's Historical Materialism and Hegel's Absolute Idea; discusses Dunayevskaya's 1953 letters on Hegel's Absolutes and their expression in M&F.

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol, written Nov. 29, 1960.

Announces that she will end intensive work on the book and concentrate on organizational work in this period.


On Daniel Bell's book, The End of Ideology; on Wina's questions on ideas and freedom struggles in Africa. Wina was active in liberation movements in Northern Rhodesia.


A response to Dunayevskaya's letters of Oct. 16 and Nov. 22, 1960. Asks "why you need the Absolute Idea to say what you want to say." In this period, Dunayevskaya had just completed her summary of Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind and was beginning work on a summary of the Science of Logic. For the texts of these summaries, see #2806.


On Marxism in Africa and his view of Marxist-Humanism.


On Marxist-Humanism in Africa, in the Hungarian Revolution, and in the U.S.


On her summation of Hegel's Science of Logic, just completed. For Dunayevskaya's letter on her summary of Hegel's Phenomenology, see #12333.


On Domanski's study of Dunayevskaya's letters to Marcuse and summaries of Hegel's works. This is the only substantive response to the "philosophical letters" of Oct. 1960 – Jan. 1961 that Dunayevskaya received.

Some Notes for Saturday's Presentation to the REB.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13844.pdf

Opens discussion on Spence's area of specialization — China — with concepts from the Phenomenology of Mind which relate to Mao Tse-tung. In this period Dunayevskaya had just completed the third in her series of Hegel summaries, her notes on Hegel's Smaller Logic from the Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences.

Dunayevskaya letter to Jonathan Spence, written June 1, 1961.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13846.pdf

On the "context" of Dunayevskaya's discussions with Spence on China, the Absolute Idea. A discussion of Absolute Idea in Hegel's Science of Logic; Dunayevskaya traces Hegel's text, relates it to Marx, to Lenin, and to post-World War II freedom struggles. This letter was intended "as basis for my actual writing of that chapter on the Absolute Idea in my book." For other 1961 letters exchanged by Spence and Dunayevskaya, see #12791ff.

A Brief Outline of the New Book.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13851.pdf

A "Weekly Political Letter" written June 3, 1961 by Dunayevskaya. Accompanies copies of Dunayevskaya's letter to Jonathan Spence; gives proposed frontispiece quotes by Hegel and Marx for the book; outlines five parts. The "Weekly Political Letters" series was begun by Dunayevskaya April 22, 1961, in response to the U.S.-sponsored "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba. After this letter was written, Dunayevskaya drafted a first chapter of the new book in outline form, entitled "Subjectivity of Self-liberation." (#4317)


Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Sept. 21, 1961 (excerpts).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13854.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13856.pdf

On Dunayevskaya's plans for her 1962 trip to Africa and the way the African trip relates to the new book. Included also is Dunayevskaya's draft of the letter.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13859.pdf

On plans for the Africa trip and organizational responsibilities. Dunayevskaya asks that her June 3, 1961 Outline of the new book be re-studied. In this period News and Letters Committees had just published a new pamphlet, Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13860.pdf

On Robert Tucker's Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx; on Dunayevskaya's M&F.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13864.pdf

On Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind; on what distinguishes Hegel's Absolute Idea from those of other philosophers.

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written April 23, 1962.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13867.pdf

Written during Dunayevskaya's April-May 1962 trip to West Africa. (For letters written during this trip, see Vol. XII, #9573-9677.) Discusses the relationship between perspectives for the new book and the experience of the African trip.

Report to the Resident Editorial Board (REB) of News and Letters Committees on "Some Ramifications of the African and British trips."
Dunayevskaya's report was given July 10, 1962. Included here are excerpts from the REB minutes of that report.


On "the internalization of the African experience" for the work on the book. In this period Dunayevskaya was at work on American Civilization on Trial.

A. James Gregor letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 7, 1963.

A continuation of correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Gregor, an author of articles on Marx's 1844 manuscripts. Gregor comments on the Hegel-Marx relationship.


On subject-object concept in Marx's 1844 Manuscripts, and on the unity of Marx's outlook from 1844 through the writing of Capital.


Dunayevskaya submits her review of Jean-Paul Sartre's Search for a Method for publication. This review served as the first draft of what became Chapter 6 of P&R, "Jean-Paul Sartre: Outsider Looking In."


Dunayevskaya letter to Erich Fromm, written Nov. 21, 1963.

An appeal by Dunayevskaya "for a dialogue on Hegel between us"; includes a discussion of Sartre and the section on "Spirit in Self-Estrangement" from Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind.


On the Marx-Engels relationship and the different understanding each had of the Hegelian dialectic.


A letter to the youth committee on Dunayevskaya's archival material from the early 1940s on Marx's Early Essays and Hegel.


Walker was then in Mississippi during Mississippi Freedom Summer. On Marcuse's 1960 preface to Reason and Revolution, especially on Marcuse's view of science and Dunayevskaya's.

Dunayevskaya presentation on "Stewardship of Leadership" to Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees given July 8, 1964 (excerpts).

On "where we must begin on uncharted roads — in the 1953 Letters on the Absolute Idea."


On Dunayevskaya's re-reading of Marcuse's 1960 preface to Reason and Revolution, "pin-pointing the philosophic point that separates us."

On "the philosophic problems of the new book." Dunayevskaya offers "an outline of one of the parts," tentatively titled "Why Hegel? Why Now?" Suggests that the title of the new book might be Philosophy and Human Liberation.

Dunayevskaya letter to Harry McShane (Glasgow, Scotland), written Oct. 1, 1964.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13893.pdf
Asks his assistance with "philosophical problems of the new book."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13849.pdf
On Marx's view of "mode of production"; on a philosophy for the 1960s.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13896.pdf
On the "nature of the proletariat" under state-capitalism; on suggestions for a study of the Hegelian dialectic.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13898.pdf
An "informal" outline of a chapter of "my new work (which I lean to calling Philosophy and Revolution) that deals with 'Why Hegel? Why Now?'"


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13903.pdf

Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Bergmann, written Nov. 8, 1964.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13904.pdf
Asks for assistance with translation of a passage from Marx's Grundrisse. Dunayevskaya wished to check Marcuse's translation of this passage. (Bergmann's reply, including his translation, is included in the Chapter files for P&R. — Marx, Section 2.)


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13905.pdf
Accompanies Dunayevskaya's review of Marcuse's One-Dimensional Man. (The review was published in The Activist, 1964, and is included in Vol. XII of the Dunayevskaya Collection, #10069.)

Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Bergmann, written Nov. 16, 1964.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13906.pdf
On Bergmann's translation of excerpts from the Grundrisse; on the relationship of Luxemburg, Lassalle, and Marx to Hegel.

Special Meeting on the Philosphic Problems of the New Book.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13907.pdf
Report to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees given by Dunayevskaya, Nov. 29, 1964. Included here are the REB minutes.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13910.pdf
Asks for "philosophic dialogue on Hegel"; sends him draft outline on "Subjectivity of self-liberation."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13911.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13913.pdf
Submits her article, "Sartre's Search for a Method to Undermine Marxism," for publication. Calls it "chapter in my projected work, tentatively entitled Philosophy and Revolution." In March, 1965,
Dunayevskaya wrote a review of Sartre's The Words for the Oberlin student journal, The Activist. (This review is included in the Collection, #3363.)

**Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written July 22, 1965.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13914.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13914.pdf)

On her forthcoming trip to Japan and the need to focus on the writing of the new book. In the preceding months, Dunayevskaya had been at work on a new pamphlet published by News and Letters Committees, The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Erich Fromm, written Aug. 25, 1965.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13915.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13915.pdf)

Asks for support from Fromm for her request for a Guggenheim Fellowship to complete Philosophy and Revolution.

**Dunayevskaya letter to "Com. Yukiyama" (Yoshimasa Yukiyama), written Sept. 14, 1965.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13917.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13917.pdf)

On the post-World War II world and the problems of revolutionary thought today; asks for a dialogue in advance of Dunayevskaya's trip.

**Erich Fromm letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 13, 1965.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13919.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13919.pdf)

Sends his report to the Guggenheim Foundation on Dunayevskaya. From November, 1965 through January, 1966, Dunayevskaya was on a trip to Hong Kong and Japan. For letters written during this trip, see #9678-9888.

**Tadayuki Tsushima letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 8, 1966.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13921.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13921.pdf)

On his articles on state-capitalism and on Lenin.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Tadayuki Tsushima, written March 13, 1966.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13923.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13923.pdf)

Asks for Tushima's participation in a special issue of News & Letters on state-capitalism.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Erich Fromm, written May 16, 1966.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13924.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13924.pdf)

On Marx's doctoral thesis on "The Differences in the Philosophies of Democritus and Epicurus"; on Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Yoshimasa Yukiama, written May 22, 1966.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13925.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13925.pdf)

Asks for a report on "works on the question of Hegel in Japan, postwar Japan."

**Dunayevskaya letter to Nat Simon, written May 26, 1966.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13926.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13926.pdf)

Seeks copies of Georg Lukacs' "What is Orthodox Marxism?"; German edition of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind; Russian edition of Marx's doctoral thesis.

**Yoshimasa Yukiama letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 27, 1966.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13927.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13927.pdf)

Responds to Dunayevskaya's request for a report on Hegel studies in Japan.

**Stewardship of Leadership.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13932.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13932.pdf)


**Eugene Walker letter to Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 17, 1966.**

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13935.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13935.pdf)

Comments on Dunayevskaya's just-completed essay, "State-Capitalism and Marxist-Humanism, or Philosophy and Revolution."
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13936.pdf
On the development of state-capitalist theory, 1940-56, "and how that led to Marxist-Humanism."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13938.pdf
On her re-reading of the articles by East Europeans in the symposium, Socialist Humanism, edited by Erich Fromm.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13939.pdf
Comments on an article by Franz Schurnann (Oct. 20, 1966) on the Chinese "Cultural Revolution."

Dunayevskaya letter to "S" (East Europe), written Nov. 25, 1966.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13942.pdf
Asks him to attempt a draft chapter of Philosophy and Revolution on "the relationship of the advanced to the technologically backward countries." Also included here are excerpts from Dunayevskaya's follow-up letter, written Dec. 17, 1966, on the proposed chapter.

Correspondence, Presentations and Notes on the Writing of Philosophy and Revolution, January, 1967 – August, 1968.
Dunayevskaya letter to Harry McShane, written Jan. 11, 1967.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13944.pdf
Seeks a copy of paper by Nikolai Bukharin to International Congress of the History of Science and Technology (London, 1931).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13945.pdf
During this period Dunayevskaya is completing the first draft of what became Chapter 1 of P&R — on Hegel's Absolutes. Asks for a typist to finish the mss.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13946.pdf
Reports finishing her "draft chapter on Hegel's Absolutes"; asks if he would be willing to comment on it.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13947.pdf
Agrees to read Dunayevskaya's draft chapter.

Dunayevskaya letter to Harry McShane, written Jan. 27, 1967.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13948.pdf
Sends McShane a copy of "a part of Ch. 2 of the book" [on Marx]. Asks McShane to search for a Hegelian in Britain willing to comment on the chapter on Hegel's Absolutes. The following day, Dunayevskaya drafts a new Outline of Philosophy and Revolution as a whole. (For the text of the outline, see #4334.)

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13949.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13950.pdf
Sends copy of chapter on "Hegel's Absolutes as New Beginnings"; asks for discussion.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13951.pdf
Sends first two sections of Chapter 2 [on Marx].

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13952.pdf
Sends Chapter 3 [on Lenin].
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13953.pdf
Reports all three chapters of draft of "Part II — Why Hegel? Why Now?" — are finished; discusses plans for "theoretical conferences."

Dunayevskaya letter to "S" (East Europe), written Feb. 16, 1967.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13954.pdf
A discussion of approaches to the "economic chapter" of P&R which "S" was then drafting.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13956.pdf
On the nature of the proposed theoretical conference.

Philosophic Conference on the New Book.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13957.pdf
Transcript of the Introduction to lecture given by Dunayevskaya in Detroit, March 19, 1967. Transcript not corrected by Dunayevskaya.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13962.pdf
Gives an outline of P&R as a whole.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13963.pdf
Comments on Chapter 1, Dunayevskaya's draft chapter on Hegel's Absolutes, especially on a point from her discussion of Hegel's three final syllogisms of his Philosophy of Mind.

Dunayevskaya letter to Egon Lass, written June 12, 1967.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13964.pdf
On Hegel's principle of "negation of negation."

Richard Ashcraft letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 14, 1967.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13965.pdf
Comments on Dunayevskaya's draft chapter on Hegel.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13967.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13970.pdf
On the urgent need to "gather my writings" in outside publications, in letters, in Dunayevskaya's own files.

"S" (East Europe) letter to Dunayevskaya, written Aug. 13, 1967.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13971.pdf
Encloses his draft of chapter on "economics," in three parts: 1) "State Planning"; 2) "Analysis of the Third World"; 3) "Relationship of Industrialized World to Underdeveloped."

Dunayevskaya letter to "S" (East Europe), written Sept. 10, 1967.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13992.pdf
Comments on his draft chapter, and asks for further research.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13994.pdf
Places herself "off limits" for all work except work on the writing of P&R.

Dunayevskaya letter to "S" (East Europe), written Nov. 13, 1967.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13995.pdf
On the relationship between philosophy and economics in the work on the book. Dunayevskaya reports beginning work on drafting a chapter on economic reality today.

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol, written Nov. 18, 1967.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13996.pdf
On theoretical problems which "arose in trying to write Chapter 1 on the world economic situation." On the relationship of philosophy to economics, as Dunayevskaya critiques Tony Cliff's article "Crisis in China" (International Socialism, 1967).

Charles Leinenweber letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 29, 1967.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13999.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13999.pdf)
Comments on her draft chapter on "Leon Trotsky as Theoretician," which was completed Nov. 3, 1967.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14003.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14003.pdf)
Asks to read draft chapter on Leon Trotsky. During this period, Dunayevskaya completed her "Notes for a series of lectures on Lenin on Hegel's Science of Logic" (#3885).

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14004.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14004.pdf)

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14007.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14007.pdf)
A response to his critique of the draft chapter on Leon Trotsky.

Dunayevskaya letter to "S" (East Europe), written Jan. 20, 1968.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14009.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14009.pdf)
Requests a copy of Marx's Grundrisse in Russian edition; Marx's original conclusion to Vol. I of Capital, known as "Chapter 6." Comments on difficulties in writing the chapter on "economics."

On Che Guevara.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14010.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14010.pdf)

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14013.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14013.pdf)
On Dunayevskaya's documents on the history of the theory of state-capitalism, and the possibility that she might donate them to that repository.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14016.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14016.pdf)
On Louis Althusser's essay, "Contradiction and Over-determination."

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14018.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14018.pdf)
Sends draft chapter on today's economic reality as written by "S" (East Europe) for study. Reports that she is working on her own draft of the same chapter, but that neither chapter will be Part I of the book; Hegel "is where we will have to start."

Richard Ashcraft letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 12, 1968.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14019.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14019.pdf)
Comments on draft chapter on "Leon Trotsky as Theoretician."

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14025.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14025.pdf)
Response to his critique of draft chapter on Trotsky; discussion of new draft of Lenin chapter.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14027.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14027.pdf)
Accompanies draft of "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation"; questions whether it will be in Part I of the book.

Dunayevskaya letter to "S" (East Europe), written March 21, 1968.
link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14028.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14028.pdf)
Sends her draft chapter on "economic reality"; compares her approach in this chapter to his draft on the same subject.

On the "procedure I now follow on Philosophy and Revolution"; plans for future work on the book. Dunayevskaya resumes work on a second draft of Chapter 1, on Hegel.


On theoretical and organizational perspectives from the vantage point of "beginning from the Absolute."


On P&R as the "most concrete of all the tasks" facing Dunayevskaya "as leader of a revolutionary organization."

Dunayevskaya letter to Ivan Svitak, written July 31, 1968.

On events in Czechoslovakia and the need to "establish purely philosophic relations among Marxists."

Ivan Svitak letter to Dunayevskaya, written Aug. 12, 1968.

Reports that he read Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom about "three years ago, and sometime I will show you an article where there is a quotation from your work, e.g., on your question of whether man can be free in nowadays society."

Correspondence, Presentations and Notes on the Writing of Philosophy and Revolution, October, 1968 – April, 1973.


Reports on progress toward completing the "draft of P&R — second draft for most chapters, and first for those chapters that have heretofore been only in my mind." Sends the second draft of "Chapter 1, Hegel's Absolutes as New Beginnings"


A follow-up to the preceding letter; on "organizational responsibilities of leadership in matters of philosophy."


On changes in the form of the book; sends new section of Chapter 2, on the Grundrisse.


On Marx's Grundrisse and its relevance today.


Outlines Part I of P&R as a whole; asks for help with typing.


Draft of "the Call for the Black-Red Conference" to be held in Detroit, Jan., 1969. For the report on the conference, at which Dunayevskaya presented themes from P&R to Black workers and civil rights activists, see #4338.


Sends out the Introduction to Part II of P&R: "The Interregnum: Void and Retrogression vs. Movement from Practice"; gives Outline for Part II. Also included here are excerpts from the Resident Editorial Board minutes of Dec. 15, 1968, on Part II.


Responds to Stein's notes on Dunayevskaya's draft of Chapter 1 of P&R.

On a "possible re-structuring" of Parts II and III of P&R.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14061.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14061.pdf)
Reports that she has just completed the preparation of her archives for donation to Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs; discusses the whole period 1941-55 as "Marxist-Humanism." During this period Dunayevskaya also wrote another document summarizing her work, "The Newness of Our Philosophic-Historic Contribution," #4407.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14062.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14062.pdf)
Also included is an abbreviated transcript of Dunayevskaya's report.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14070.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14070.pdf)
On archives of Marxist-Humanism "as a continuing, living experience." 


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14071.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14071.pdf)
On Dunayevskaya's relationship with Tony Cliff, and on state-capitalist theory. Asks McShane to obtain A.V. Miller's new translation of Hegel's Science of Logic for her.

Dunayevskaya letter to "S" (East Europe), written Oct. 27, 1969.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14073.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14073.pdf)
Asks for discussion on "philosophy and reality" in East Europe.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14074.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14074.pdf)
Discussion of the history of Marx's Grundrisse, part of which Dunayevskaya had sent to Ternette for translation as possible appendix to P&R.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14076.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14076.pdf)
Comments on draft of Chapter 1 of P&R, on Hegel.

Dunayevskaya letter to Freely Perlman, written Jan. 4, 1970.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14080.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14080.pdf)
Response to Perlman's critique of several draft chapters of P&R; a discussion of Hegel, Sartre and Marx in the book.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14082.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14082.pdf)
Responds to Markovic's critique of Chapter 1 of P&R; on Hegel's Absolutes and their ramifications for Marx and Lenin.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14084.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14084.pdf)
On why she has decided to bring in Hegel's discussion on "Attitudes to Objectivity" in the Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences into her discussion of Science of Logic in Chapter 1 of P&R. During this period, Dunayevskaya was at work on a third draft of Chapter 1 of the book.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14086.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14086.pdf)
Reports finishing third draft of Chapter 1; comments on her 1953 letters on Hegel's Absolutes as cause of the break-up of Correspondence Committees.

Dunayevskaya letter to J.N. Findlay, written Feb. 9, 1970.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14087.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14087.pdf)
On Hegel as "a contemporary of ours"; outlines Part I of P&R. In the following three weeks, Dunayevskaya completed a second draft of Chapter 3, on Lenin.

Dunayevskaya letter to Paul Piccone, Telos, written May 7, 1970.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14088.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14088.pdf)
On the title of her article on Lenin, submitted to Telos for publication. The article was published by Telos (Spring, 1970), and is already included in the Dunayevskaya Collection, #4516.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14089.pdf

Accepts Piccone's invitation to discuss her work on P&R at the Telos conference, Oct. 1970. Also included is a "P.S." written Aug. 1, 1970, on Dunayevskaya's relationship with Paul Buhle; and a tentative schedule of the conference.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14093.pdf

Asks if he would be interested in working on a chapter on "the relationship of philosophy to revolution in East Europe."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14094.pdf

Excerpts from report on the conference in which Dunayevskaya participated, as written up by Paul Piccone.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14098.pdf

Asks for his collaboration in work on a new last chapter of P&R, on "the Black Dimension at home rather than abroad."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14099.pdf

On just-completed second draft of Chapter 2, on Marx.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14101.pdf

On the methodological problems of Part II, which she now began to re-write.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14103.pdf

Written during the re-writing of the chapter on Mao, Dunayevskaya comments on Joseph Levenson's last article in China Quarterly (1969), "Communist China in Time and Space: Roots and Rootlessness." Levenson had just died.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14104.pdf

On the need for a chapter in Part III of P&R on East Europe in the period since 1963.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14105.pdf

Reports finishing the chapter on Mao; suggests preparation for their collaboration on Chapter 9, "New Passions and New Forces."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14106.pdf

On the completion of the second draft of Part II of P&R, with the exception of the chapter on Sartre.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14108.pdf

Asks for clarification of the relationship between revolutionary "subjects" and "philosophy of revolution."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14110.pdf

On the relationship between subjects of revolution and a philosophy of liberation.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14112.pdf

On the Hegelian concepts of "Fact" and "Ground" in the Smaller Logic.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14113.pdf
Comments on Chapter 9, "New Passions and New Forces"; on "Black Masses, as vanguard." Two days earlier, Dunayevskaya met with Women's Liberationists, to discuss Part III of P&R.


Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Greeman, written March 5, 1971.

Asks Greeman (in Paris) to obtain Reinhart Klemens Maurer's Hegel und das Ende der Geschichte (1965).


Asks for translation of pp. 85-90 of Maurer's book; discusses the importance of the three final syllogisms of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind, on which Maurer is commenting in those pages. Brokmeyer, in turn, asked Fred Ehrmann to carry out the translation work.


On "leadership responsibilities" as "relationship to P&R."

Mihailo Markovic letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 23, 1971.

Comments on just completed draft of Chapter 8 of P&R, on "State-capitalism and the East European Revolts."

"S" (East Europe) letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 6, 1971.

Comments on draft of Chapter 8 of P&R, especially on the Polish workers' revolt of 1970-71.


Reports she has just finished Chapter 9, and that "the book as a whole" is completed. Includes a brief "contents page" of all nine chapters. O'Neill was at that time at work on a Preface to P&R.


Asks Domanski to correct the contents page of P&R to reflect the new title Dunayevskaya had just chosen for Chapter 1 – "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning." Dunayevskaya was at this time working on final editing of all the chapters of P&R.


Proposes issuing a special pamphlet of her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes; discusses Hegel's three final syllogisms of Philosophy of Mind.

Hayden White letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 5, 1971.

Comments on Chapter 1, on Hegel.

Dunayevskaya letter to Hayden White, written Nov. 9, 1971.

On the Sartre chapter of P&R. Dunayevskaya had just completed a draft of her Introduction to P&R on Nov. 7, 1971.

Peter Bergmann letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 10, 1971.

Argues against Dunayevskaya's thesis: "Why Hegel? Why Now?"


Sends the finished mss. of P&R.

Reports that the book has been mailed to publishers; asks for "internalization" of it as "historic transition point"; discusses three final syllogisms of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind.

Dunayevskaya letter to McKim Steele, written May 16, 1972.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14143.pdf
On the role of intellectuals in the revolutionary movement.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14146.pdf
Comments on Chapter 2 of P&R, on Marx.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14147.pdf
Reports that she has signed a contract for the publication of P&R with Dell; discusses White's critique of chapter on Marx.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14148.pdf
Reports that Dell will not agree to print O'Neill's preface.

Richard Huett letter to Dunayevskaya, written July 18, 1972.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14149.pdf
Objects to Dunayevskaya's proposed subtitle for P&R — "Marxist-Humanism."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14150.pdf
Suggests subtitle for P&R.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14151.pdf
Editorial comments and suggestions on Part I of P&R.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14154.pdf
Editorial comments and suggestions on Parts II and III.

Richard Huett letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 3, 1972.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14157.pdf
Suggests eliminating the Appendix (translation from Marx's Grundrisse), and the chapter on Sartre.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14158.pdf
Explains why she cannot agree to drop the Sartre chapter.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14160.pdf
Responds to Huett's suggestions on Parts II and III. Included here also is Dunayevskaya's letter of Nov. 17, 1972 to the editorial staff at Dell, detailing mss. changes.

Richard Huett letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 27, 1972.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14164.pdf
Final editorial questions and comments; suggests subtitle for P&R: "From Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao."

Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Huett, written Nov. 29, 1972.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14165.pdf
Response to editorial suggestions and proposal on subtitle.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14166.pdf
On his opposition to Dunayevskaya's argument for "Why Hegel? Why Now?" Included here are both the handwritten original and a typed transcript.

Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Bergmann, written Dec. 22, 1972.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14175.pdf
Brief response to his critique. The full texts of both Bergmann's critique and Dunayevskaya's response are included in Vol. XII of the Collection, #10093.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14176.pdf
Offers to write a statement on P&R for use by the publisher.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14177.pdf
Sends comments on his reading of the mss. of P&R. Included here are Fetscher's detailed comments. Some of the handnotes on the comments are Fetscher's; others are by Dunayevskaya.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14181.pdf
Response to Fetscher's critique of her mss.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14182.pdf
On "Philosophy and Revolution as Organization Builder"; on the relationship of Lenin to Lassalle's concept of organization.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14185.pdf
On his own remembrances of Lenin and Kautsky on organization in the pre-World War I period. Included here are both the handwritten original and a typed transcript.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14187.pdf

Erich Fromm telegram to Dunayevskaya, written March 25, 1973
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14188.pdf
Suggests four editorial corrections in the mss.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14189.pdf
Returns galley proofs for Part II of P&R; notes major transpositions in the sequence of Chapter 5, on Mao Tse-tung.

Section IV. Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

Draft Titles and Tables of Contents for Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

In the Spring of 1975, Raya Dunayevskaya was invited to give a series of lectures on women's liberation at the University Center for Adult Education in Detroit, Michigan. During these lectures, which were entitled "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries," Dunayevskaya announced plans to write a "new book" on this subject. From the Fall of 1975 to the Fall of 1978, she engaged in preliminary research on the book, and drafted six possible titles. Dunayevskaya began to write draft chapters in Sept. 1978. These draft chapters were accompanied by five different proposed Tables of Contents of the book, written from May 1980 through September 1981.

Draft titles for the "new book."
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14191.pdf
A list of proposed titles created by Dunayevskaya from October, 1975 through September, 1979.

Table of Contents as written May 5, 1980.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14192.pdf
Table of Contents as printed in the "Official Call for Convention" of News and Letters Committees, June 1, 1980.

Table of Contents as written Nov. 3, 1980.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14194.pdf
Chapter Files Created At the Conclusion of the Writing of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

At the completion of the writing of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, Dunayevskaya asked her secretary-colleague, Olga Domanski, to collect all of the materials used in the writing of the book, and organize them into "chapter files," patterned on the files Dunayevskaya had organized herself during the writing of Philosophy and Revolution. Domanski created these chapter files in the Fall of 1982. The files included: 1) reading notes on books and articles studied by Dunayevskaya; 2) a small amount of correspondence concerning the writing of the book; 3) notes and texts from presentations given during the writing of the book; 4) texts of articles written by others, taken from books, journals or newspapers, and often marked with Dunayevskaya's marginalia; 5) translations of works from Russian, Polish, German and French, both by Dunayevskaya and by others. In this section, the chapter files are presented as they were created by Olga Domanski. The names given to files which are not strictly "chapter files" were assigned by Domanski. Two kinds of documents have been excluded from the files as presented here: 1) translations of articles by Marx, Luxemburg and others which were not made by Dunayevskaya; and 2) texts of published articles by others which Dunayevskaya marked up.

Chapter 1

Notes on "The Fifth London Congress of the RSDRP (Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party), 1963 edition of the original 1909 publication of the 1907 Congress."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14203.pdf

Notes on speeches by Luxemburg, Lenin, Trotsky. Also includes Dunayevskaya's notes on references to the 1907 Congress in Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution.

References to the Fifth Congress (Pyatyi Syezd RSDRP).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14206.pdf

Notes from V.I. Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 12, Jan.-June, 1907; from Leon Trotsky's My Life; from Angelica Balabanoff, Impressions of Lenin; from Isaac Deutscher, The Prophet Armed. Also included are notes from "Minutes of the Fifth Congress, Contents of the Sessions." Extensive handnotes by Dunayevskaya on these reading notes are included, as well as unmarked copy of the reading notes.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14214.pdf

Also included are quotations by Lenin from Vol. 12.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14218.pdf

This document is marked "2nd version." Also included is a fragment from a "3rd version of my notes on Schwartz's The Russian Revolution of 1905."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14225.pdf

Alternative: On 1905 Revolution and 1907 Congress.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14229.pdf

Fragments from two different early drafts by Dunayevskaya of Chapter 1 of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Lecture notes from a speech by Dunayevskaya on the 1905 Russian Revolution, given at Russian Institute, Columbia University, Jan. 30, 1980.
Translation by Dunayevskaya of Rosa Luxemburg’s "Concluding remarks" to the 1907 Congress of the RSDRP. Speech given to 24th session of the Congress.

Two drafts of Dunayevskaya's translation are included here. Extracts from this speech appear in Chapter 1 of Dunayevskaya's book.

Chapter 2
Notes on Dick Howard, Selected Political Writings of Rosa Luxemburg (1971).


Notes on Carl E. Schorske, German Social Democracy, 1905-17 (1955).


These notes were created by Dunayevskaya in 1948.

Chapter 3
Notes on The Accumulation of Capital — an Anti-Critique, by Rosa Luxemburg, and Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital, by N. I. Bukharin.


Notes on Georg Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness.

Brief notes on references in Lukacs' book to Luxemburg.

The Dialectic (specifically Science of Logic, even more specifically Section 3 of Vol. 2, and most specifically the Absolute Idea) vs. the Methodology of Luxemburg.


Notes on Rosa Luxemburg, "Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy" (1904)

as published in Dick Howard, Selected Political Writings of Rosa Luxemburg (1971).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14281.pdf
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14285.pdf
(The title "Leninism or Marxism?" was not Luxemburg's; her title was "Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy.")
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14288.pdf
Dunayevskaya's notes concentrate on quotations from Luxemburg on the 1917 Russian Revolution. Fragment only.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14290.pdf
Copy marked "Rough translation"; probably created in the 1940s.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14300.pdf
On Hegel's view of "causality." Dunayevskaya wrote at top of page: "Quotations appended to Organization chapter."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14301.pdf
A mimeographed publication of part of a letter written by Dunayevskaya. The full text of the letter is included in the Dunayevskaya Collection, #1326.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14303.pdf
Dunayevskaya's extracts of Lenin's critiques of Luxemburg on the National Question.

Notes on Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Theories of Imperialism (1980).
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14306.pdf
Notes on Walter Held, "Once Again, Lenin and Luxemburg,' Fourth International, June, 1940.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14309.pdf
Lenin and Junius: the Junius Pamphlet.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14311.pdf

Notes on E.J. Simmons, ed., Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought (1955).
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14316.pdf
Chapter 5
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14317.pdf
The Revolution Starts.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14318.pdf
An early draft by Dunayevskaya of the last section of Chapter 5 of the book, on the period from November 1918 to January 1919. Fragments only.

Last excerpts from Nettl re: German Revolution.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14324.pdf
Notes by Dunayevskaya on Chapters 16 and 17 of J.P. Nettl, Rosa Luxemburg (1966). Affixed to the top of the first page of notes is a quotation from Hegel's Science of Logic on "Cause."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14326.pdf

Notes on J.P. Nettl, Rosa Luxemburg (Chapters 14 and 15 of Vol. II only).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14327.pdf

Chapter 6

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14329.pdf

A response to Lee's "Second Thoughts" on the book Black Woman by Toni Cade (1970). Also included is Lee's "Second Thoughts."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14333.pdf

On the need to devote a whole "Part II" of the book to Women's Liberation. Also included is the first draft of the letter, and a response to it written by Eugene Walker, on Feb. 12, 1981.

The Black Dimension (to be put in after the 1907 Congress).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14339.pdf

An early draft of a section of Chapter 6 of the book; it was evidently written originally to follow discussion of the 1907 Congress of the RSDRP in Chapter 1.

Notes on Elzbieta Ettinger's use of the expression "Women's War" to refer to the 1863 Polish insurrection, in Ettinger's Comrade and Lover (1979).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14343.pdf

Notes on Bell Gale Chevigny, The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings (1976).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14344.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14346.pdf

Notes on Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (1972).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14348.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14349.pdf


Brief Summary of Talk Given by Raya Dunayevskaya to Wayne State University Women's Liberation, March 7, 1975.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14356.pdf

Dunayevskaya's speech was entitled "Women's Creativity and Liberation, Nationally and Internationally."

Handnotes on the summary are by Dunayevskaya.

Chapter 7

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14360.pdf

Notes on anti-Semitic and male chauvinist attacks on Luxemburg by German Social Democratic Party leaders in 1910-11.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14362.pdf

Fragment only. One reference is to J.P. Nettl, Rosa Luxemburg.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14363.pdf

Women's Liberation—in the air.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14365.pdf
Notes by Dunayevskaya on the Black dimension and Women's Liberation at the time of the 1848 revolutions, and again in 1905.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14366.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14370.pdf
On Roland-Holst's biography of Rosa Luxemburg. Also included is Westerbeek's translation of excerpts from Roland-Holst's book, on the Luxemburg-Karl Kautsky relationship, and on Accumulation of Capital.

Eugene Walker letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 16, 1980.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14374.pdf
On Dunayevskaya's draft of the Chapter on "Luxemburg as Feminist."
Notes by Peter Wermuth on "Rosa Luxemburg's letters to Mathilde Jacob," written in 1978.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14376.pdf
Description of letters at Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Fragment (one page only) from Karen Honeycutt, "Clara Zetkin: A Left-Wing Socialist and Feminist in Wilhelminian Germany" (1975).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14377.pdf
Handnotes on the fragment are by Dunayevskaya.

Chapter 8

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14378.pdf
Notes on Maria Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta, Maria Velho da Costa, The Three Marias (1975).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14387.pdf
Also included is a speech by Maria Barreno as printed in News & Letters (April, 1975).

Portugal, 1975.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14390.pdf
Notes by Dunayevskaya on The Three Marias and the Portuguese Revolution.

Notes on Aborto e Contracepao, em debate, a colloquium, organized by the Higher Institute of Social and Political Sciences at the Universidade Tecnica de Lisboa (Portugal), March 1975.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14391.pdf
Dunayevskaya's extracts from the debate center on the remarks of Isabel do Carmo, the representative of the PRP-BR.

Notes on issue of Revolucao (Jan. 27, 1977), the newspaper of the PRP-BR (Portugal).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14399.pdf
Exchange of correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Maria Barreno, beginning Feb. 25, 1975 and ending Sept. 9, 1975.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14400.pdf
Discussion on Women's Liberation, on Marx's Marxism, and on Dunayevskaya's series of lectures on "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries" (1975).

Dunayevskaya letter to Isabel do Carmo, probably written in 1976.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14404.pdf
On Rosa Luxemburg and the Women's Liberation Movement today.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14407.pdf
Two sets of notes are included.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14412.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14413.pdf

On women in the Iranian Revolution.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14416.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14417.pdf

Notes on Sheila Rowbotham, Women, Resistance and Revolution (1972); F.C. Griffin, ed., Woman as Revolutionary (1973).
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14418.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14421.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14423.pdf

Two different sets of notes on this work are included.

Notes on Catalyst, Nos. 10-11, Summer 1977, "Special Issue on Feminist Thought."
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14428.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14431.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14433.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14435.pdf
Includes presentation by Olga Domanski.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14441.pdf
Fragment only; one page on Luxemburg's view of 1905-06 Russian Revolution.

Lydia Sargent (South End Press), letter to Dunayevskaya written Feb. 13, 1979.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14442.pdf

Invites Dunayevskaya to submit an article to a forthcoming book on Women and Revolution. Handnotes are by Dunayevskaya.

Lecture notes for speech by Dunayevskaya on "Literature and Revolution" to University Center for Adult Education (Detroit), given Oct. 20, 1975.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14443.pdf
The speech was the fifth in a series of lectures on "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14445.pdf

Chapter 9

Two fragments of early drafts of Chapter 9 of the book.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14447.pdf
On Marx's doctoral dissertation (1841); on Marx's view of Feuerbach.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14453.pdf

Notes on Rosa Luxemburg, "From the Legacy of Our Masters," a review of Mehring's collection of early writings of Marx and Engels (1901).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14456.pdf

Also included are Dunayevskaya's extracts of quotations from Mehring's Introduction to the collection.

Translations of extracts from early works of Marx, including:

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14461.pdf


Notes on Norman Livergood, Activity in Marx's Philosophy (1967).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14465.pdf

Notes on Herbert Marcuse, "The Foundation of Historical Materialism" (1932)

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14467.pdf


Notes on Maximilien Rubel and Margaret Manale, Marx Without Myth (1975).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14470.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14480.pdf

Notes on Nicholas Lobkowicz, Theory and Practice (1967).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14481.pdf

Notes on Karl Lowith, From Hegel to Nietzsche (1964).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14486.pdf

Quotation from Marx's "interpretation of Hegel's Phenomenology" only.

Quotation from Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, as cited in Dunayevskaya's "Then and Now," written April 16, 1953.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14487.pdf

Translations of extracts from Franz Mehring, "La These de Karl Marx sur Democrite et Epicure" (1901), as published in La Nouvelle Critique (1955).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14488.pdf

Translation from the French by Calum Weir.

Chapter 10

Two fragments of early drafts of Chapter 10, Section 2, of the book.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14493.pdf

On Marx's Capital and its relationship to his Grundrisse.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14496.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14502.pdf

The two sets of notes included here concern Rosdolsky's comments on Rosa Luxemburg.

Notes on Maximilien Rubel, Bibliographie des oeuvres de Karl Marx (1961).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14506.pdf

Also included are quotations from Marx's correspondence, and from Vol. I of Capital.


On the "Foreword" by Martin Nicolaus to the English translation of Marx's Grundrisse.

Chapter 11
Notes on Frederick Engels, "Critique of the Social-Democratic Program of 1891,"
as published in Neue Zeit (1901).

Quotation from H.M. Hyndman, The Record of an Adventurous Life (1911).


Dunayevskaya letter to Arthur McGovern, written June 1, 1978.

On dialectics in McGovern's writing of the draft of his book on Marxism and Christianity.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written March 5, 1980.

On the concept of permanent revolution; on Marx's work for the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

Chapter 12


Quotation from Frederick Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky, written Feb. 16, 1884.


Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written Nov. 3, 1980.

Requests Anderson search for a copy of Ryazanov's article mentioning the finding of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks.


Notes on Karl Marx, Ethnological Notebooks (1972).
Phenomenology and Mao.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14627.pdf
Notes on quotations from Hegel's Phenomenology used in Dunayevskaya's analysis of Mao.

Notes on V.I. Lenin, Leninski Sbornik, IX and XII (1930).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14628.pdf
Dunayevskaya's notes on the original Russian editions of Lenin's notebooks. First page of Dunayevskaya's notes is missing. Notes on Vol. IX include quotations from the Introduction by Deborin. Notes on Vol. XII include quotations from the Introduction by Adoratsky.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14630.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14632.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14635.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14636.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14637.pdf
Notes on George Lichtheim, Marxism (1961).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14640.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14641.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14643.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14645.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14647.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14651.pdf
Notes on George A. Kelly, Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis (1978). Notes focus on Chapter 1, "Politics and Philosophy," and Chapter 8, "Hegel and the 'Present Standpoint.'"

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14654.pdf
Notes on Gerard Chaliand, Revolution in the Third World (1977); Robert Alexander, Trotskyism in Latin America (1973).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14657.pdf
Notes on Reinhart Klemens Maurer, Hegel und das Ende der Geschichte (1965).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14665.pdf
These notes are restricted to the footnotes in Maurer on pp. 86-89, on Hegel's three final syllogisms of his Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences.

Notes on Karl Korsch, Karl Marx (1938).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14667.pdf
Notes on Grace Lee, letter of March 22, 1950
Notes on N. Bukharin and the Hegelian dialectic.


Notes for "Dialectics of Liberation, or Dialectics in Thought and in Action."


"The Humanism of Hegelian Philosophy or Adventures of the Hegelian Dialectic."

Summaries of Works on and by Luxemburg


Notes on "Luxemburg's review of Marx, Theories of Surplus Value," as published in Vorwarts, Jan. 8, 1905.

Notes on Paul Froelich, Rosa Luxemburg (1972).

Notes on Gilbert Badia, Rosa Luxemburg (1975).

Typed notes written by Michael Connolly; handnotes by Dunayevskaya.

Translation of Luxemburg letter to Hans Diefenbach, written May 12, 1917.

On her writing of the Anticritique. Translation of this letter is by Peter Wermuth, probably sent to Dunayevskaya in 1978.

Fragments of notes on quotations from Luxemburg, gathered by Dunayevskaya from several sources.
Works excerpted include Mary-Alice Waters, Rosa Luxemburg Speaks; Dick Howard, Selected Political Writings of Rosa Luxemburg; Robert Looker, Rosa Luxemburg: Selected Political Writings.

Notes on Form, Sequence, Etc.
Notes "Re Preface to book."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14750.pdf
Conclusion for Chapter 2.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14751.pdf
Notes on the years 1910-11, Luxemburg's research on the cause of imperialism.

Notes on the Spartacist Uprising, 1919.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14754.pdf
Form for Women's Liberation chapter: Then and Now.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14755.pdf
Notes on women's liberation in Luxemburg's time, and in the 1960s movement's view of Marx on Man/Woman.

Today's Women's Liberation Movement.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14758.pdf
Notes on women's liberation in Portugal and Iran, and in the 1960s movement in the U.S.

Alternate beginning for the Woman Question.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14760.pdf
Fragments of an early draft of Chapter 7, "Luxemburg as Feminist; Break with Jogiches."

Notes for the Black Dimension in the Women's Liberation chapter.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14769.pdf
On the period 1848-61, especially Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman; on Ida B. Wells; on women in 20th century Africa and America. Much of this material appears in Chapter 6.

Notes on Maria Stewart and Sojourner Truth.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14773.pdf
Notes on Luxemburg's letters to Karl and Luise Kautsky.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14775.pdf
Quotations on Women's Liberation, taken by Dunayevskaya from a variety of sources:

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14776.pdf

Rough Notes for Chapter 2, Part II. From the Grundrisse to the Critique of the Gotha Program.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14777.pdf
An early draft of what became Chapter 9 of the book.

Form and Sequence of Chapter 2, Part II.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14780.pdf
Another partial draft of what became Chapter 9 of the book.

What was used and what was skipped from the chapter on the Ethnological Notebooks.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14783.pdf
Notes for the re-working of Dunayevskaya's 1979 draft chapter into what became Chapter 12 of the book.

Fragments of drafts of what became Chapter 12 of the book, "The Last Writings of Marx Point a Trail to the 1980s."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14784.pdf
Notes on the relationship of Lenin's and Trotsky's theories of revolution in the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14788.pdf

Notes on Women's Liberation in Russia from several sources.

Draft Chapters of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

The first chapter of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution was drafted by Dunayevskaya in the period Sept.-Dec., 1978. Entitled "Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted," this draft chapter was published in News & Letters (Jan.-Feb., 1979), and included in Vol. X of the Dunayevskaya Collection (#6467). Two other draft chapters were also published in News & Letters and previously included in this collection: Chapter 1 of the book, "Before and After the 1905 Revolution: Two Turning Points in Luxemburg's Life" (#6420); and Chapter 2, "The Break with Kautsky, 1910-11" (#6426). Included here are drafts of chapters which have not previously been circulated to a wide audience, although they were shared with a number of women's liberation activists, intellectuals, and members of News and Letters Committees at the time they were written.

Rough Outline Rosa Luxemburg Book.

This is the earliest draft known of any portion of the book. Probably written in April, 1977, it contains handnotes by Dunayevskaya and by Olga Domanski.

Draft of Chapter III. Luxemburg's Interregnum and Excursus Into Marx's New Continent of Thought—From the "National Question" (Before and During World War I) to Accumulation of Capital.

Written January, 1980. Portions of this draft chapter were included in what became Chapter 4 of the book as published; other parts were included in Chapter 9 and Chapter 12. For Dunayevskaya's comments on this draft chapter as she completed it, see her letter of Jan. 14, 1980 (#6448). Also included here are "Further Random Notes on Chapter 3," written by Dunayevskaya sometime during 1980.

Draft of Chapter IV. Marx's and Luxemburg's Theories of Accumulation of Capital, Its Crises and Inevitable Downfall. Written April, 1980.

Outline of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Probably written in May, 1980, these notes are Dunayevskaya's first thoughts on what was eventually to become Part III of the book.

Notes on Chapter 5 — World War I and Revolutions of 1917, 1919.

This draft chapter, written in September, 1980, is the only draft known of Chapter 5 of the book. For a letter by Dunayevskaya on this draft, see #6459.

Rough Draft of Chapter 7—"Spontaneity, Organization, Philosophy (Dialectics)."

Notes on Chapter 5 — World War I and Revolutions of 1917, 1919.

This chapter is not included in the book in the form seen here; it was dropped by March, 1981. Parts of this mss., however, appear in Chapter 4 and Chapter 11 of the book as published.
Very Rough Draft of Final Chapter—"Philosophy of Revolution: The Development of Marx from a Critic of Hegel to the Author of Capital and Theorist of Permanent Revolution."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14884.pdf
Written in September, 1980. One month later, Dunayevskaya decided to expand this chapter into three chapters, calling it "a whole Part" of the book.

Women's Liberation, Then and Now.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14894.pdf
Draft of what was then Chapter 6 of the book. Written October, 1980, and circulated to members of Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees for discussion. For Dunayevskaya's letter to Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees as she completed this draft chapter, see #6459. This draft chapter was later expanded into Part II of the book, "The Women's Liberation Movement as Revolutionary Force and Reason."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14922.pdf
Written in early December, 1980. This is a draft of what became Chapter 11 of the book as published, "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization."

Chapter 10, Section 3. The Unknown Ethnological Notebooks, the Unread Drafts of Letters to Zasulich, as Well as Undigested 1882 Preface to the Russian Edition of the Communist Manifesto.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14941.pdf
Completed Dec. 23, 1980. This is the first draft of what became Chapter 12 of the book as published, "The Last Writings of Marx Point a Trail to the 1980s," although it does not include major elements of the finished chapter, specifically Dunayevskaya's new category, "Post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative."

Final form for what was Chapter 6, which becomes now Part Two: Women's Liberation.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14965.pdf
Probably written in January, 1981. For Dunayevskaya's letter on this work, see #6465.

Introduction. Written April 11, 1981.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14973.pdf
This first draft of the Introduction is significantly different from the version written May 5, 1981 and included in the book as published.

Notes for Changes on the Book, Chapter by Chapter, Even Though All I'm Interested in is a New Chapter 12.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14978.pdf
Notes for changes in the mss. of the book as a whole, written by Dunayevskaya in August, 1981. Page references are to the mss. copy of the book, typed in May, 1981. These notes include a four-page outline of a "New Chapter 12 to be entitled: New Grounds for the 1980s Emerge on the 100th Anniversary of Marx's Last Writings." Dunayevskaya added a later version of Chapter 12 to the mss. copy of the book in September, 1981.

New Additions to the Mss. as of Dec. 1, 1981.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14984.pdf
A compilation of additions made by Dunayevskaya to the mss. of the book after it was turned in to the publisher. Not all of the additions created by Dunayevskaya in this period are included here, and further changes in the text of the book were added as late as February, 1982, during the reading of the galley proofs. The passages added here include Dunayevskaya's addition of an entirely new "Section 4" of Chapter 12, entitled "A 1980s View," probably written in late October, 1981.

Correspondence, Presentations and Notes on the Writing of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, March, 1975-June, 1978

Women's Creativity and Liberation: Nationally and Internationally.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14997.pdf
A brief summary of a talk given by Dunayevskaya to Wayne State University (Detroit) Women's Liberation, March 7, 1975. Summary by Olga Domanski, checked by Dunayevskaya.

Olga (Sufritz) Domanski letter to Seymour Ricklin, University Center for Adult Education, Detroit, written June 13, 1975.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15001.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15001.pdf)

Domanski, as secretary to Dunayevskaya, submits Dunayevskaya's proposal to teach a course at UCAE on "Women as Reason as Well as Force, Nationally and Internationally." The course was to be given in September and October, 1975. Included also is a second letter, written by Domanski on June 18, 1975, modifying the title to "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries," and proposing a preliminary reading list for the classes.

Dialectics of Leadership, summary of a speech by Dunayevskaya to Executive Session of News and Letters Committees Plenum, Aug. 31, 1975.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15003.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15003.pdf)

Dunayevskaya's report had three parts: 1) "the artificer, laws of the heart and the fetishism of commodities"; 2) "the dialectics of an epoch in crisis and a period of revolution"; 3) "what to do?"

Dunayevskaya letter to Maria Barreno (Lisbon, Portugal), written Sept. 9, 1975.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15007.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15007.pdf)

Barreno is one of the authors of the feminist literary work, New Portuguese Letters.

Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15008.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15008.pdf)

A series of lectures by Dunayevskaya, given at University Center for Adult Education in Detroit, Sept. 22 – Oct. 27, 1975. Included here is the brochure for the class series. A summary of the six lectures, written by Olga Domanski, has already been included in the Dunayevskaya Collection (#5363). Audio tapes of the six lectures are on deposit at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs. During the lecture series, Dunayevskaya announced that she intended to develop her work on this subject into a new book.

Raya Dunayevskaya on Tour.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15011.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15011.pdf)

A listing of dates, places, and topics from Dunayevskaya's East Coast and Midwest lecture tour, April 7 – April 29, 1976. Dunayevskaya's topics on the tour included the new revolutions in Portugal, Angola and Mozambique, which she had discussed in her Political-Philosophic Letter, "Will the revolution in Portugal advance?" (#5182), and further discussion on "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries." At the conclusion of her tour in New York, she presented her view of the philosophic foundations of all her new work: "Our Original Contribution to the Dialectic of the Absolute Idea as New Beginning" (#5622).


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15013.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15013.pdf)


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15015.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15015.pdf)

On his study of "The Role of Proletarian women in the German Revolution, 1918-1919."


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15016.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15016.pdf)

On the needed "creation of a philosophic nucleus" within Marxist-Humanism; on Chapter 1 of Philosophy and Revolution.

Dunayevskaya letter to Erich Fromm, written July 15, 1976.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15018.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15018.pdf)

On the "relationship between Rosa Luxemburg and the Women's Liberation Movement"; on Dunayevskaya's work on "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning." Dunayevskaya's essay, "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries," had just been published by Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees as Appendix to their pamphlet, Working Women for Freedom (#5370).
Dialectics of Leadership as the Creation of a Philosophic Nucleus in History’s Mirror, and Today’s Objective Crises, OR Self-Thinking Idea as the Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15019.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15019.pdf)
Presentation by Dunayevskaya to Executive Session of Convention of News and Letters Committees, given Sept. 5, 1976. Brief excerpts only.

Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Wermuth, written Sept. 11, 1976.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15021.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15021.pdf)

Dunayevskaya letter to Isabel do Carmo (Lisbon, Portugal), written Oct. 4, 1976.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15022.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15022.pdf)
On do Carmo’s views of Rosa Luxemburg and of Marx’s 1844 discussion of the Man/Woman relationship.

Hegel, Marx, Lenin, Fanon and the Dialectics of Liberation Today.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15024.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15024.pdf)
Presentation by Dunayevskaya to series of News and Letters Committees classes on Philosophy and Revolution, given Dec. 5, 1976. Transcript of speech by Dunayevskaya was checked by her.

Philosophy and Revolution: New Stage of Thought or New Form of Revolt?

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15038.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15038.pdf)
Presentation by Dunayevskaya to final class in Philosophy and Revolution, given March 27, 1977. Transcript of speech by Dunayevskaya was checked by her.

Leadership and Politicalization as Ground for Organizational Growth.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15061.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15061.pdf)


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15064.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15064.pdf)
On Brackx’s editorship of the feminist journal, Spare Rib, and her view of Luxemburg.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15065.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15065.pdf)
On Judith Van Allen’s study of the 1920s “Igbo Women’s Uprising” in Nigeria.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15066.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15066.pdf)
On Dunayevskaya’s new perspective on the question of male chauvinism after the publication of her essay "Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China" (#5423). Dunayevskaya suggests the possibility of changing the title of the book-to-be to: "Sexism, Politics and Revolution," with the previously suggested title becoming the subtitle.


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link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15069.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15069.pdf)
Asks for discussion on Luxemburg’s attitude to Lenin’s Materialism and Empirio-Criticism; on Luxemburg on Women’s Liberation.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15070.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15070.pdf)
Asks for background on Edith Thomas, author of The Women Incendiaries; discusses women’s liberation in France in Marx’s day and in the post-World War II period.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15072.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15072.pdf)
On the relationship between Clara Zetkin and Luxemburg.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15073.pdf

On Luxemburg's reference, in a letter from prison, to the slaying of Achilles by Penthesilea.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15074.pdf

On Luxemburg and the "male Social Democrats."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15075.pdf

On a television discussion on "Sexism, Politics and Revolution" in which Dunayevskaya participated; on the International Women's Year Conference in Houston, Texas.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15078.pdf

Asks for discussion of Luxemburg's work in the period 1910-1914.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15079.pdf

Asks for references to Luxemburg's writings on women, and on Luxemburg's relations with Lenin in 1905-06.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15080.pdf

 Responds to Dunayevskaya's request for references to Luxemburg's writings on women; offers suggestions for further research.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15082.pdf

Thanks Westerbeek for her translations and summaries of Roland-Holst's writings on Luxemburg.

Dunayevskaya letter to Sybille Plogstedt (Berlin, West Germany), written June 12, 1978.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15083.pdf

Asks for discussion of attitudes in the Women's Liberation Movement to Luxemburg.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15085.pdf

On the first draft of her Perspectives report. Dunayevskaya here proposes changing the title of her book-to-be to "Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement and Marx's Theory of Revolution."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15088.pdf

On preparations for the News and Letters Committees Convention. Dunayevskaya discusses the need for "inwardization," for "recollection," even "when one does not know the whole RL book."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15090.pdf

Asks Rowbotham to correspond with her on the work on the book. The following day, June 30, 1978, Dunayevskaya writes to Harry McShane on the work on the book. This letter to McShane was selected by Dunayevskaya as the first letter in a collection of letters on the process of writing Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution; they are included in an earlier volume of the Dunayevskaya Collection (#6432).

Correspondence, Presentations and Notes on the Writing of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, August, 1978 – September, 1979


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15092.pdf


Comments on Dunayevskaya's draft chapter and on his own views on women's liberation, on tendencies within Marxism, and within anthropology. Over the next three months, Dunayevskaya and Krader exchanged eight more letters, two by Dunayevskaya, and five by Krader, concluding with her letter of March 29, 1979. All are included here. The correspondence includes discussion and sharp debate over women's liberation, the nature of the Russian and world economy today, and the differences between Marx and Engels, especially in relation to the Hegelian dialectic. Krader also comments on his work with still unpublished writings of Marx.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15139.pdf
Asks for a dialogue on "the interrelationship of Man/Woman in Marx in 1844 and 1882." Also included here is a letter from Vitkin to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 14, 1978 (in Russian).


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15142.pdf
Transcript of remarks was not checked by Dunayevskaya.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15144.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15146.pdf
A discussion of Dunayevskaya's just-completed trip to Mexico. Reports on her meetings with a peasant opposition leader and with women's liberationists, and relates both to the work on Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15149.pdf
Comments on Vitkin's book, The Orient in the Philosophic-Historic Conception of Marx and Engels (1972), and on the differences between Marx and Engels on the Asiatic mode of production.

Rosa Luxemburg and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, a talk given at Wayne State University (Detroit), International Women's Day, March 8, 1979.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15151.pdf
Dunayevskaya's presentation begins with the mass march of Iranian women held that day against Khomeini's attacks on women's freedom. This transcription was not checked by Dunayevskaya. Also included here is Dunayevskaya's letter to "Dear Friends," written March 10, 1979, describing the International Women's Day meeting, the events in Iran, and her discussions with an Iranian revolutionary en route to Iran on her ideas for the publication of a Farsi-language pamphlet on International Women's Day. Throughout this period, Dunayevskaya worked intensively with Iranian revolutionaries and wrote a series of "Political-Philosophic Letters" on the Iranian Revolution (#5998).


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15168.pdf
Dunayevskaya re-titles her final lecture as "From Dialectic Methodology to the Dialectics of Liberation."

Peter Bergmann letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 4, 1979.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15171.pdf
Comments on the first draft chapter of Dunayevskaya's book, focusing on the relationship between Marx and Engels. Bergmann's letter, handwritten, is also transcribed in typescript. Dunayevskaya's response, written June 18, 1979, is also included.

Dunayevskaya letter to "A" (Tehran, Iran), written June 14, 1979.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15175.pdf
Responds to his report on Marxist-Humanist revolutionary activity in Iran, and proposes a "Philosophic Action Group" for work there. Also included is Dunayevskaya's first draft of her Introduction to an Iranian edition of Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays, which these Iranian friends planned to publish.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15202.pdf
On her study of Luxemburg, and on the 1907 Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15203.pdf
Asks Wolff to translate articles by Luxemburg on publications from Marx's archives by Mehring and by Kautsky.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15204.pdf
Accepts invitation from Russian Institute at Columbia University to lecture on the 1905 Russian Revolution; proposes possible titles for the talk.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15205.pdf
On Dunayevskaya's reading of Trotsky's 1909 article, "Our Differences," as Trotsky reprinted it in 1922.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15207.pdf
On "the whole post-Marx movement" and how they did not "know Marx as any sort of new continent of thought."

Dunayevskaya letter to Raha, written Nov. 3, 1979, on Raha's return to the U.S. from participation in the Iranian Revolution.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15209.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15211.pdf
Asks for a discussion "on the form of the party."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15213.pdf
Sends his translations of quotations from articles by Luxemburg on German imperialism's 1904-07 war against the Herero people in what is now Namibia.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution: The Life and Death of Rosa Luxemburg.
lit to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15216.pdf
Lecture given Jan. 22, 1980 at Wayne State University (Detroit). Included here is a press release on the meeting issued by Wayne State University News & Letters Youth Committee, and an excerpt from the lecture which concerns Lenin's critique of Luxemburg on "the National Question." Dunayevskaya had just completed what she then considered Chapter 3 of the book; News & Letters had just published Chapter 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1980).

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15219.pdf
On the meaning of the proposed expansion of News & Letters to a 12-page newspaper, and its relationship to the work on the book.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15221.pdf
On his article, "The Problem of the Universality of Social Relations in Classical Marxism." Also included here is Vitkin's letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 30, 1980. (In Russian.)

A critique of the publishing history of Luxemburg's works since her death.


Proposes a meeting on "Marx's philosophy of revolution" to be held "on Marx's birthday," May 5. In this period Dunayevskaya wrote three other letters to her colleagues on the work on the book: on Marx's work on the Neue Rheinische Zeitung; on Luxemburg and women's liberation; on her study of "Marx's and Luxemburg's Theories of Accumulation" (#6450-6456).


On the death of Erich Fromm.

Dunayevskaya letter to Sheila Rowbotham, written March 27, 1980.


Narihiko Ito (Kamakura, Japan) letter to Dunayevskaya, written April 23, 1980.

Comments on draft chapter of the book sent to him by Dunayevskaya. Also included here are Dunayevskaya's responses, written May 5, 1980 and June 20, 1980.

Dunayevskaya letter to Harry McShane, written June 17, 1980.

A discussion of the problem of organization in the Marxist movement, from Marx through Lenin to our day, with reference to Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. This letter follows Dunayevskaya's May 4, 1980 presentation on "A Birthtime of History," a discussion of Marx's philosophy of revolution, and her projection of the first outline of the book as a whole. For her letter reporting on both events, see #6457.


Dunayevskaya letter to Jim Mills and Peter Wermuth, written Sept. 15, 1980.

Suggests that the Marxist-Humanist youth paper, From the Pen, print a quotation from Marx on the bureaucratization of education.


A critique of intellectuals who try to contrast Vol. I of Marx's Capital to Vol. III.

Dunayevskaya letter to Sheila Rowbotham, written Sept. 27, 1980.

On Dunayevskaya's reading of Rowbotham's Beyond the Fragments. In the following week, Dunayevskaya completed a draft of what she then called Chapter 6 of the book, on "Women's Liberation, Then and Now," and drafted Chapter 5, on "War, Prison and Revolutions, 1914-1919." Dunayevskaya's letter on this work, written Oct. 6, 1980, is already included in the Collection (#6459).


On Dunayevskaya's new view of how to begin the "Marx chapter" with a section on attitudes to the dialectic—in Luxemburg, in Lenin.

On Dunayevskaya's sudden decision to create a whole "Part II" on Marx. Gives a first outline of the Part, in three chapters. A further discussion of this decision is included in her Nov. 3, 1980 letter to "Dear Colleagues" (#6461).

Dunayevskaya letter to Dave Wolff, written Nov. 14, 1980.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15248.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15248.pdf)

Asks for translation of Luxemburg's article, "Lassalle and the Revolution."


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15250.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15250.pdf)


Relationship of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to his Concept of Organization.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15253.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15253.pdf)

Report by Dunayevskaya to meeting of Expanded Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, Jan. 3, 1981. Dunayevskaya had just completed what she then called "Part II" of the book, including a "final chapter on Philosophers of Permanent Revolution and Organization Man." For her discussion of this chapter, see her letter of Dec. 16, 1980 (#6463).

Kevin A. Barry letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 8, 1981.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15258.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15258.pdf)


Sheila Rowbotham letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 12, 1981.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15261.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15261.pdf)

Responds to Dunayevskaya's present of the News and Letters Committees' pamphlet, 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism, and reports on her participation in a "Beyond the Fragments" conference in Britain. Included here are both her handwritten letter and a typed transcript.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15264.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15264.pdf)

Sends "Part II" of the book, on Marx; discusses the difference between Philosophy and Revolution (with emphasis on the word "and") and this study of "Marx's philosophy of revolution."


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15265.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15265.pdf)

On her recent correspondence with Rowbotham and her view of Russian feminist Tatyana Mamonova's call for an "International Feminist Union." Following this letter, Dunayevskaya decided to expand her draft chapter on "Women's Liberation, Then and Now," into a new "Part II" of the book, which would now have three parts. (See her letter of Jan. 30, 1981, #6465.)


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15266.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15266.pdf)


The Book as a Whole.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15268.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15268.pdf)

Presentation by Dunayevskaya to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, given March 16, 1981. A review of all the changes in the draft chapters of the book created under the impact of seeing "the book as a whole." The book now has three parts, and 11 chapters.

Correspondence, Presentations and Notes on the Writing of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, June, 1981 – September, 1983

Peter Bergmann letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 11, 1981.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15272.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15272.pdf)

Dunayevskaya letter to Lawrence Stepelevich, written July 5, 1981.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15278.pdf
Sends Stepelevich, as editor of Owl of Minerva, the journal of the Hegel Society of America, the contents page of her book, stressing her study of Marx's 1841 doctoral thesis, and asking his view. Dunayevskaya had just been offered a contract for publication of the book by Humanities Press.

A Note on the Dialectic in Organizational Relations, or Leadership as Both Philosophy and Spontaneous Action.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15279.pdf
Presentation given by Dunayevskaya to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, July 31, 1981 (excerpts). Dunayevskaya announces her decision to create a new Chapter 12 of the book, even though the mss. had already been submitted to the publisher. Also included here is a copy of the minutes of the talk with handnotes added later by Dunayevskaya.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15284.pdf
Dunayevskaya signs contract for publication of the book and informs him of her decision to create a new Chapter 12.

Summation of Raya Dunayevskaya Following Discussion of Perspectives.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15285.pdf

Kevin A. Barry letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 20, 1981.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15294.pdf
Responds to Dunayevskaya's request for information on Rubel's editing of Vols. II and III of Marx's Capital. Included here are Dunayevskaya's replies to Barry, written Sept. 28 and Oct. 8, 1981, which further discuss Rubel's work, and that of Terell Carver. Barry's note of Oct. 15, 1981 contains marginalia by Dunayevskaya on the "dialectics of fetishism." Part of this note is missing.

Dunayevskaya letter to Jose Porfirio Miranda (Mexico), written Oct. 9, 1981.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15304.pdf
Sends the Introduction and Table of Contents to the book.

Dunayevskaya letter to Ana Maria Portugal (Lima, Peru), written Oct. 12, 1981.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15305.pdf
Asks for discussion of the relationship between women's liberation and Rosa Luxemburg, and for assistance with finding a Latin American publisher for the book.

Presentation by Dunayevskaya on new additions to the book, given Nov. 4, 1981 to Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15306.pdf
On Dunayevskaya's request for information on Rubel's editing of Vols. II and III of Marx's Capital. Included here are Dunayevskaya's replies to Barry, written Sept. 28 and Oct. 8, 1981, which further discuss Rubel's work, and that of Terell Carver. Barry's note of Oct. 15, 1981 contains marginalia by Dunayevskaya on the "dialectics of fetishism." Part of this note is missing.

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin A. Barry, written Nov. 15, 1981.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15308.pdf
On the quotation from Herman Melville to be added to the beginning of Chapter 7.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15309.pdf
Reports another addition to the book, expanding a footnote in Chapter 3 into a discussion of a disagreement with Roman Rosdolsky and the writing of her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. During the same week, Dunayevskaya wrote another discussion of Hegel's Absolutes, "On the 150th anniversary since Hegel's death" (#7481).

Dunayevskaya focuses only on "what is new," rather than an "overview of the whole book."


Notes by Dunayevskaya for her presentation to an Expanded Resident Editorial Board meeting of News and Letters Committees, probably written in the last week of December, 1981. On "Post-Marx Marxism as a category." Page 8 is missing.

Under the Whip of the Counter-Revolution: Momentous World-Historic Events Struggle to Find Revolutionary Philosphic Expression.

Presentation by Dunayevskaya to the Expanded Resident Editorial Board meeting, Jan. 2, 1982.


On the theft of the galley proofs and final mss. of the book; on changes in the mss. added by Dunayevskaya during proofreading of the galleys.

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin A. Barry, written April 4, 1982.

On Georg Lukacs' work and its divergence from Lenin's Philosphic Notebooks and from Marx's Humanist Essays.

For the Record. Statement by Dunayevskaya, written April 18, 1982, on Olga Domanski's presentation of the galley proofs of the book, as she re-created them in book-form.

A discussion of the relation of footnote references to the body of the text.


Expanded discussion of a footnote in the "Afterword to Chapter 11," on Leon Trotsky and the "organization question."

Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Wermuth, written April 27, 1982 (excerpts).

On how to present her three books "as a totality."


Sends suggested material for the jacket cover of the book. Dunayevskaya was asked to summarize the book in three paragraphs, and did so, writing one on each of the three parts.


Principal author was Dunayevskaya. Includes a discussion of the "Difference between the 1980 Draft and the 1982 completed work."


Even though the book is now set in type and cannot be altered, Dunayevskaya begins proposing "additions" to it. Two additions are offered here to the final page of Chapter 8, on "The Task That Remains to Be Done: The Unique and Unfinished Contributions of Today's Women's Liberation Movement." Marginalia on the letter were added later by Dunayevskaya.

New paragraphs added to the last page of Chapter 12 of the book.
Written by Dunayevskaya as the conclusion of her Perspectives Report to the 1982 Convention of News and Letters Committees; presented Sept. 4, 1982. On the “further challenge to the form of organization which we have worked out as the committee-form rather than the 'party-to-lead.'” A shorter version of this new addition to the book was offered in Dunayevskaya's "Political-Philosophic Letter" of Oct. 15, 1982, "On the Battle of Ideas" (#7486).

Dunayevskaya letter to Sheila Rowbotham, written Nov. 4, 1982.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15354.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15354.pdf)
Dunayevskaya sends Rowbotham a copy of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution on the day of its publication. Asks for "the initiation of a battle of ideas" on her book in England.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15355.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15355.pdf)
On the internationalism of the "Black Dimension"; on that dimension within her new book.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15356.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15356.pdf)
Proposes a new passage added to Chapter 3 of the book, in the discussion of Luxemburg's Accumulation of Capital, on "the Great Divide between Phenomenology and Philosophy."


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15357.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15357.pdf)
A further discussion of her category of "post-Marx Marxists," this letter focuses on Dunayevskaya's critique of Karl Korsch.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15367.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15367.pdf)
During this period, Dunayevskaya embarked on a two-month long national "Marx Centenary Tour" with the new book. For a discussion of that tour, see #7667-7670. Included here also are "Notes on the Black Dimension and RLWLKM" written during the tour.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15370.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15370.pdf)
On the eve of the News and Letters Committees Constitutional Convention, which was to take up Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, Dunayevskaya restates and discusses all the passages added to the book since it was set in type and could no longer be changed. These include a new paragraph added to the Introduction on "post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Frederick Engels."

Carrying Out Constitutional Convention Decisions.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15375.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15375.pdf)
Presentation by Dunayevskaya to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, given Sept. 16, 1983. Dunayevskaya proposes to add a passage to Chapter 12 of the book, on the differences between Marx and Engels on the Asiatic mode of production, and on the development of society as a whole. A further expansion of this passage, added about one week later, is also included. Marginalia on that document are by Dunayevskaya.

Volume XIV concludes on page #15377.

Volume XV
1983-1985: From the Marx Centenary Year to Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The years 1983, 1984, and 1985 constitute the period covered in this volume of the supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. The scope extends from the projection of the new category she called "post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative" in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* following its completion in 1982 to initial thoughts and work on her proposed fifth book, tentatively titled "The Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," in 1985. Considered with the rest of the collection, especially volumes arranged by Dunayevskaya herself, the documents here represent the "continuous development" of Marxist-Humanism in this crucial period.

The Marx Centenary Year, 1983, marked the one hundredth year since the death of Karl Marx. Dunayevskaya's "Trilogy of Revolution" had just been published — new editions of *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution* as well as a new book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. In the first five months of 1983, Dunayevskaya embarked on a series of 46 formal speeches, six informal speeches, six appearances in mass media, and one videotaped interview. Before, during, and after the tour, she discussed the ramifications of viewing Marx's writings as a whole corpus.

Dunayevskaya continued her philosophic probing into Marx's last decade, especially his *Ethnological Notebooks*, after the publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. She delivered a paper at The Second International Conference on The Comparative Historical and Critical Analysis of Bureaucracy at the New School for Social Research in New York in September 1983. It was titled "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies." In the same period, her critique of Karl Korsch extended the category of "post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative" to Western Marxists.

Dunayevskaya developed her Marx Centenary lectures on "Marx and The Black World" into a new paragraph for *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. It was further developed into a new introduction, titled "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," for the fourth edition of *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard* in August 1983. Charles Denby, the Black worker-editor of News & Letters, held that consideration of this paragraph was central to the tasks of the Constitutional Convention of News and Letters Committees in 1983.

Following that convention and then Denby's death in October 1983, Dunayevskaya's "In Memoriam" connected her association with Denby to the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the Coal Miners’ General Strike of 1949-50 and to her Letters on Hegel's Absolutes in 1953. After her spring Marx Centenary lecture in Morgantown, W. Va. and Tamiment Library oral history interview, Dunayevskaya proposed a new
pamphlet, for the first time developing the origins of Marxist-Humanism in that Coal Miners' General Strike in which she had participated as an activist and thinker.

Differences between Dunayevskaya and then-colleague C.L.R. James over the revolutionary Hegelian dialectic had emerged during that strike and continued until their organizational split in 1955 when Dunayevskaya, Denby, and others founded News and Letters Committees. Twenty-eight years later, following the murder of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop in Grenada followed by Reagan's imperialist invasion in November 1983, Dunayevskaya analyzed Caribbean Marxism and "the state of C.L.R. Jamesism" manifested in several thinkers. She wrote a critical summation of two decades of Third World liberation movements for a new Introduction to the 1984 reprint of her *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*.

Dunayevskaya grounded her 1984 re-examination of Marxist-Humanism "as a body of ideas" in organizational responsibility for those ideas. The emphasis on responsibility was presented in News and Letters Committees classes in Spring, in the move of the center of the committees from Detroit to Chicago, and in reorganization of *News & Letters*, the newspaper. Her view of "Our 30-year existence as the organizational manifestation of Marx's Marxism for our age" as the absolute opposite to Reagan and "the reigning intellectual void" became the foundation for the 1984-1985 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives Thesis. "Not By Practice Alone: The Movement From Theory" was the concluding section of the 1984-1985 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives Thesis and represented a new point of departure. Dunayevskaya asked shortly afterward, "What have the new live forces challenged us on that Marxist-Humanism has more than come up to by making an historic mark which would outline a new path to revolution?" She maintained that Marxist-Humanism is the "concrete Universal" philosophy of the epoch.

At the same time, Dunayevskaya prepared for publication a collection of her writings spanning 35 years on women's liberation, titled *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future,* "a book for the first time totally devoted to ourselves." She stressed that it not only showed the dialectics of revolution for a single force, women's liberation, but that dialectics was the focus for the entire "Trilogy of Revolution."

A half-century of Marxist-Humanism came into view with new documentary findings from Dunayevskaya's life. That became the basis for her lecture and the opening of an exhibit on her Archives on March 21, 1985, titled "Marxist-Humanism: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts." She tested Marxist-Humanism against all post-Marx Marxists, first in classes on ten years of Marxist-Humanist perspectives theses in the Fall of 1984, and then in 1985 by summarizing 30 years of News & Letters—the paper, the organization, and the philosophic works, as well as pamphlets. The 30-year summation, when published over several months in *News & Letters*, she titled "Retrospective/Perspective," the point being that "once we recognized our organizational responsibility for the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism, this meant our becoming practicing dialecticians."

Responsibility for a half-century of Marxist-Humanism included showing the dialectics of revolution as it related to the Black dimension. A new and expanded edition of *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* included a new Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner, and John Alan. New additions contained Kenyan Ngugi wa Thiong'o's critique of language of the oppressor,
Haitian René Depestre's critique of Negritude, and Dunayevskaya's analysis of counter-revolution within "the original revolutionary leadership" of the Grenadian revolution as well as critique of the followers of C.L.R. James in Grenada. Her research for the new edition emphasized where thinkers like James stopped in the Hegelian dialectic and their impact on revolutions which failed to succeed, and she engaged new Black audiences attracted to this battle of ideas.

Throughout the three years of developing the concept of post-Marx Marxism as pejorative, 1983 through 1985, Dunayevskaya engaged in the battle of ideas and new projections of Marxist-Humanism. This included dialogues with feminist thinkers, Iranian Marxist-Humanists and Yugoslav socialist humanists; interest from forums on Antonio Gramsci, Rosa Luxemburg, and Erich Fromm; and correspondence with Hegel scholars George Armstrong Kelly, Louis Dupré, and Warren Steinkraus.

It was "with the very last section on 'The 1980s View' [in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution in 1982] with the combination of the challenge to post-Marx Marxists and the challenge to ourselves that we put forth philosophy as ground for organization," Dunayevskaya maintained. Further concretizations of "post-Marx Marxism as pejorative" illuminated most of all where it failed to concretize dialectics of philosophy—in the dialectics of organization. She recast the problem in a 1983 paragraph added to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution after its publication:

"There is a further challenge to the form of organization which we have worked out as the committee-form rather than the 'party-to-lead.' But, though committee-form and 'party-to-lead' are opposites, they are not absolute opposites. At the point when the theoretic form reaches philosophy, the challenge demands that we synthesize not only the new relations of theory to practice, and all the forces of revolution, but philosophy's 'suffering, patience and labor of the negative,' i.e. experiencing absolute negativity."

Where Marxists, beginning with Friedrich Engels, failed to stand on that ground, that is, to concretize the dialectics of philosophy and organization, the need for a new book to make such a concretization became apparent to Dunayevskaya. The items in the final section of this supplemental volume bear this out.

For documents from 1983-1985 already in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, see:

• "The Marxist-Humanist Archives—the New Additions as well as New Findings from the Old" (10218-10637 in Volume XII).
• "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution" (15356-15377 in Volume XIV of the Supplement).

—The Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund
July 23, 1998

Section I. 1983—The year of projecting a new category, "post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative"

A. The Marx Centenary Year lecture tour and the "Trilogy of Revolution"
   1. The meaning of the Marx Centenary Year

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15410.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15410.pdf)

Dunayevskaya presentation to an expanded meeting of the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, given Jan. 1, 1983, as well as minutes of meeting and Dunayevskaya's summation. Included are pages with marginalia by Dunayevskaya; date of marginalia is unknown. For complete presentation and summation, see 7639.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15430.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15430.pdf)


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15433.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15433.pdf)

On "why we challenge post-Marx Marxism."


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15434.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15434.pdf)

On the totality of Marx's philosophy as "the ground for Marxist-Humanism globally" and projecting Marxist-Humanism in Britain.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15436.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15436.pdf)

On Dunayevskaya's 1938 essay on Trotsky submitted to an encyclopedia in Palestine. Essay is missing.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15437.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15437.pdf)

On the organizational and journalistic impact of the Marx Centenary Year. Included also are Eugene Walker presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Jan. 10, 1983, with remarks by Dunayevskaya; presentation by Dunayevskaya to the Resident Editorial Board meeting, given Jan. 23, 1983.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15444.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15444.pdf)

On Ollman's upcoming WBAI radio interview with Dunayevskaya. Copy here includes Dunayevskaya typed and handwritten notes to Kevin Anderson and to Michael Connolly. Included also is Ollman letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 10, 1983.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15446.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15446.pdf)

On the Los Angeles News and Letters Committee and the Marx Centenary lecture tour.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15448.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15448.pdf)

On Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg.


link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15450.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15450.pdf)

"Educational" on "Marx's theory of permanent revolution" as ground for organization.

k. Dunayevskaya letter to Narihiko Ito, written March 1, 1983.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15453.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15453.pdf)


l. Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written March 7, 1983.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15455.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15455.pdf)

On Rosanna Giammanco translation of "Raya Dunayevskaya, the nature of Soviet economy" in The USSR and the Theory of State Capitalism by Riccardo Tacchiniardi and Arturo Peregalli. Included is translation with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

m. Kevin Anderson letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 19, 1983.

link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15463.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15463.pdf)
On discussions in France during Marx Centenary, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya and marginalia not by her.

2. Lectures, correspondence, and notes from the tour
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15464.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15464.pdf)
   at the West Virginia University in Morgantown.
   b. Dunayevskaya letter to Ginger Hegg, written March 10, 1983
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15466.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15466.pdf)
   on the forthcoming lecture at the University of Iowa at Iowa City and speaking in Iowa in the 1950s.
   c. Notes for lecture on "New Moments in Marx's Humanism and Dialectic: Rosa Luxemburg and Women's Liberation; Frantz Fanon and The Third-World Revolutions" given March 16, 1983
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15467.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15467.pdf)
   at Hunter College (New York).
   d. Notes for lecture on "Facing The Challenge of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to All Post-Marx Marxists," given March 20, 1983
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15474.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15474.pdf)
   at the New York News and Letters Committee meeting.
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15479.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15479.pdf)
   On her East Coast lecture tour.
   f. The Todayness of Marx's Humanism on the Centenary of His Death, A Brief Abstract.
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15482.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15482.pdf)
   g. Notes for lecture on "The Dialectics of Revolution: Confrontations with Marx—from Engels through Rosa Luxemburg to Our Age—Reveal Pathways to Freedom for Today," given April 9, 1983
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15485.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15485.pdf)
   at the Chicago News and Letters Committee meeting.
   h. Presentations at the "Common Differences: Third World Women and Feminist Perspectives" conference at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, April 10, 1983.
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15488.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15488.pdf)
   Included are notes for panel presentation on "Women in Revolutionary Movements"; manuscript of lecture on "The Trail from Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to Today's Women's Liberation Movements," later included in Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution; Dunayevskaya letter to Ann Russo and Chandra Mohanty, written May 23, 1983; Dunayevskaya's comments in conference evaluation.
   i. Dunayevskaya letter to Lee Baron, written June 21, 1983.
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15507.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15507.pdf)
   On Dunayevskaya's WBAI radio interview and on experiences during the lecture tour. Included also is Baron letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 16, 1983.

3. Summing up the Marx Centenary lecture tour
   link to PDF file: [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15510.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15510.pdf)
   Summation of tour and proposals to issue a pamphlet on Marxist-Humanism's roots in the 1949-1950 Coal Miners' General Strike, to establish Chicago as Midwest subcenter of News and Letters Committees, and to
issue a new edition of American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard. Included also is Dunayevskaya presentation to Resident Editorial Board, given May 4, 1983.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15515.pdf
On "global dimensions" of "philosophy as action" in the Marx Centenary Year.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15516.pdf
On "a return to Marx's Marxism" in a paper on Margaret Fuller, with marginalia not by her.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15518.pdf
On the "economics and dialectics in world history." Included also is Rosmer letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 6-10, 1983.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15523.pdf
Incorporates Mary Holmes letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 22, 1983, on a Mexican edition of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Included also is Introduction and table of contents, translated into Spanish by Cesar McKay, unpublished. For selections from Rosa Luxemburgo, la liberación femenina y la filosofía marxista de la revolución, see 10244; see also 11173.

f. Call for Constitutional Convention.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15531.pdf
Written by Dunayevskaya, June 1, 1983.

g. Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given June 14, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15535.pdf
First draft of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives entitled "Global Year of the Missile, Capitalist-Imperialist Retrogression on all Fronts from Labor and Black to Women's Liberation, Youth and Education, as well as Do-Nothingness on Outright Famine and Massive Death in Third World, Especially Africa." For Perspectives thesis draft as published in News & Letters, see 7915.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15538.pdf
On amending the News and Letters Committees Constitution. See also 17155.

i. Dunayevskaya letter to Dave Black, written July 8, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15539.pdf
On Harry McShane and on "new paths to revolution and forms of organization."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15540.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15542.pdf
On "concretizing something so new that the first task is to grasp that newness."

l. Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board meeting, given Sept. 16, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15546.pdf
On ramifications of the constitutional convention and on adding a paragraph to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution; on Marx's concept of the Asiatic mode of production.

m. Dunayevskaya letter to Keiko and Morgan Gibson, written December 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15548.pdf
Included also are "Marxist-Humanism Today" by Morgan Gibson and cover note, written Jan. 19, 1984.

n. The Philosopher's Index Retrospective Bibliography, 1983.
Abstract for Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution and cover letter by Dunayevskaya, both written Oct. 5, 1983. Included also are entries on "Raya Dunayevskaya" for this book and for the 1982 edition of Philosophy and Revolution. For other entries on "Raya Dunayevskaya," see 10216 and 15790.

4. Reports, publicity, and citations about Dunayevskaya
   a. Reports and itineraries by colleagues, correspondence, articles, flyers, press releases, and publicity related to Dunayevskaya's lectures in West Virginia; Michigan and Canada; New York and Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.; Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin; Salt Lake City; Seattle; California.

Some contain marginalia by Dunayevskaya and marginalia not by her.

b. Articles and citations on Dunayevskaya's life and writings.

B. Further studies on Marx's Ethnological Notebooks
   1. "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies"


Presents thesis for a paper on "Marx's philosophy as it relates to the dialectic of Women's Liberation during three periods of his writings" for the New School for Social Research conference on "Bureaucracy." Included also are preliminary outline for paper and "Call for Papers."

Notes and marginalia by Dunayevskaya on research for New School conference.

Notes written June 5, 1983. Fragments of the first draft of conference paper. Included also are marginalia on file folder.

Notes on Lawrence Krader's Introduction to the Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx.

Michael Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya, written July 5, 1983.

On Marx's writings on women in the 1850s, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. Included also are Dunayevskaya note to Michael Connolly requesting a translation of Marx on women and Greek mythology, and Connolly's translation.

"Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies."
Two letters each from Dunayevskaya and from Gettleman, written between Oct. 3, 1983 and Jan. 9, 1984. On submitting an article for Science and Society.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Richard Bernstein.

Exchange includes two letters from Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 12, 1983, on publishing her paper in Praxis International, and Nov. 9, 1983, which is a typed copy; and two letters from Bernstein, written Oct. 4, 1983, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya, and Feb. 29, 1984. For essay as published, see 8066.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and David Lamb.

Exchange includes one letter from Dunayevskaya, written May 2, 1984, on her talks on Hegelian Marxism in 1959 and 1974, and one letter from Lamb, written April 17, 1984.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Norman Levine.

Exchange includes four letters from Dunayevskaya and four letters from Levine, written between July 6, 1983 and Oct. 25, 1984, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya on two Levine letters. Dunayevskaya's letters include a critical survey of several thinkers on the differences between Marx and Engels. Included also is citation of Philosophy and Revolution in Levine, Dialogue within the Dialectic.


Citation of Dunayevskaya's work on Marx's Ethnological Notebooks, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Critique of Karl Korsch

Dunayevskaya drafts of letter to Michael Connolly, written February 1983.


Marx and The Black World and a new edition of American Civilization on Trial

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Robert Hill.

Exchange of three notes from Hill, one from Dunayevskaya between Jan. 15 and July 28, 1983 which discusses Dunayevskaya's U.C.L.A. lecture, the Marcus Garvey Papers, and Cedric Robinson's interview with Dunayevskaya (see 15934).


On Black Studies and women's liberationists "becoming a centerpoint of the tour."


On Black Studies and women's liberationists "becoming a centerpoint of the tour."

Included also is Chauncey letter to Dunayevskaya, written Feb. 2, 1983, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Notes for lecture on "Marx and The Black World," given March 30, 1983 at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor during the Marx Centenary tour.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15930.pdf

Included also is press release for lecture, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. For paragraph developed from the lecture and added by Dunayevskaya to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, see 15367.

Notes for lecture "On the Marx Centenary: Marx's Relevance to Women's Liberation and The Black Dimension," given April 28, 1983

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15932.pdf

at the University of California at San Diego.

Dunayevskaya letter to Cedric Robinson, written May 10, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15934.pdf

On Dunayevskaya's break with and critique of C.L.R. James. Included also are transcript of videotape of Cedric Robinson interview with Dunayevskaya, "The Revolutionary Consciousness of Minorities and Women," made about April 25, 1983 at the University of California at Santa Barbara; "Notes by RD, 1/17/84 regarding transcript of CR interview"; marginalia by Dunayevskaya made in Spring 1983, on Mary Lewis review of Cedric Robinson, The Terms of Order.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15955.pdf

On the new edition of American Civilization on Trial. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to Denby, written May 23, 1983, typed copy of handwritten letter.

Dunayevskaya presentation and remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, given June 28, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15957.pdf

On draft of new introduction to American Civilization on Trial and on News & Letters newspaper. For pamphlet as published, see 8020.

Dunayevskaya letter to Harold Cruse, written Nov. 4, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15960.pdf

On France and Negritude, typed copy.

Dunayevskaya remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, made July 19, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15961.pdf

On dialogues with Black intellectuals, on revolutionary journalism and the Black dimension, and on finances.

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written May 7, 1984.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15963.pdf

On Skotaville Publishing company in South Africa. Included also is Olga Domanski letter to John Alan, written May 8, 1984.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15965.pdf

On "the Black Dimension that first attracted me to American Marxists" and the Marcus Garvey Papers. Included also is Robert Hill letter to Dunayevskaya, written April 21, 1985.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15968.pdf

On meeting Patrice Lumumba and "love of the new Black Dimension" as a youth. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to Brown, written June 5, 1985, typed copy of handwritten letter.

Returns to the birth of Marxist-Humanism and 30 years of the movements from practice that are a form of theory
The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

Dunayevskaya letter to Raymond and Frank (M. Franki), written May 1, 1983.
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15970.pdf
On the history of the Miners' General Strike and "the self-determination of our thought as we responded."
Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to Mike T., written May 10, 1983. Raymond, Frank, and Mike T. participated in the strike.

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given May 16, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15973.pdf
On differences with C.L.R. James over the meaning of the Miners' General Strike. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to the Philosophical-Technical Committee of News & Letters, written May 11, 1983. For philosophic correspondence between Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James and Grace Lee, see 1595-1734 and 9209-9356.

Dunayevskaya remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, made June 21, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15977.pdf
On "the relation between new stage of production and new stage of cognition." Included in minutes are presentation by Andy Phillips who participated in the strike and remarks by Olga Domanski.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15981.pdf
On a "philosophic discussion" of the Miners' General Strike.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15983.pdf
On Part II, "The Emergence of a New Movement from Practice that Is Itself a Form of Theory," of the Miners' General Strike pamphlet. Included also are Dunayevskaya remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, made Oct. 18, 1983.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15986.pdf
On additions to the Miners' General Strike pamphlet manuscript. Included also are Dunayevskaya letters to "Dear Friends," written May 9, 1984; to Mike T., written June 20, 1984, typed copy; to Andy Phillips, written May 30, 1984; Raymond letter to Dunayevskaya, written April 28, 1984. For pamphlet, published as A 1980s View: The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., see 8123.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15993.pdf

Notes and marginalia on articles and letters studied by Dunayevskaya for work on the Miners' General Strike pamphlet.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15996.pdf
Included are "Chronology' re 1949-50" compiled by Olga Domanski; Weaver (Dunayevskaya), "A New Stage for Our Organization," June 30, 1951; Asher (M. Franki), "History of a Southern Local, Early 1953"; "Volume XIII. Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James and Grace Lee (Boggs): Philosophic Correspondence, 1949-50," a section of the 1978 guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection and partially reprinted as "Appendix A" of the Miners' General Strike pamphlet.

Reviews of the Miners' General Strike pamphlet.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16031.pdf
See also 10200.

The death of Charles Denby, editor of News & Letters

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16035.pdf
Announces the death of Charles Denby on Oct. 10, 1983. Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Oct. 12, 1983, on the impact of Denby's life, arrangements for a memorial, and

**Raya at the funeral for Simon Owens (Charles Denby).**

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16039.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16039.pdf)


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16040.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16040.pdf)

Notes for Dunayevskaya's remarks at the memorial meeting for Charles Denby, held Nov. 6, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16043.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16043.pdf)
On Denby's life's purpose as "freedom's eternal call." Included are five drafts, the first written Oct. 29, 1983.

Dunayevskaya letter to Dixon Colley, written Nov. 20, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16056.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16056.pdf)
On "remembrance of Denby" and Reagan's invasion of Grenada. Included also is Dixon Colley letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 6, 1983.


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16058.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16058.pdf)
On reorganization of labor columns in News & Letters after Denby's "Worker's Journal" column.

Charles Denby remembered in Michigan newspapers, at the funeral, and at the memorial meeting.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16059.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16059.pdf)
Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution and U.S. Imperialist Invasion


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16074.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16074.pdf)
On Reagan's invasion of Grenada and "the relationship of the Caribbean to philosophy." Included also is Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Nov. 1, 1983.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Nov. 16, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16077.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16077.pdf)

Dunayevskaya letter to Dave Black, written April 9, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16080.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16080.pdf)
On "the state of C.L.R. Jamesism" and Black Marxism by Cedric Robinson. Included also is Black letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 4, 1984, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Notes by Dunayevskaya.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16084.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16084.pdf)
On Maurice Bishop, fragment; the relationship of philosophy to revolution in Grenada, handwritten fragment; the appendix to new edition of Black Jacobins by C.L.R. James, handwritten fragment; presenting the Black dimension in Marxist-Humanism; Race First by Tony Martin.

Marginalia on articles studied by Dunayevskaya.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16094.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16094.pdf)
Section II. 1984 "Not By Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory"

Classes on the "Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas," Spring 1984
Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, given Dec. 15, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16140.pdf

On "embryo and process" in proposed classes and "1984 as a new revolutionary stage" organizationally.
Included also is "RD's Draft Outline of Classes-to-be."


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16145.pdf

On "Summation as New Perspectives, be it News & Letters, Center's move to Chicago, or totally new type of classes, all in context of a Body of Ideas..." Included also is syllabus for "Classes in Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas," written by Dunayevskaya.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16154.pdf

On Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas extending back to the 1920s. Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Jan. 18, 1984, and "Table of Contents for Lecture I" given by Dunayevskaya; Dunayevskaya letter to Jim Mills, written Jan. 11, 1984; Mills letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 4, 1984, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16161.pdf

On addition to Chapter 12 of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution which relates Marx's Grundrisse to his last decade.

Dunayevskaya presentation and remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, given Feb. 6, 1984.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16163.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16167.pdf

On "projecting an all-rounded view" of the classes and the "1949/50 pamphlet." Included also is Peter Wermuth letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 14, 1984, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya presentation and reports by Lou Turner and Diane Lee to the Resident Editorial Board, given April 4, 1984.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16172.pdf

On "the classes as ground for the move to Chicago" and "going back to Chapter I of P&R on 'Absolute Idea as New Beginning.'"

Dialectics, Dialectics, Dialectics: Hegel, Marx, Lenin, and Marxist-Humanism

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16175.pdf

Dunayevskaya presentation and remarks in the first class, given Feb. 2, 1984. Included here are two different tape transcriptions. One was partially checked by Dunayevskaya and contains her marginalia; the other was not. Included also are Dunayevskaya lecture notes.

Dunayevskaya remarks in classes on "The Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas" made Feb. 9 through April 1, 1984.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16199.pdf

Transcriptions from audio tapes. The second class transcript was partially checked by Dunayevskaya and contains her marginalia; the others were not.

Location/Locale: The Center of News and Letters Committees moves to Chicago

On Chicago in the development of Marxist-Humanism and on "each one of us" as revolutionary and philosopher.

Dunayevskaya letters to comrades on reorganization of News and Letters Committees.


On projecting Marxist-Humanism as "a walking body of ideas."


On how Marxist-Humanists respond to ongoing labor battles and "points of crises" in the Middle East.


On "rough draft of the Perspectives Thesis," including "meeting the challenge philosophically and practically" in each year of the 1980s. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin A. Barry, written April 18, 1984. For the thesis draft published as "Where Are the 1980s Going?" see 8174.


On new stage reached in Marxist-Humanism in the decade of 1974-84, and on the division between philosophy and organization.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16277.pdf
On the objective situation for Black America and on differences between C.L.R. James and Dunayevskaya. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to Lou Turner, written June 2, 1984, on "the Black world objectively and the Black dimension subjectively." Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 30, 1984.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16281.pdf
On "The Self-Thinking Idea' and the Dialectics of a body of revolutionary ideas: What is New in the Concept of Leadership?"

"The Self-Thinking Idea' and the Dialectics of a Body of Revolutionary Ideas: What is New in the Concept of Leadership?"

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16285.pdf
Dunayevskaya presentation to the Executive Session of the News and Letters Committees convention, given July 8, 1984. Included also are outlines with marginalia both dictated and written by Dunayevskaya, and revised outline as published in convention summary.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16300.pdf
On "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1984-85 (with form reorganized)…" Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Aug. 2, 1984; outlines of Perspectives report as presented and as reorganized. For Perspectives thesis as revised, see 8193.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16308.pdf
On reactionary times when "nothing is more urgently imperative than 'not by practice alone.'"

Excerpts de Perspectivas Marxista-Humanistas.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16310.pdf
Excerpts in Spanish of "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1984-85."

Section III. 1985—From the projection of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution to "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Retrospective and Perspective"

Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution

Dunayevskaya letter to Suzanne Casey and Diane Lee, written Nov. 8, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16322.pdf
On how to overcome viewing women's liberation "in a separate compartment from philosophy of revolution."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Revolutionary Sisters," written May 1, 1984.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16325.pdf
Announces that "a collection of some of the extensive writings on Women's Liberation by Raya Dunayevskaya" will be published before the end of 1985. Included also are Olga Domanski essay on Dunayevskaya's writings on women's liberation in "Pre-Convention Bulletin No. Two," July 1983; Domanski letters to South End Press, written Sept. 29, 1983, and to Simon Silverman, written Feb. 20, 1984, proposing the book; April Silverman letter to Dunayevskaya and Domanski, written April 26, 1984, agreeing to publish book; Domanski letter to Judy Camlin, written May 7, 1984, on the content and form of the book.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mary Simpson, written May 2, 1984, and notes, written May 19, 1984.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16336.pdf
On women's liberation and literature.
Dunayevskaya remarks at the meeting of the Resident Editorial Board meeting of News and Letters Committees, made May 15, 1984, on "the kind of male chauvinism equally applicable to men and women" involved in "the relationship to woman as founder."

These remarks were developed in correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Terry Moon, included here in two letters from Dunayevskaya and one from Moon, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya, in May and June 1984.


On the title, form, and introduction to the new book, especially a discussion on Lenin's interest in "Life" in Hegel's Science of Logic and on "private enclaves" existing apart from Absolute Method. Contains marginalia by Dunayevskaya. Included also is "Tentative table of contents for new book" with marginalia by Dunayevskaya; Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written on Aug. 23, 1984, on new features of the new book as "Absolute Method"; marginalia by Dunayevskaya on Eugene Walker letter and notes to Dunayevskaya, both written Aug. 23, 1984, on the draft introduction; Dunayevskaya letter to Simon Silverman, written Aug. 31, 1984, on the book as an "encounter with myself." For discussion on the chapter on Latin America, see 16262-4.

"New Addition to 'Finished' Introduction to the New Book."

Dunayevskaya manuscript of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution.

Included here are table of contents and "Introduction and Overview," written Sept. 17, 1984 and edited Oct. 8, 1984, both with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. For changes in the manuscript, see 16451.


On inclusion of Davenport's interview with Dunayevskaya, recorded in September 1983, in Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution. Included also are four letters from Davenport and one more from Dunayevskaya exchanged over the next five months; announcement for broadcast of interview on WBAI (New York) on International Women's Day, March 8, 1984.


"The 4th book and concentration on March 21 for the whole organization..."


On Marxist-Humanism's two "unchainings of the dialectic" in 1953 and 1973. Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Feb. 18, 1985. For Dunayevskaya letters, written Feb. 6 and Feb. 11, 1985, which constitute part of presentation, see 16548.

Material proposed for jacket cover, sent to publisher April 13, 1985

On projecting Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution in New York.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16430.pdf

On Azad's draft review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution.

Dunayevskaya letter to Pilar, written July 12, 1985.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16435.pdf

On "a new book on dialectics of the 'Party'" and projections of Marxist-Humanism in India.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16436.pdf

On projecting Marxist-Humanism in Mexico.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16437.pdf

All are typed copies of handwritten inscriptions.

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin A. Barry, written Oct. 8, 1985.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16439.pdf

On learning from critique.

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written probably in December 1985.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16441.pdf

On the methodology of reviewing Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Included also is draft review by Anderson, written Nov. 27, 1985, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. For published review, see 11358.

Classes on "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and The Dialectics of Revolution," Fall 1984


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16451.pdf

On the new syllabus for classes on "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and the Dialectics of Revolution" and an addition to Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution. Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Oct. 9, 1984; "Proposed Syllabus for New Six-Class Series"; flyer. Syllabus and flyer contain marginalia by Dunayevskaya

"Raya Dunayevskaya remarks from the floor..." made Nov. 4, 1984, in class on "Black Consciousness and The Needed American Revolution."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16468.pdf

Transcript not checked by Dunayevskaya.

Marginalia by Dunayevskaya on Eugene Walker class presentation

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16476.pdf

given Nov. 11, 1984.

C. Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16489.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16491.pdf

Contents page and notes for lecture given Jan. 27, 1985. Included also is contents page for distribution at lecture.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16495.pdf


Wayne State University exhibit and lecture on the life and work of Raya Dunayevskaya


"March 21—Detroit WSU-Sponsored Meeting on the Archives..."

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given March 26, 1985. Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written March 27, 1985; outline of "Talk to be given March 21..." For typed copy of lecture, see 8394, and as published, 10218.

"Ramifications of March 21 and March 22 and the New Book—on how to practice 'Not by Practice Alone' concept" and "The John Dwyer Collection."

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given April 9, 1985. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written April 10, 1985.
"Dialectics of Revolution: The Black Dimension, Women's Liberation, Anti-War Youth."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16567.pdf
Dunayevskaya lecture at University of Illinois at Chicago, given April 18, 1985. Includes proof of title page of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. Included also are Dunayevskaya letters to Gary Clark, written June 21 and July 29, 1985, on projecting Marxist-Humanism to youth and Appalachian audiences.

"The New Stage We Have Reached Since March 21-22..."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16586.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16597.pdf
On finances and the Depression.

"Official Call for Plenum."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16598.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16604.pdf
On the conclusion of the Wayne State University exhibit and new views of Marxist-Humanism by others.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16605.pdf
On re-thinking 1941 as a point of departure in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16606.pdf

Publicity about the Wayne State University exhibit and lecture on the life and work of Raya Dunayevskaya.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16609.pdf
Thirty Years of News & Letters
"On Projecting What Will Be Happening between Now and July 1—The Plenum and the New Book—Based on What Has Happened in the Past Three Weeks in Our Organization and in the Objective Situation, Especially Reagan's Trip to Germany."

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16617.pdf
Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given April 29, 1985. Announces research for a special column on the 30th anniversary of News & Letters. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter, written April 30, 1985. See also 16586. For "Political-Philosophic Notes on Reagan's Visit to Bitburg," see 10236.

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written May 6, 1985.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16622.pdf
On projecting Marxist-Humanism's development to Maximilien Rubel. Included also are translation of Rubel letter to Anderson, written April 24, 1985, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya; Anderson letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 7, 1985; Rubel letter to Anderson, written Feb. 22, 1985, in French; English summary of Feb. 22 letter.

3. On concrete-Universal and relation of process to results re the sum-up of the 30 years of N&L...

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16631.pdf
Proposes adding an appendix containing two critiques of Negritude, by René Depestre and by Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Included also are "New edition of FFSABT," Dunayevskaya presentation and remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, given Sept. 13, 1985; Dunayevskaya letter to John Alan, written Sept. 9, 1985; marginalia by Dunayevskaya on Ngugi wa Thiong'o, "The Language of African Literature."

Dunayevskaya letter to John Alan, written Sept. 24, 1985, on her forthcoming article on South Africa in News & Letters.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16767.pdf
For article, see 10385. Included also is John Alan letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 19, 1985.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16769.pdf
Presents first draft of Introduction and discusses an appendix containing Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophical Letter on Grenada and other additions. Included also are "Draft of The New Introduction of FFSABT by RD and Lou," and four preceding drafts written by Dunayevskaya and Lou Turner, with Dunayevskaya notes in third draft.

Dunayevskaya marginalia on letters received about the draft Introduction to Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought from Peter Wermuth, John Alan, Ray McKay, and N.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16798.pdf
McKay's letter also contains marginalia not by Dunayevskaya.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16807.pdf
On "a new type of dialogue, a new kind of periphery" in Dunayevskaya's New York lecture tour.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16810.pdf
On Sartre's Existentialism, typed copy of handwritten note. Included also is Van Gelder letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 11, 1985.

Dunayevskaya notes, written Dec. 13 and 14, 1985, for introduction and new additions to Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16812.pdf
Included also are marginalia by Dunayevskaya on "Notes on New Black Trade Union Federation—COSATU" by Lou Turner and on Castro's 1959 speech on humanism.

Lou Turner letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 20, 1985, suggesting the addition of "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1985-86" as an Afterword.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16823.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16825.pdf
On "New Introduction/Overview" to Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought. Included also is fragment of Introduction/Overview. For Dunayevskaya discussion on the same, see 11165-11174. For pamphlet as published in 1986, see 10528.

Section IV. Dialogues and the Battle of Ideas

International projections of Marxist-Humanism

Iranian Marxist-Humanists and the Middle East


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16831.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16833.pdf

On Lebanon's "75-76 Civil War as the determining question" in the Middle East; sources on India.


On Third World revolutions and Lebanon, typed copy of handwritten note with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. Included also is Batatu letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 6, 1985, on his forthcoming book about Syria.

"Encyclopedia of Contemporary Socialism," a Yugoslav project

Dunayevskaya letter to Mihalo Markovic, written Nov. 4, 1983.

On affinity "that not only disregards national borders but for whom truly the world is 'my country.'" Included also are Markovic letter to Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 28, 1983; Dunayevskaya letter to Simon Silverman, written Jan. 3, 1984.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Zoran Vidakovic.

Exchange of three letters from Dunayevskaya and three from Vidakovic, written between December 1983 and Sept. 10, 1986, on her own and others' participation in the Encyclopedia of Contemporary Socialism. Included are "Commentary on Draft Project for the Encyclopedia of Contemporary Socialism" by Dunayevskaya; marginalia by Dunayevskaya on form letter and accompanying "Draft Project"; marginalia on Vidakovic letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 10, 1986. For Dunayevskaya's contribution, completed May 1, 1987 as "A Post-World War II View of Marx's Humanism, 1843-83; Marxist Humanism, 1950s-1980s," see 11588.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Zagorka Golubovic.

Exchange of two letters from Dunayevskaya and two from Golubovic, written between April 18, 1984 and June 5, 1985, on the need to reformulate Marx for today and take the measure of post-Marx Marxists. Dunayevskaya letter to Golubovic, written March 5, 1984, is missing.

Erich Fromm Society

"Erich Fromm, Socialist Humanist."

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Ulrich Schreiber and Bernd Röttger, organizers of the Antonio Gramsci-Rosa Luxemburg conference in Hamburg, Germany, Sept. 3-5, 1985.

Between September 1983 and June 7, 1985, there are seven handwritten, typed, and form letters from Schreiber and Röttger in English, German, and Russian, four letters from Dunayevskaya, and one letter on behalf of Dunayevskaya by Olga Domanski. The exchange discusses participation in and preparations for the conference and a related collection of papers, and German translations of Dunayevskaya's works.

Antonio Gramsci-Rosa Luxemburg conference

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"Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts and the Fetish of High Tech"

Dunayevskaya letter to Franklin Dmitryev, written Jan. 27, 1983.

On the anti-nuke movement and "the relationship of science to Marxism in general and revolution in particular."

On the need to "battle against Stalinism… even in such rarefied fields as mathematics." Included also is
Dmitryev letter to Ron Brokmeyer, written Aug. 27, 1984, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. See also
16451.


On "Bukharin's 1931 paper presented at the London world 'Science' conference."


On Stalinist reduction of "Marx's praxis and self-activity as well as methodology." For Rosmer letter to
Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 29, 1984, see 8333.


On those who have avoided publishing Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts.

Dunayevskaya letter to Ted Rosmer, written April 1, 1985.

On Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts and dialectics.

Marginalia by Dunayevskaya on documents related to the News and Letters
Committees discussion on Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts.

Included are "The Fetish of High Tech, Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts, and Marxist-Humanism's Great
Divide," pre-convention discussion bulletin by Ron Brokmeyer, June 1984; Brokmeyer letter to
Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 11, 1985; Dmitryev letter to Brokmeyer, written Oct. 16, 1984; Brokmeyer
letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 3, 1984; "The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown
Mathematical Manuscripts," a News and Letters discussion bulletin, November 1984, with only pages
containing marginalia by Dunayevskaya. For complete bulletin, see 8306.

Marginalia by Dunayevskaya on documents on the 1931 London
International Congress of History and Science and Technology, and on 1976
and 1977 articles about Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts.

"Reader Raya Dunayevskaya's Commentary on Nikolai Bukharin and the Transition from Capitalism to
Socialism by Michael Haynes."

Review of The Communist Ideal in Hegel and Marx by David MacGregor for
Insurgent Sociologist


On the final chapter of The Communist Ideal in Hegel and Marx, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Chris Huxley.

Three letters from Dunayevskaya and five from Huxley, written between Feb. 12 and Nov. 25, 1985, on
reviewing The Communist Ideal in Hegel and Marx for Insurgent Sociologist, Dunayevskaya's current
work in "projection of Marxist-Humanism," and her next work on "The Dialectic of the Party," with
marginalia by Dunayevskaya on two Huxley letters and marginalia not by Dunayevskaya on her own Feb.
23 letter.

"Review of The Communist Ideal in Hegel and Marx by David MacGregor."
link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17068.pdf
Written April 12, 1985. Included also are Dunayevskaya cover letter to Huxley, written April 12, 1985; draft of review; review as published in Owl of Minerva with MacGregor reply, Spring 1988. For review as published in News & Letters, December 1985, see 10421.

Feminist thinkers
Correspondence
Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Vivian Gornick.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17082.pdf

Dunayevskaya letter to Maria Isabel Barreno, written June 21, 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17092.pdf
On Marx and women's liberation. Included also is Barreno inscription to Dunayevskaya in La disparition de la mère.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17094.pdf
On Rosa Luxemburg and "the dialectics of revolution when it is centered on one force as Reason, Women's Liberation."

Reviews and articles

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17096.pdf
Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, in German. Included also is English translation by Randall B. Clark.

Anne Jaclard, "rosa and raya." off our backs (Washington), April 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17102.pdf
On Peruvian feminists and Marxist-Humanism.

Laurie Cashdan, "Feminism and the Anti-Nuke Movement," Direct Action (San Francisco), May 1983.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17103.pdf

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17104.pdf
Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17105.pdf
Review.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17107.pdf
Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Gabrielle Dietrich, Das Argument-Beiheft '85 (Berlin). Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17113.pdf
in German and with English translation by Eric Nelson. For Dunayevskaya's discussion of Dietrich's review in Marxist Review, see 17223.

Terry Moon, National Women's Studies Association Newsletter (College Park), Summer 1985.
Section V. Towards the "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," the unfinished book

The writings in this section are directly related to Dunayevskaya's work on a new book which, by 1986, she tentatively titled "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: 'the party' and forms of organization born out of spontaneity." The many documents approaching the subject matter of the book, left unfinished at her death in 1987, can be found in Volume XIII, "Raya Dunayevskaya's Last Writings, 1986-1987—Toward the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy."

Preliminary presentations and correspondence
First known discussion "on my next book as one is certainly needed on post-Marx Marxist[s], not as briefly as in RLWLKM."

Dunayevskaya remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, made July 12, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17149.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17149.pdf)


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17150.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17150.pdf)

On the Erfurt Program as "the period of origin of deviation from Marx's Marxism." Included also is McShane letter to Olga Domanski, written Aug. 2, 1983, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

"NOTES by RD," August 1983.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17152.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17152.pdf)

Dunayevskaya notes for presentation to Executive Session of the News and Letters Committees convention, given Sept. 4, 1983. Included also is Dunayevskaya summation of the session.

What is New in the Concept and Practice of Organization since Chapter 11 of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17174.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17174.pdf)


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17185.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17185.pdf)


**link to PDF file:** [http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17196.pdf](http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17196.pdf)


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17259.pdf

On Sartre, science, and Engels's Dialectics of Nature.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17261.pdf

On "the book on 'the dialectics of the party'" and "Engels' concept of the vanguard party."

Philosophy and Revolution: Russia 1905, 1917; Germany 1919; Fanon's new Humanism and Today's South African Undeclared Civil War.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17262.pdf

Typed copy of Dunayevskaya lecture at Broadway Presbyterian Church/Columbia University, given Nov. 12, 1985.

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Nov. 25, 1985.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17270.pdf


New Beginnings That Determine the End.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17273.pdf

Dunayevskaya presentation to an expanded meeting of the Resident Editorial Board, given Dec. 29, 1985. Typed copy with marginalia by Dunayevskaya on cover page and not by Dunayevskaya on the other pages. Included also are Dunayevskaya remarks at the meeting. For presentation, as published, see 10492.

Notes and studies for "Dialectics of the Party"


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17310.pdf


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17315.pdf

On Noveen's commentary on Robert Michels, Political Parties. Included also are Noveen commentary, written Nov. 7, 1985, and letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 29, 1985, both with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. For Dunayevskaya notes on Michels, see 10895.

Marginalia by Dunayevskaya


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17320.pdf

Included are only pages with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. For complete essay, see 10318.


link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17330.pdf

For Dunayevskaya notes on Johnstone, Cunliffe, Rossanda, and Service see 10800.

The Newness of Our Philosphic-Historic Contribution.

link to PDF file: http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17347.pdf

Discussion bulletin written by Dunayevskaya, June 1969, reissued October 1973. Included are pages with marginalia by Dunayevskaya made probably in 1985. For complete bulletin, see 4407.

Volume XV concludes on page 17358.
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The audio-video supplement to The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection — Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development contains 144 audio and 9 video titles. These range in time from 1956, as Dunayevskaya was writing her first major work, Marxism and Freedom, through her 1987 lecture to a campus audience stressing Marxist-Humanism’s theoretic challenge to a new generation of youth. This lecture was presented only two months before her sudden death in June 1987.

Dunayevskaya was asked to lecture on many campuses, from Columbia and Kent State Universities, to the Universities of Michigan and California at Berkeley. Included here is the lecture (V-5) she gave under the sponsorship of the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in 1985, held in conjunction with a special month-long exhibit of papers, photos and other documents from her archives. Other titles included are her talks to labor activists, grassroots civil rights organizations, antiwar youth, Black studies classes and women's liberationists. Lectures also reflect her international travels and debates in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe as well as her seminal presentation to the Hegel Society of America in 1974.

While this supplement to The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection represents those audio-video materials which were preserved over the years, the full documentation of the development of Marxist-Humanism is contained in Vols. 1-12 of the collection organized under Dunayevskaya's guidance, as well as Vols. 13-14 which were assembled and donated after June 1987. And while the audio-video titles do not substitute for over 15,000 pages in her collection, they do give a unique sense of how Dunayevskaya, in her own voice and words, projected Marxist-Humanism to diverse audiences. This is especially evident in her lecture tours as she presented work-in-progress on her three major books which she called a "trilogy of revolution": Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Wherever possible, audience questions, discussion and debates following Dunayevskaya's talks have been preserved.

The audio-video supplement was prepared by the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund, rayadunayevskaya.org. Copies of audio and video tapes are available from the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, 5401 Cass Ave., Detroit, MI, 48202, Tel. (313) 577-4024. Information on ordering the full microfilm edition of The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection is available from the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs as well.
Audio Tapes
Video Tapes

AUDIO TAPES

I Presentation: Notes on Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks


Detroit 5" reel

1 hour/15 minutes

On the Appendix to Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom

Marx on Hegel's Absolutes, Dunayevskaya's May 1953 Letters and differences with Lenin

[May 1958]

Detroit 5" reel

40 minutes

Note: Tape 5 on Side 2

Intellectualism and Creativity in the U.S.S.R.

Critique of intellectuals, "Science" and the State Plan

Oct. 27, 1959

Cooper Union, New York City

7" reel 1 hour

University of Detroit "TV Town Hall"

Debate on "Marxism Is the American Way."
July 22, 1958 (air date on WTVS-Channel 56)

Detroit 5" reel

28 minutes

Taped letter to Martin Milligan on Hegel's Phenomenology


[Detroit]

5" reel

40 minutes

Note: Tape 2 on Side 1

Radio Interview

Primarily on Dunayevskaya's relationship with Leon Trotsky [1959?]

[location unknown]

5" reel

14 minutes

Lecture on Latin America

Two centuries to present: Bolivia and Panama, Castro's Cuba and African revolutions May 13, 1960

[California]

7" reel

1 hour/2 minutes

Note: Tape 12 on Side 2
The Philosphic Foundations for the Struggles for Freedom in the Latin American and Afro-Asian Countries

Africa, Subjectivity in Hegel, Marx's Capital, and developments from Dunayevskaya's Marxism and

Freedom and Afro-Asian Revolutions

Nov. 13, 1960

Detroit 7" reel

1 hour/26 minutes

Radio Interview: "Marxism, Humanism, and Freedom"

Interview with Trevor Thomas, KPFK: relationship and break with Trotsky, Marx's Humanist and American roots, 1949-50 coal miners' strike, other topics

Dec. 1, 1960

Los Angeles

7" reel

28 minutes

Two Revolutions and the Philosophy of Freedom — the Negro Struggle


Detroit 7" reel

1 hour/7 minutes

On Chapter 17, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-Tung," Marxism and Freedom, and the Book as a Whole

Mao's China and the Afro-Asian revolutions

April 16, 1961

Los Angeles

7" reel
2 hours/20 minutes

Speech on Cuba

Cuban Revolution and U.S. imperialism after Bay of Pigs invasion

May 8, 1961

Detroit 7" reel

58 minutes

Note: Tape 7 on Side 1

Lecture to "Forum for the Quarter"

American roots of Marx in Abolitionist and labor movements, Russia's attacks on Marx's Humanism [Nov. 1961?]

Ohio State University, Columbus

7" reels (2)

1 hour/13 minutes

The American and Humanist Roots of News and Letters Committees


Detroit

7" reel

1 hour/11 minutes

Crisis in Russia and the Sino-Soviet Rift

State-capitalist reality in Russia, East European revolts, Sino-Soviet conflict and African and Third World liberation movements

March 15, 1962

University of California, Berkeley

7" reel
Jean-Paul Sartre: A Man of Purpose in a 'Universe Without Purpose'?

Sartre's philosophic development, Hegel's "Spirit in Self-Estrangement," Marx's fetishism of commodities

Nov. 17, 1963

Detroit

7" reel

Philosophy and Revolution: Dimensions of History, 1776-1964

Lecture on Marxism and Freedom, from Hegel and French Revolution to present

Feb. 28, 1964

Detroit 7" reel

Introductory Lecture to Class in Marxism and Freedom

"New method of writing" and organizational task of creating a "new Humanism" for the age

June 22, 1965

Detroit 7" reel

19. Lecture on Socialist Humanism Symposium

Review of Socialist Humanism, edited by Erich Fromm, including Dunayevskaya's "Marx's Humanism Today."

Dec. 2, 1966
Wayne State University, Detroit 7" reel
1 hour/45 minutes

Philosophic Conference on Philosophy and Revolution
Hegel, Marx and Lenin with focus on Hegel's philosophic categories March 19, 1967
Detroit
7" reels (2)
2 hours/53 minutes

21. Humanism and Dialectic of Marx's Capital
Marx's Capital, from 1867 to present, especially post-World War II debates
Dec. 10, 1967
Detroit 5" reel
1 hour/7 minutes

21. First Lecture on Philosophy and Revolution
Lecture to give "final outline" to book, with focus on Hegel and Marx
Jan. 19, 1969
Detroit 3" reel
1 hour/20 minutes

Lecture on Philosophy and Revolution
Further development of Jan. 19, 1969 lecture with focus on Absolute Negativity
Jan. 30, 1969
Detroit 3" reel
51 minutes

Philosophy and Revolution Book Party
Lecture on Parts One and Two — Hegel, Marx and Lenin, and Alternatives, especially Mao and Sartre

March [?] 1969

Los Angeles

7” reels (2)

2 hours/30 minutes

Debate on "What Is Revolution?"

On roots of Nazi barbarism. Includes commentary on Heidegger, Husserl and Sartre April 14, 1969

Loyola University, Los Angeles

3” reel

1 hour/6 minutes

Philosophic Conference on Philosophy and Revolution


Detroit

3” reels (2)

1 hour/24 minutes

Can Thinking and Practice Unite?

Marx, Lenin and Marxist-Humanism. Lecture to Marxism and Freedom class

Nov. 23, 1969

Detroit 3” reel

1 hour/13 minutes

The Relationship Between Party, Mass and Revolution

Philosophy and organization in Marx, Lenin and our age. Lecture to Marxism and Freedom class April 2, 1970
Detroit 3" reel 1 hour

Lecture on Marxist-Humanism

Marx's Humanism in post-World War II age April 17, 1970

St. Peter's College, Jersey City, New Jersey 3" reel

1 hour/6 minutes

Talk on Poland

Report on February 1971 News & Letters lead-editorial article: "Polish uprising, protests against Russian anti-Semitism, reveal state-capitalist crises"

Feb. 11, 1971

Detroit 3" reel

1 hour/24 minutes

Radio Interview on "Hotseat," WDRC

Nixon's trip to China and Sino-Soviet relations, Marxist-Humanism, and Black and Women's Liberation movements

March 19, 1972 (air date)

Hartford, Connecticut

7" reel

26 minutes

"From Lenin to Mao": A Revolutionary Marxist Talks about Russia and China

Analysis of Nixon's February 1972 trip to China, and Mao's Thought March 21, 1972

Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut

cassette

30 minutes

Nixon and Mao; What Really Happened in Peking?
On Mao's China and Nixon's February 1972 trip March 27, 1972

New York City

3" reels (2)

1 hour/50 minutes

Behind the Nixon-Mao Extravaganza — New Direction in Global Power Politics

On Mao's China and Nixon's February 1972 trip April 9, 1972

Detroit

3" reel

1 hour/17 minutes

Radio Interview, WJR

Primarily on association with Trotsky Sept. 28, 1972

Detroit

cassette

12 minutes

Lecture Series on Philosophy and Revolution, sponsored by University Center for Adult Education, Wayne State University, Detroit (Tapes 36-38):

36. The Philosophical Background — from Hegel and Marx to Sartre and Marcuse

Sept. 29, 1972 7" reel

52 minutes

37. Sino-Soviet Conflict and East European Revolts

Oct. 13, 1972 7" reel

52 minutes

World Revolution and Black Revolt — Africa and America
Oct. 27, 1972

cassettes (2)
1 hour/15 minutes

39. Philosophy in the Age of State-Capitalism

Development of state-capitalist theory and Marxist-Humanism in three periods: 1950s, 1968 and 1972
Jan. 7, 1973

Detroit 3" reel
57 minutes

40. Why Hegel? Why Now?

On Philosophy and Revolution and Hegel's three major works
Jan. 21, 1973

New York City
7" reel
2 hours

41. Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre, and From Marx to Mao

Overview of Philosophy and Revolution with focus on Part One: Hegel, Marx and Lenin
June 3, 1973

Detroit
3" reel
1 hour/30 minutes

42. Economics and Philosophy in Russia

Lenin's return to Hegel and theoretic questions of Russian Revolution, Stalin's perversion of Marx, East European roots of Marxist-Humanism

Oct. 9, 1973

Russian Institute, Columbia University, New York City
cassette
90 minutes

43. Radio Interview, WXYZ

Interview and response to call-in questions on John Stupak Show Nov. 15, 1973

Detroit

7" reels (2)

2 hours/29 minutes

44. Radio Interview, WJR

Interview with J.P. McCarthy, "Focus" program

Nov. 21, 1973

Detroit 3" reel

16 minutes

45. Hegel's Absolutes as Breaks and New Beginnings

Absolute Negativity in Hegel and Marx, Lenin's return to Hegel, and Hegel's relevance to contemporary world

Dec. 6, 1973

New School for Social Research, New York City

3" reel

1 hour/26 minutes

46. Radio Interview, CBE

On Philosophy and Revolution, Communist state-capitalism vs. Marx's Humanism, youth and Black movements

Dec. 7, 1973

Windsor, Ontario

3" reel
22 minutes

Note: Interview duplicated on Tape 43, Reel 2, Side 1, approximately 26 minutes into tape

47. Radio Interview, WOR

Interview on Barry Farber Show Dec. 11, 1973

New York City

cassette

1 hour

48. The Black Dimension as Philosophy and as Revolution: In Africa, in America

Marx and Black Dimension, Abolitionists and labor movement, post-World War II African liberation movements and Frantz Fanon

Dec. 13, 1973

City College of New York, New York City

7" reel

1 hour/8 minutes

Lecture Series (incomplete) on Philosophy and Revolution, Detroit (Tapes 49-52):

49. Lecture 1: Hegel's Absolutes as New Beginnings

Jan. 20, 1974 7" reel

58 minutes

50. Lecture 3: Lenin and Trotsky as Theoreticians

Feb. 3, 1974

7" reel

1 hour/38 minutes

Note: Tape 51 on Side 2
51. Lecture 4: World Economic Realities and the Thought of Mao Tse-Tung

Feb. 10, 1974

7" reel

2 hours

Note: Tape 50 on Side 1

52. Lecture 5: Sartre's Existentialism and Marcuse's One-Dimensional Man

Feb. 17, 1974

7" reel

2 hours/4 minutes

53. Radio Interview, KCSB

Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, Marx's Humanism, workers' wildcat strikes, labor and youth activity, other topics

[Apr. 1974]

University of California, Santa Barbara 7" reel

40 minutes

54. Trotsky: As Man and as Theoretician

Relationship of Dunayevskaya with Trotsky in Mexico, 1937-38, and break with Trotsky, differences between Lenin and Trotsky on Russian Revolution

April 16, 1974

University of California, Santa Barbara

7" reel

1 hour/18 minutes

55. On Hegel, Marx and Today
American roots of Marxism, critique of Alternatives, and contemporary period of 1960s and 1970s May 1, 1974

University of Southern California, Los Angeles

cassette

1 hour

56. New Passions and New Forces: Women's Liberation as Reason as well as Force

Harriet Tubman and Abolitionists, Marx's Humanism, and rise of Women's Liberation Movement in our age

Nov. 6, 1974

Frostburg State College, Frostburg, Maryland

cassette

1 hour

57. Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning

Speech to Hegel Society of America annual conference

Nov. 8, 1974

Georgetown University, Washington DC

cassettes (2)

1 hour/2 minutes

58. Role of Blacks in the Development of Working Class Movements in the U.S.

Nat Turner and Marx, Populists and IWW, Carter G. Woodson and Black Dimension in Washington DC, and present day struggles

Nov. 11, 1974

American University, Washington DC

cassette

56 minutes
59. Hegel, Marx, Fanon and a World in Crisis — What is the Relation of Philosophy and Revolution to the Black Dimension?

Hegel's philosophic categories, Marx and Lenin, Frantz Fanon's "new Humanism" Nov. 24, 1974

Detroit

7” reel

1 hour

60. Women's Creativity and Liberation, Nationally and Internationally

Mass creativity of women and today's women theorists March 7, 1975

Wayne State University, Detroit

7” reel

1 hour/45 minutes

61. Dialectics of Liberation and Today's Myriad Global Crises

Critique of Attitudes to Objectivity and current crises, including fall of South Vietnam, assassination of Faisal in Saudi Arabia, Portuguese Revolution

April 4, 1975

New York City

cassette

1 hour/37 minutes

62. Working Women's History as Force and Creativity

Impact of working women and their organizations, from first Maids' Petition to present. Lecture given to Union W.A.G.E.

May 20, 1975

San Francisco

5” reels (2)
63. Symposium on "What Is Freedom?"

Freedom as dialectics of liberation in Hegel, Marx and our age
May 29, 1975
Michigan State University, East Lansing

cassette

64. Lecture 1: Russia 1917; Germany 1919; Portugal 1975
Sept. 22, 1975
7" reel

Note: Tape 65 on Side 2

65. Lecture 2: Working Women in America — from the Abolitionists to the Women's Liberation Movement Today
Sept. 29, 1975
7" reel

Note: Tape 64 on Side 1

66. Lecture 3: Today's Women Theorists: Simone de Beauvoir; Kate Millet; Sheila Rowbotham; Juliet Mitchell; Maria Barreno
Oct. 6, 1975
7" reel
1 hour/23 minutes

Note: Tape 67 on Side 2

67. Lecture 4: The Black Dimension: In Africa and in America
Oct. 13, 1975
7” reel

1 hour/12 minutes

Note: Tape 66 on Side 1

68. Lecture 5: Literature and Revolution
Oct. 20, 1975
7” reel

1 hour/21 minutes

Note: Tape 69 on Side 2

69. Lecture 6: Philosophy and Revolution: Women as Reason as well as Force
Oct. 27, 1975
7” reel

1 hour/23 minutes

Note: Tape 68 on Side 1

70. The Black Presence in the American Revolution

Detroit
7” reel

1 hour/10 minutes
71. Interview

Trotsky and Lenin, Castro and Mao, American roots of Marx, the Women's Liberation Movement, other topics
March 22, 1976

Portland, Oregon

cassette
48 minutes

72. Women As Revolutionaries

Marx's Humanism, the Black Dimension from Seneca Falls to the Civil Rights Movement and today's Women's Liberation Movement, working women and the need for philosophy.
Loop Center YWCA "Talk In" program

April 7, 1976

Chicago

cassette
51 minutes

Economic Crisis and Forms of Workers' Revolt

Talk sponsored by IWW: economic crisis of 1970s, Marx's Capital, workers' organisation and revolt

from International Workingmen's Association to present April 10, 1976

Chicago

cassette
1 hour/11 minutes

Our Original Contribution to the Dialectics of the Absolute Idea as New Beginning in Theory and Leadership and Practice

Dunayevskaya's recreation of Hegel's Absolutes and ramifications for organization and revolution today

April 18, 1976
New York City
cassette
41 minutes
Portugal and Angola: Where to Now?
Analysis and background of revolutions in Portugal and Angola
April 26, 1976
New York City
7" reel
1 hour/31 minutes
Note: Tape 76 on Side 2

Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries
From Sojourner Truth, Rosa Luxemburg and Flora Tristan, to today's women theorists and the movement from practice
April 29, 1976
New School for Social Research, New York City
7" reel
1 hour/21 minutes
Note: Tape 75 on Side 1

77. On Mao and China
May 6, 1976
Madison, Wisconsin
cassette
90 minutes

Radio Interview, WBAI

World debates on Humanist roots of Marx, critique of Solzhenitsyn, other topics June 9, 1976 (air date)

New York City

5” reel

1 hour/3 minutes

Lecture on Lenin and Trotsky

Lenin and Trotsky in three periods: the 1905 and 1917 Russian Revolutions, and Trotsky as theoretician in the 1920s-1930s

Oct. 27, 1976

University of Michigan, Flint

7” reel

1 hour/4 minutes

Note: Tape 80 on Side 2

Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries: Rosa Luxemburg and Today's Women's Liberation Theorists

Sojourner Truth and the Abolitionists, and today's women theorists Oct. 27, 1976

University of Michigan, Flint

7” reel

1 hour/55 minutes

Note: Tape 79 on Side 1

Hegel, Marx, Lenin and Fanon, and the Dialectics of Liberation Today

Overview of dialectics in Hegel, Marx and Lenin, and contemporary debates: Fanon, Lukacs, Sartre and Dunayevskaya's "Absolute Idea as New Beginning."
Dec. 5, 1976
Detroit

cassettes (2)
1 hour/57 minutes

Revolution and Dialectic Methodology

Presentation given to Women's Liberation-News & Letters beginning with first thoughts on Rosa Luxemburg as women's liberationist

Jan. 4, 1977
Detroit
cassette
1 hour/3 minutes

Philosophy in Marx's, Lenin's, Mao's and Our Time: A Summation of Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao

Recorded for WDET "Week to Week" radio program. Dialectics in Hegel, Marx, and Lenin, and overview of Philosophy and Revolution; discussion of Lukacs, Sartre and Fanon

Jan. 25, 1977
Detroit 7" reel
50 minutes

Post-Mao China: What Now?

Recorded for WDET "Week to Week" radio program. Analysis and background of power struggles following Mao's death

Feb. 1, 1977
Detroit 7" reel
40 minutes

Summation: Lecture Series on Philosophy and Revolution
Hegel's Absolutes and their relation to Marx, Lenin and our age. Includes commentary on Gramsci, Lukacs, Sartre, Adorno, Fanon, Mao and others

March 27, 1977

Detroit

cassettes (2)

2 hours/34 minutes

Dialectics of What To Do: The Relationship of History to Today's Events

Lecture on relation of activity and ideas in America's first (1776) unfinished revolution, Abolitionists, the Russian Revolution, the IWW, and today's challenges

April 2, 1977

Washington Center for Socialist Studies, Goddard College, Washington DC

cassette

90 minutes

Lecture on Marx

Marx's concept of praxis and his "new Humanism," especially critique of Feuerbach; the Grundrisse, the U.S. Civil War and the Paris Commune

April 2, 1977

Washington DC

cassette

84 minutes

Dialectics of Liberation

From French Revolution, through Marx and Lenin to our age. Focus on Hegel's Absolutes today

April 6, 1977

New York University, New York City

7" reel 2 hours
Summation of Philosophy and Revolution

Philosophic categories and their creation, with focus on Hegel, Marx, Lenin — Summation of Philosophy and Revolution, with special commentary on Gramsci

April [8?] 1977 New York City 7” reel

1 hour/30 minutes

Post-Mao China and Its World Ramifications

Analysis of China and events following Mao's death April 15, 1977

New York City

7” reel

1 hour/31 minutes

The American Economy and the World Crisis

Analysis of economic crisis of 1970s: alienated labor, unemployment and decline in the rate of profit April 18, 1977

De Paul University, Chicago

cassette

55 minutes

Interview

Focus on Dunayevskaya in early 1940s as co-leader of the State-Capitalist Tendency within the Workers Party

Aug, 9, 1977

Detroit

cassette
60 minutes
Talk at Kent State University
American roots of Marx's Humanism, and Black and youth movements of this age Nov. 9, 1977
Kent State University, Ohio
cassettes (3)
1 hour/25 minutes
Television Interview (audio portion): "It's Your Turn," Channel 56
Interview on Women's Liberation: Dunayevskaya's 1977 essay "Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China" and her book Philosophy and Revolution
Dec. 15, 1977
Detroit
cassette
28 minutes
Marx's New Continent of Thought and Dialectics Today
First lecture in classes on Dunayevskaya's Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crises Jan. 22, 1978
Detroit
cassette
1 hour/16 minutes
Gramsci's Philosophy of Praxis vs. Eurocommunism
From the Russian Revolution to Gramsci's Prison Notebooks, the Communist Party in Italy, and debates over Gramsci's philosophical-political legacy
Feb. 24, 1978
CUNY Graduate Center, New York City
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crises

Economics and dialectics in Marx, and post-Marx debates: Luxemburg, Lenin, Lukacs, Sartre and others

March 2, 1978 New York City 7" reel

1 hour/30 minutes

Note: Tape 96 on Side 1

America's First Unfinished Revolution and Today's Revolts in Latin America

Crispus Attucks, Tom Paine and the Committees of Correspondence; Marx, the Black Dimension and the Paris Commune; rise of imperialism; our age and 1960s youth, especially the Free Speech Movement

March 28, 1978

Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago cassette

1 hour/15 minutes

99. Sexism, Politics, Revolution, and Marx's Capital

Marx's concept of woman, roots of Women's Liberation in Abolitionists and Black Dimension, and today's women theorists

March 30, 1978

University of Illinois, Circle Campus, Chicago

cassette

55 minutes

Marx's Capital and Those Who Try to Truncate It

Development of Marx's Capital. Debates from Lenin and Luxemburg, to post-World War II age.
Includes commentary on Ernest Mandel, Sartre, Roman Rosdolsky, Tony Cliff and others
April 14, 1978

Berkeley, California
cassette
1 hour/35 minutes
Radio Interview

"Relating to Women" program. Discussion of Women's Liberation includes focus on Chiang Ching and post-Mao China

April 16, 1978 (air date)

Chicago cassette
28 minutes

Two lectures in Mexico City: Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx

Talk on Luxemburg and today's Women's Liberation Movement given to feminist group
Feb. [10?] 1979
cassettes (2)
1 hour/58 minutes

Economics and Dialectics and Time

Dialectics of liberation, Marx's laws of capitalism, and the last 20 years of the movements from practice to theory

Feb. 11, 1979
cassette
1 hour/38 minutes

Rosa Luxemburg and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

Rosa Luxemburg as revolutionary theoretician, Marx, and today's Women's Liberation Movement March 8, 1979

Wayne State University, Detroit
Lecture Series on Philosophy and Revolution, Wayne State University, Detroit (Tapes 104-107):


Focus on Hegel's Phenomenology and contemporary social forces — workers, the Black Dimension, women and youth

April 10, 1979

7" reel

1 hour

Lecture 2: Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (1843 to 1883): From Philosophy to Politics of Revolution, and From Practice to Philosophy of Revolution

Comprehensive survey of Marx's philosophic work with commentary on the 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, Grundrisse, Capital, Critique of the Gotha Program, and Ethnological Notebooks

April 17, 1979

7" reel

1 hour/20 minutes

Lecture 3: Dialectics of the Concrete vs. False Alternatives: Lenin, Luxemburg, Karel Kosik vs. False Alternatives — Trotsky, Mao, Sartre

Focus on Lenin, 1914-17, and critique of Trotsky and Mao April 24, 1979

7" reel

1 hour/55 minutes

Lecture 4: Dialectic Methodology and Dialectics of Liberation: A Review

Review of lecture series with emphasis on objective situation 1943-69 and state-capitalism; the subjective situation and Philosophy and Revolution, and concretizing "Absolute Idea as New Beginning."
May 1, 1979

7” reel

1 hour/12 minutes

Revolution and Counter-Revolution: The Life and Death of Rosa Luxemburg

1905 Russian Revolution and mass strike theory; rise of imperialism and debates and break with Karl Kautsky; differences with Lenin on ”National Question” and with Marx in Accumulation of Capital;

German Revolution

Jan. 22, 1980

Wayne State University, Detroit 7” reel

1 hour/3 minutes

Revolution and Counter-Revolution: The Life and Death of Rosa Luxemburg

1905 Russian Revolution, ”National Question” and imperialism, and Luxemburg's multidimensionality on literature, women, and what happens after revolution

Jan. 27, 1980

New York City

7” reel

1 hour/35 minutes

On the 75th Anniversary of the First 1905 Russian Revolution

Creativity of masses in 1905 Russian Revolution — activity, organization and ideas -- and analysis of 1905 by Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky

Jan. 30, 1980

Russian Institute, Columbia University, New York City

cassette

1 hour/23 minutes
111. Todayness of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

Overview of Marx's major works, from 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts to the Ethnological Notebooks

May 4, 1980

Detroit 7" reel

1 hour/30 minutes

112. Relationship of Marx's Philosophy of Organization to Revolution

Marx, with emphasis on work of 1841-43; state-capitalist theory of 1940s; Dunayevskaya's analysis of Hegel's Absolutes, 1950s; Luxemburg and 1905 Revolutions; Marx's concept of revolution in permanence

March 29, 1981

Chicago cassette

58 minutes

113. Relationship of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to Organization


April 5, 1981

Detroit

7" reel

1 hour/58 minutes

114. Realities Behind the Charade: The Gang of Four Trial and the So-Called Cultural Revolution

History of Cultural Revolution and review of Mao's Thought April 7, 1981

Wayne State University, Detroit

cassette
115. Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization

Further development of April 5, 1981, lecture in Detroit April 26, 1981

New York City

7” reel

1 hour/28 minutes

Note: Tape 116 on Side 2

116. Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

Marx's concept of revolution in permanence, 1843-1883; Luxemburg as revolutionary, theorist and multidimensional personality, and today's Women's Liberation Movement

April 28, 1981

C.U.N.Y. Graduate Center, New York City

7” reel

1 hour/48 minutes

Note: Tape 115 on Side 1

117. An Overview of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

Summation of Dunayevskaya’s manuscript for book, with focus on years 1905-1919, category of "post-Marx Marxists as pejorative," and implications for our age

Dec. 13, 1981

Detroit

cassettes (2)

1 hour/45 minutes

118. Presentation to Study Group on Marx's Capital

Focus on Chapter I of Capital in battle of ideas with post-Marx Marxists
119. From Revolution to Revolution to Revolution: In Actuality, in Thought, in Vision

Review of revolutions from Marx's time to today in context of Dunayevskaya's major works: Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

Feb. 14, 1982

Detroit

cassettes (2)

1 hour/35 minutes

120. Women's Liberation and Revolution: In Poland, in Iran, in Latin America

Nigerian Igbo women's war, Abolitionists in America, women in International Workingmen's Association, 1905 Iranian Revolution, and today's revolutions including El Salvador and Solidarnosc

in Poland March 4, 1982

Hunter College, New York City

cassette

42 minutes

Note: Tape 121 on Side 2

121. On Black Leadership and Abolitionists: Lecture to Black Studies Class

Maria Stewart, David Walker and Nat Turner; Abolitionists and Marx; Populists and National Colored Farmers' Association; Frantz Fanon's revolutionary humanism

March 5, 1982

City College of New York, New York City
cassette
40 minutes
Note: Tape 120 on Side 1

122. Interview with Neusha Farrahi
Discussion of post-Marx Marxism and the Iranian Revolution, 1979
June [7 or 8], 1982
Los Angeles

cassette
1 hour/18 minutes

123. Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
Overview lecture of Dunayevskaya's Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of
Revolution immediately following its publication

Nov. 7, 1982 Detroit

cassettes (2)
1 hour/42 minutes

124. Radio Interview, WWJ
On Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution Nov. 2, 1982

Detroit

cassette
8 minutes
Note: Tape 125 on Side 2

125. Radio Interview, WCXI
Interview with Mike Friedman on "Viewpoint": on Luxemburg, Dunayevskaya's break with Trotsky, Women's Liberation Movement, Andropov's rise in U.S.S.R.

Dec. 5, 1982

Detroit

cassette

20 minutes

Note: Tape 124 on Side 1

126. Interview with Detroit Free Press

Interview with Stephen Franklin on Dunayevskaya's early years in Russia and Chicago, with Trotsky in Mexico, development of state-capitalist theory, and founding of Marxist-Humanism Dec. 17, 1982

Detroit

cassette

60 minutes

127. Marx and the Liberation of Women

Women's Liberation, revolutions and philosophy: from Hegel, Marx and the Haitian Revolution, through the Civil War, the Abolitionists and Margaret Fuller, to Rosa Luxemburg and today's Women's Liberation Movement

March 9, 1983

Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan

cassettes (2)

1 hour/41 minutes

128. Marx and the Black World

Impact of Black Dimension and non-capitalist world on Marx's work Mar. 30, 1983

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

cassette
1 hour/10 minutes

129. Dialectics of Revolution: Confrontations with Marx — From Engels through Rosa Luxemburg to Our Age — Reveal Pathways to Freedom for Today

Different stages of dialectics, in thought and in history, in Marx and in our age April 9, 1983

Chicago

cassettes (2)

1 hour/2 minutes

130. Radio Interview, WORT

Interview with Stuart Levitan on "A Public Affair" program: state-capitalist theory, Solidarnosc and East Europe, the general strike, and other questions

April 13, 1983

Madison, Wisconsin

cassette

59 minutes

131. New Moments in Marx's Last Decade: On Women, on the Theory of Accumulation, and Underdeveloped Lands

Marx's work as a totality, Rosa Luxemburg, and today's Women's Liberation Movement

April 15, 1983

University of Utah, Salt Lake City

cassettes (2)

1 hour/48 minutes

132. Women as Thinkers and Revolutionaries: Rosa Luxemburg and Others

Luxemburg, Margaret Fuller and other revolutionary women in relation to Marx's Humanism and today's Women's Liberation Movement

April 21, 1983
Stanford University, Palo Alto, California cassette

1 hour/8 minutes

133. Radio Interview, WBAI

With Bertell Ollman on "Visits with Marxist Thinkers" program: Rosa Luxemburg, dialectics, and Marx's Humanism

June 7, 1983 (air date)

New York City
cassette

58 minutes

134. Challenges, Challenges — to Post-Marx Marxists and All Alternatives to Marx's Marxism

Marx's last decade and the divide with all post-Marx Marxists beginning with Engels
Sept. 20, 1983

New York City
cassette

1 hour/22 minutes

135. Preliminary Thoughts on Reagan's Invasion of Grenada

Dialectics of revolution and counter-revolution in analysis of U.S. invasion of Grenada
Oct. 27, 1983

Detroit
cassette

1 hour/28 minutes

136. Dialectics, Dialectics, Dialectics: Hegel, Marx, Lenin and Marxist-Humanism
Summary of dialectics in Dunayevskaya's three major works

Feb. 2, 1984
Wayne State University, Detroit cassette

52 minutes

137. Radio Interview, WBAI

Interview with Katherine Davenport: Luxemburg, Marx's theory of revolution in permanence, and

Women's Liberation March 8, 1984 (air date) New York City

cassette

1 hour

138. Radio Interview, WLUW

With Michael Miley on "Radio Free Chicago" program: Dunayevskaya’s roots in Black Chicago, youth movement of 1960s, revolutions in the 1980s including Iran and Grenada, Luxemburg, Marx's last decade and other questions Oct. 21, 1984 (air date)

Loyola University, Chicago cassettes (2)

1 hour/46 minutes

139. Dialectics of Revolution: The Black Dimension, Women's Liberation, and Anti-War Youth

Forces of revolution as reason — women, Blacks, and youth — especially in the post-World War II age

April 18, 1985

University of Illinois, Chicago

cassette

1 hour/10 minutes

140. Marx's Last Decade: From the French Edition of Capital to the Ethnological Notebooks

How Marx's last decade reflects on his work as a totality, and post-Marx Marxists beginning with Engels
Nov. 7, 1985

New School for Social Research, New York City
cassette
1 hour/7 minutes
Note: Tape 141 on Side 2

141. Radio Interview, WKCR

Caribbean Program on Columbia University radio: Garveyism in 1920s Chicago, Fanon as revolutionary humanist, and today's South African revolt

Nov. [12?], 1985

New York City
cassette
5 minutes
Note: Tape 140 on Side 2

142. Philosophy and Revolution: Russia 1905, 1917; Germany 1919; Frantz Fanon's New Humanism and Today's South African Undeclared Civil War

Spontaneity and cognition, in history and in today's revolutions — Marx, Lenin, Luxemburg, Frantz Fanon and the post-World War II age

Nov. 12, 1985

New York City
cassette
1 hour/26 minutes


New York University, New York City
1 hour/2 minutes

144. Radio Interview, WBAI

Interview with Blanche Cook on Dunayevskaya's Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of
Revolution: Marx's Humanism, Rosa Luxemburg, and today's Women's Liberation Movement Jan. 7, 1986 (air date)

New York City

cassette

29 minutes

VIDEO TAPES

V-1. Discussion at News and Letters Office

Comment on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution upon completion of manuscript, as well as overview of Marxism and Freedom, and Philosophy and

Revolution

[1982]

Detroit

VHS, 11 minutes

V-2. Television Interview

Interview with Cedric Robinson, Assistant Professor, Political Science on "Revolutionary Consciousness of Minorities and Women" program, produced at studios of the University of California, Santa Barbara. Discussion on Black America and Marxism, from 1920s to the present. Includes commentary on W.E.B. DuBois, Lovett Fort-Whiteman, C.L.R. James and the Johnson-Forest Tendency, and others

April 25, 1983
Santa Barbara, California

VHS, 27 minutes

**V-3. Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation**


University of Illinois, Chicago and Evanston, Illinois

VHS, 1 hour/58 minutes


Lecture presented on the occasion of special retrospective exhibit of the newly expanded Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism -- A Half Century of World Developments. Video includes visit to the exhibit and comments by Dunayevskaya at the reception

March 21, 1985

Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit VHS, 2 hours/27 minutes

**V-5. Dialectics of Revolution: The Black Dimension, Women's Liberation, and Anti-War Youth**

Lecture on Marx's American roots and their impact in the post-World War II period through the present, especially among youth

April 18, 1985

University of Illinois, Chicago

VHS, 1 hour/19 minutes

**V-6, Current World Events and Dialectic Method**
Lecture on current events, from the Challenger space mission explosion and Marx's critique of science, to Gorbachev's "reform" of the Communist Party, to the state of Black America under Reaganism

Feb. 16, 1986

Chicago

VHS, 1 hour/23 minutes

V-7. Which New Beginnings Will Determine the End?

Final workshop/class on "Current World Events and the Dialectic Method" given by Dunayevskaya in her library. Subtitled "The New Developing Revolutions or the Reagan Counter-Revolution?" April 23, 1986

Evanston, Illinois

VHS, 50 minutes

V-8. Youth of the 1980s, Youth of the 1960s: the Other America and the Idea of Freedom

From the Free Speech Movement of the 1960s and France 1968, to Marx's work as a totality, to the current anti-apartheid, anti-nuke youth struggles of the 1980s

Oct. 30, 1986

University of Illinois, Chicago

VHS, 1 hour/4 minutes

V-9. Youth of the 1980s, Youth of the 1960s: the Other America and the Idea of Freedom

Lecture developing themes of Oct. 30, 1986 lecture, with stress on theoretic challenge of Marxist-Humanism to the new generation of youth

April 13, 1987

Northern Illinois University, DeKalb

VHS, 1 hour/15 minutes
MARGINALIA IN BOOKS FROM RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S PERSONAL LIBRARY

[The marginalia are not available online.]

While the considerable amount of marginalia in all the books of Raya Dunayevskaya’s library bears testimony to the "battle of ideas" she carried on with every writer she studied, the most extensive marginalia are the notes she added in the copies of her own writings. This donation consists of her own copies of what she called her "trilogy of revolution"—Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today; Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao; and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. She had multiple copies of each of these works, which she re-examined continually. A total of eight books make up this donation, available for study only at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs.

Of the three copies of Marxism and Freedom she used, the most extensively notated was one copy of the original 1958 edition published by Bookman Associates, the only edition which included the first English publication of two of Marx's "1844 Manuscripts" and Lenin's abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic. There is a second, less notated copy of this same 1958 edition that she also used, and a paperback copy of the 1982 edition published by Humanities Press. A copy of the Postface in the 1982 edition was placed by Dunayevskaya inside the cover of the second 1958 edition.

Dunayevskaya also added marginalia to three copies of Philosophy and Revolution, all of them the 1973 edition published by Delacorte Press in hardcover and by Dell in paperback. The copy she used most is one that had become separated from its cover. A second copy was another hardcover edition. The third is a paperback edition, inside the cover of which she had placed a copy of the new Introduction from the edition published by Humanities Press in 1982.

Both copies of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution Dunayevskaya used are the 1982 edition from Humanities Press. The loose pages that were found in front of the 1973 edition of Philosophy and Revolution, and in front of the 1982 edition of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution have been placed in envelopes, marked and placed in the vault with the books.

Dunayevskaya regularly took one of these copies of her trilogy with her on lecture tours. Some of the marginalia are quotations from others she intended to read during a lecture, or indications of quotes from her own text to read aloud. Some are an expansion or further elaboration for herself of a point made in her text. Some are self-critiques of particular formulations. Some are assignments to herself. While it is impossible to say when most of these notations were made, a small number are dated.

The shorthand symbols Dunayevskaya occasionally interspersed in her handwritten notes are not either of the standard shorthand notations but a mixture of those with an original kind she created for herself. There were a handful of words she regularly used symbols for. One example is the notation at the bottom of p. 116 in her main copy of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. There she
RD 7/31/86 VIL did not get [symbol for "absolute"] negativity. Rather, it was [symbol for "transformation into"] opp.

We include here a copy of this page with its marginalia.
This donation is part of a larger project which aims to donate Dunayevskaya's extensive collection of works by Hegel, Marx and Lenin, all of which have significant marginalia important to researchers interested in her development of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

Olga Domanski-Sufritz
for the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund
August 1, 1998

Presenting the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection online has been made possible by News and Letters Committees and the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund.