

The  
**Raya Dunayevskaya**  
Collection

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



David Turnley

1910-1987

# THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION

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

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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 Internationalist*, 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).

*Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* soon followed in 1985, a collection spanning 35 years of essays on the subject. It was published in Spanish in 1993.

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.

Posthumously published books collecting writings of Dunayevskaya include *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya* (1989); *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism* (1992); *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx* (2001); *The*

*Dunayevskaya-Marcuse-Fromm Correspondence, 1954-1978: Dialogues on Hegel, Marx, and Critical Theory* (2012); *Crossroads of History: Marxist-Humanist Writings on the Middle East* (2013); *Russia: From Proletarian Revolution to State-Capitalist Counter-Revolution* (2017); and *Marx at Two Hundred: The Meaning of His Philosophy of Revolution in Permanence for Our Day* (forthcoming, 2018).

## 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 Zasulich, 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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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](http://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](mailto: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/](http://www.newsandletters.org/category/newspaper/).

# **PART ONE**

## **BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF STATE-CAPITALIST THEORY**

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 [also known as Marx's Paris Manuscripts or Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts]. (See "Labor and Society" in 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."

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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>

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#### (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***

In Russia Stalin revised Marx's analysis of the law of value. In Europe the Resistance movement grew, including the Polish uprisings of 1943 and 1944. Dunayevskaya completed a series of studies on the nature of the Russian economy and an analysis of Stalin's revision. Johnson wrote on the Socialist United States of 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

link to PDF file: <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/102.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/164.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/167.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/193.pdf>

translated from the Russian by Raya Dunayevskaya, in American Economic Review (AER), Sept. 1944. 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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/209.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/214.pdf>

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

### d. Revue Internationale

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/218.pdf>

France, 1946. "Une nouvelle revision de la theorie economique marxiste," by Dunayevskaya.

## B. J.R. Johnson

### (1) Production for Production's Sake

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/225.pdf>

A Reply to Carter, submitted Dec. 1942 to one of the editors of N.I. and printed in Bulletin of Workers Party with statement of the Secretariat, April 1943. Dunayevskaya's "A Restatement of Some Fundamentals of Marxism Against Carter's Vulgarization" came to Johnson's defense in a much expanded thesis.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/241.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/254.pdf>

Oct. 1943. A discussion of the national struggles in Europe.

### ***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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/259.pdf>

by F. Forest, June 18, 1944.

#### **(2) Negro Intellectuals in Dilemma**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/271.pdf>

Myrdal's Study of a Crucial Problem, by F. Forest, in N.I., Nov. 1944. A critique of Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, with critique also of the role of Negro intellectuals who worked with him.

#### **(3) Resolution of the Minority on the Negro Question**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/275.pdf>

by J.R. Johnson, in N.I., Jan. 1945. Submitted as a resolution of the minority to the Workers Party Convention of 1944.

#### **(4) Negroes in the Revolution: The Significance of Their Independent Struggles**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/436.pdf>

in N.I., April, 1945 and May, 1946. Also included is an exchange of letters between Australian Marxist W.H. Emmett (N.I., Feb. 1947) and F. Forest (N.I., April 1947). (Essay reprinted by News and Letters Committees, 1967.)

(8) New Developments in Stalin's Russia

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/448.pdf>

a series of five articles published in the Workers Party weekly, Labor Action, beginning Oct. 7, 1946. An analysis of post-war Russian economy.

(9) The Nature of the Russian Economy

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/454.pdf>

in N.I., Dec. 1946 and Jan. 1947. The revised Part II of "The Nature of the Russian Economy" (see Vol. I. Sec. II A). (Reproduced by News and Letters Committees as part of Russia as a State-Capitalist Society, 1973.) Included here is Johnson's review of Leon Trotsky's The Revolution Betrayed, "After Ten Years," first published in N.I., Oct. 1946.

(10) On the City Committee Report and the Need for a Political Perspective

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/467.pdf>

by F. Forest, Dec. 18, 1945. A critique of the Workers Party depoliticalization.

B. First Draft of what was to become Marxism and Freedom

(1) State-Capitalism and Marxism

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/504.pdf>

1945

(2) Historical Retrogression or Socialist Revolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/534.pdf>

Sept. 10, 1945. Published in N.I., Jan. 1946 and Feb. 1946. A discussion article on the thesis of the IKD (International Communists of Germany).

(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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/545.pdf>

written Feb. 25, 1946.

b. The Task of Building the American Bolshevik Party

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/589.pdf>

April 8, 1946; plus Program of the Minority, April 19, 1946.

d. International Question

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/598.pdf>

April 27, 1946.

e. Resolution on International Conference of 4th International

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/625.pdf>

May 26, 1946.

(4) The Social Crisis in the U.S. and the General Strike

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/710.pdf>

An 11-page manuscript.

(2) An Approach to Lenin's Selected Works.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/728.pdf>

July 31, 1946.

(2) Letter to Natalia Trotsky

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/732.pdf>

Jan. 11, 1947.

(3) Letter to Natalia Trotsky

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/735.pdf>

Sept. 28, 1947.

(4) In Memoriam: Natalia Sedova Trotsky

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/739.pdf>

a Weekly Political Letter, Jan. 29, 1962. A somewhat different version appeared in News & Letters, Feb. 1962.

D. Separate publications of Johnson-Forest Tendency

(1) Essays by Karl Marx selected from the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/745.pdf>

First English translation, by Ria Stone (Grace Lee Boggs), of "Alienated Labor," "Private Property and Communism," and "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic."

(2) Trotskyism in the United States, 1940-47. Balance Sheet, The Workers Party and the Johnson-Forest Tendency

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/788.pdf>

by J.R. Johnson, F. Forest, Martin Harvey, August 20, 1947. Appendix: "Conversations with Trotsky on the Transitional Program," 1933.

(3) World Revolutionary Perspectives and the Russian Question

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/820.pdf>

issued Sept. 1947. Contents: A new essay, "Dialectical Materialism and the Fate of Humanity," by Johnson; reprints of "Historical Retrogression or Socialist Revolution," "The Nature of the Russian Economy," and "After Ten Years" (a review of Trotsky's The Revolution Betrayed).

(4) The Invading Socialist Society

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/873.pdf>

by J.R. Johnson, F. Forest, and Ria Stone, 1947.

(5) The American Worker

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/908.pdf>

by Paul 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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/948.pdf>

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://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1277.pdf>

by John Fredericks and John Hudson, written Sept. 29, 1946 and published in Internal Bulletin of Socialist Workers Party, Nov. 1946.

#### **(2) Oil and Labor**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1297.pdf>

by John Fredericks, in Fourth International, May 1948, Aug. 1948, and Sept. 1948. A three-part article on the development of the oil industry and the role of the worker.

### **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://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1311.pdf>

by F. Forest, in Fourth International, Sept. 1948.

#### **(2) Production Statistics and the Devaluation of the Ruble**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1317.pdf>

by F. Forest, Dec. 3, 1948. Typescript.

#### **(3) A Bureaucrat's Fate**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1322.pdf>

by F. Forest, in Fourth International, June 1949. A review of The Economy of the USSR During World War II by Nikolai Voznessensky, former Chairman of the State Planning Commission of Foreign Affairs in Russia.

#### **(4) Letter on "Woman and Socialism"**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.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://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1326.pdf>

by F. Forest, Sept. 14, 1948, Oct. 14, 1948, Written to Johnson.

#### **(6) State-Capitalism and World Revolution**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.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://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1413.pdf>

(Part II of the Resolution on the International Situation), by "Johnson-Forest," May 21, 1951.

#### **(8) The Revolt of the Workers and the Plan of the Intellectuals**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.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://ravadunavevskaya.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

link to PDF file: <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1476.pdf>

## ***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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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, Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic, Vol. IV, Sec. 1, and Appendix to 1958 edition of Marxism and Freedom.)

#### (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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1585.pdf>

Feb. 15, 1950. A discussion involving Dunayevskaya, Grace Lee, C.L.R. James and J. Zupan, a worker.  
C. Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James and Grace Lee (Boggs): Philosophic Correspondence, 1949-51

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1813.pdf>

Table of Contents page and Appendix to Chapter 1, 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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1833.pdf>

"Chapter 6," the original unpublished ending of Capital. Translated from Arkhivv Marksa-Engelsa, Vol. II (VII), Adoratsky, ed., Moscow, 1933. One-page Introduction plus 30 pages.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1864.pdf>

From Vol. III: Part 3, I. Thomas Malthus; II. The Disintegration of the Ricardian School; VII. Profit, interest and Vulgar Economy. From Vol. II: Part 2, III. Accumulation of Capital and Crisis (continued). 32 pages.

##### (4) Marx, On A. Wagner.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1899.pdf>

Translated from Arkhivv Marksa-Engelsa, Book Vol. V, Ryazanov, ed., Moscow, 1930. Two pages followed by 13 pages.

##### (5) Lenin, The Theoretic Mistakes of the Narodniki

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1938.pdf>

Translated from Lenin's Collected Works, Russian edition, Vol. 30. Seven pages.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/1945.pdf>

the first through the eleventh Congress (Russian Social Democratic Labor Party; Bolsheviks; United Congress; Russian Communist Party). Translated from Protokily 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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2241.pdf>

"Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto: Preface to the First Edition of the Manifesto in the Afrikaans language," by Leon Trotsky. Typescript of English translation. Oct. 30, 1937. Includes letter from Trotsky to Shachtman on the translation.

"D.I. Mendeleyev and Marxism," by Leon Trotsky. Typescript of the English translation. (n.d.) Includes letter from Trotsky to Shachtman on the translation.

"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.

Letter by Leon Trotsky to Max Shachtman on Rae Spiegel's translation of Trotsky's Civil War speeches on the Red Army. Jan. 5, 1933.

Letter by Leon Trotsky to Harold Isaacs on Rae Spiegel's work on Trotsky's preface to Isaacs' Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. Feb. 5, 1938.

"The Man Trotsky," by Rae Spiegel. Typescript of article. 1938.

### ***Section IV — Leon Trotsky, Sara Weber, Rae Spiegel: correspondence on Russian secretary; on the Russian Bulletins; on "Red Army" articles. Sept. 2, 1937-Aug. 17, 1938.***

link to PDF file: <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2305.pdf>

### ***Section V — Russian Bulletin of the Opposition. Dec. 1932 issue.***

link to PDF file: <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

### ***Section VI — Leon Trotsky: Letters, Conversations, Unpublished Documents, 1930-37.***

link to PDF file: <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 Zaslitch, 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.

*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/](http://www.newsandletters.org/category/newspaper/).

## [Part Two](#): Creation of Marxist-Humanism as Organization — News and Letters Committees — and as Theory for Our Age

[Volume IV](#): 1955-1958 — Laying New Theoretical and Practical Foundations, Culminating in *Marxism and Freedom, From 1776 Until Today* [#2409-2686]

[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 VII](#): 1968-1973 — Objective Crises Compelling Theoretic Clarification of Revolution, Culminating in the Work Around *Philosophy and Revolution* [#4143-4936]

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

[Volume IX](#): 1976-1978 — Forces of Revolution as Reason; Philosophy of Revolution as Force [#5180-5859]

[Volume X](#): 1979-1981 — 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* [#5860-6560]

[Appendix 2](#): "Two Worlds" Columns by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1955-1981 [#6561-7071]

[Volume XI](#): 1981-1985 — Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts [#7072-8441]

[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. IE).

#### ***Section II. First National Convention, First Constitution***

##### (1) Discussion Bulletins in Preparation for First News and Letters National Convention:

###### a. Johnsonism: A Political Appraisal

link to PDF file: <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2467.pdf>

by O'Brian (Peter Mallory), April 1956.

b. The Labor Bureaucracy and the Radical Movement, April 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2476.pdf>

c. What Form of Organization, April 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2496.pdf>

d. Finances: Needs & Facts & Perspectives

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2505.pdf>

by Weaver (Dunayevskaya), May 1956.

e. Reports on the Paper News & Letters

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2511.pdf>

by Denby and by Rorty, May 1956.

f. Discussion Bulletin

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2523.pdf>

(contains Preliminary Draft of Constitution), June 1956.

g. The Need for a Workers' Paper, June 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2543.pdf>

h. Rough Draft of International Memo

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2554.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, July 1956.

(2) Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Where to Begin

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2566.pdf>

Report of the National Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya, to the first National Convention of News and Letters Committees, July 1956. (Reissued by News and Letters Committees, 1969.)

(3) Constitution and By-Laws for News and Letters Committees

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2587.pdf>

adopted July 8, 1956, by the first national News and Letters Convention. Establishes News and Letters Committees and News & Letters newspaper, whose editor shall be a worker. Singles out workers, Black masses, women, and youth as the forces in the United States searching "for totally new relations and for a fundamentally new way of life." Assigns the task of setting forth an interpretation, in book form, of Marxism for this generation.

(4) Letter from E.H. Carr to Raya Dunayevskaya, Dec. 21, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2593.pdf>

On draft of Marxism and Freedom.

(5) Speeches and Resolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2596.pdf>

presented publicly to the plenary sessions of the national Editorial Board, News and Letters Committees, Labor Day weekend, 1957. Includes National Chairwoman's Report on "The Roots of Marxism in the World Today and Our Development,"

### ***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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2620.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1958, published by Bookman Associates, N.Y. and distributed in England by Vision Press, London. Preface by Herbert Marcuse. The 1958 edition included the first English publication of two of Marx's 1844 manuscripts and Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic. (Second American edition, 1964, by Twayne, contained new Introduction and an additional chapter on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung." In 1971, Pluto Press brought out the first British edition, with a Preface by the British Marxist-Humanist Harry McShane; this edition contained a new chapter on "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction." Second British edition, 1975, by Pluto Press. Foreign language editions: Italian, 1962, by La Nuova Italia; Japanese, 1964, by Modern Thought; French, 1971, by Champ Libre; Spanish (Mexico), 1976, by Juan Pablos.) (The text of Marxism and Freedom is not included on the microfilm.)

## (2) World Outlook

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2625.pdf>

Draft Resolution for 1958 News and Letters Committees Convention, June 1958.

## (3) Draft Resolution on the Book Marxism and Freedom: Method, Heritage and Principles

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2637.pdf>

June 1958.

## (4) Organization, the Paper, and Finances

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2646.pdf>

Draft Resolution, June 1958.

## (5) Our Organization

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2663.pdf>

Report by National Chairwoman to News and Letters Committees Convention, August 1958.

## (6) Constitution of News and Letters Committees, amended 1958.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2681.pdf>

Marxism and Freedom as the theoretical contribution of News and Letters Committees was incorporated into the Constitution.

# **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.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2687.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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2688.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, August 1959; a News & Letters pamphlet. The pamphlet first appeared as a supplement to the June-July 1959 issue of News & Letters. In 1961 a new edition appeared, published by

the Left Group, Cambridge University Labor Club, England. It included a Foreword by Peter Cadogan; a new Introduction, "African Realities and World Politics," by Dunayevskaya, April 1961; Appendix I, "The New Humanism: African Socialism," by Dunayevskaya; and Appendix II, a review of Marxism and Freedom by Cadogan. (The pamphlet was translated into Japanese in 1965. Its writing preceded Dunayevskaya's trip to Africa.)

## (2) Report on Organization

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2723.pdf>

Bulletin of Oct. 1959. Report of National Chairwoman to expanded Resident Editorial Board meeting that was held in place of News and Letters Committees Plenum in 1959.

## **Section II. Activity and Philosophy**

### (1) Resolution on Workers Battle Automation

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 Trotzky come teorico

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2740.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, Prometeo, Milan, Italy, March 1960.

### (3) Bureaucratie et capitalisme d'etat

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2746.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, Arguments #17, Paris 1960.

### (4) War and Peace

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2750.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Resolution, July 1960.

### (5) From Organizational Consciousness to Organization Building

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2766.pdf>

Report to News & Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 1960.

### (6) War and Peace

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2806.pdf>

In Late 1960 and early 1961 Raya Dunayevskaya completed summaries of Hegel's major writings. (These summaries were published together with other commentary on Hegel in Dialectics of Liberation, 1974; a News & Letters pamphlet.): a. Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology, completed Dec. 12, 1960. b. Notes on Science of Logic, Jan. 26, 1961. c. Notes on Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences, Feb. 15, 1961.

### (8) Workers Battle Automation

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2843.pdf>

by Charles Denby, editor of News & Letters, Nov. 1960; a News & Letters pamphlet. Workers from various industries speaking for themselves about Automation: auto, steel, the mines. Includes "M.D." writing on medical effects of automated production.

## **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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/2906.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3153.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Resolution, July 1961.

b. Perspectives: Ideas, Organization and World Development

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3166.pdf>

Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to National Editorial Board Plenum of News and Letters Committees, Sept. 1961

(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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3189.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, in Africa Today, Dec. 1962.

c. Socialismes africains et problemes negres

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3193.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, in Presence Africaine #48, Paris, 1962.

d. Perspectives

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3204.pdf>

Draft Resolution, July 1962.

e. Excerpts from Convention Discussion

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3232.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to 1962 News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 1962. The emergence of a Third World in an advanced capitalist world in crisis is taken up. The Bulletin also includes excerpts from a speech, "The Organizational Story of the Philosophy of Freedom," Oct. 12, 1962.

(4) 1963: Resolutions, Plenum Reports, Publications:

a. Facing the Challenge: Nationally and Internationally

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3266.pdf>

April 1959.

c. Author's Special Introduction to Japanese Edition of Marxism and Freedom

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3279.pdf>

Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to National Editorial Board Plenum, Sept. 1963.

#### e. The Young Marxist-Humanist, 1963

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3295.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3336.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3363.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3369.pdf>

"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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3414.pdf>

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

#### (3) The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3474.pdf>

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

#### (4) Black Mass Revolt

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3526.pdf>

A Statement of News & Letters Committees, Oct. 1967.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3553.pdf>

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**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3564.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3577.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, July 1964.

### **(3) Theory and Practice at the Turning Point**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3591.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 5, 1964.

### **(4) Excerpts from session on Latin America**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3622.pdf>

Report to News and Letters Committees Convention from Eduardo, Venezuela, and response by Dunayevskaya, Sept. 6, 1964.

### **(5) Theory is a Hard Taskmaster in ever-changing practice**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3630.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, August 1965.

### **(6) ...Toward a Unity of Thought and Action**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3641.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to National Editorial Board Plenum, Sept. 5, 1965.

## ***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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3652.pdf>

Jan. 6, 1965.

### **(2) Hong Kong Interview: Alienation or Revolution**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3664.pdf>

a chapter from *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya. Published in Chinese by the Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, in *China Monthly*, No. 39, June 1, 1967. (Microfilm also includes chapter in English.)

#### (4) The New Left in Japan: Achievements and Goals, in *News & Letters*

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3727.pdf>

Feb. 1966. Raya Dunayevskaya's report on her lecture tour through Japan.

#### (5) Discussion Articles from Japan

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3731.pdf>

Pre-Convention Bulletin, August 1966. Two Contributions to the Convention of News and Letters Committees from Zenshin.

#### (6) Philosophical Essays

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3753.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. Published in Japanese, 1967. Essays include: "Marx's Humanism Today"; "The Theory of Alienation: Marx's Debt to Hegel"; "Afro-Asian Revolutions."

### ***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>

By Eugene Walker, Fall 1968; a *News & Letters* Youth pamphlet. An eyewitness critical report on the near-revolution in France, May-June 1968.

#### (6) Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/3940.pdf>

Oct. 1968; published jointly by *News and Letters* Committees and the Marxist-Humanist Group, Glasgow, Scotland. An analysis of the events in Czechoslovakia 1968 including eyewitness report by X, a Czechoslovak; report by Ivan Svitak; editorial statement from *News & Letters*; Foreword by Raya Dunayevskaya and Harry McShane.

#### (7) Raya Dunayevskaya on Racialism, 1968

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4000.pdf>

published by Scottish Marxist-Humanist Group.

(8) A Critical Re-examination of Herbert Marcuse's Works

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4010.pdf>

by Richard Greeman, in New Politics, Fall 1968.

### ***Section IV. Transition Point: Theses and Reports***

(1) Organization: Philosophy and Reality

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4029.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, July 1966.

(2) Perspectives: 1966-67

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4040.pdf>

Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 3, 1966.

(3) Theory, Organization and Politics

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4060.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, Aug. 1967.

(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>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, July 1968.

(7) The Missing Link

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4123.pdf>

Perspectives Letters Committees Convention, Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Aug. 31, 1968.

## **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.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4160.pdf>
- (3) Part III, Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation, Chapter I, The African Revolutions and the World Economy, 1968.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4176.pdf>
- (4) Hegel's Absolutes as New Beginnings, Chapter 1, 1968.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4190.pdf>
- (5) Marx's Transcendence of, and Return to, Hegel's Dialectic, Chapter 2, 1968.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4227.pdf>
- (6) The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin, 1968.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4261.pdf>
- (7) On the Eve of World War II: A. The Depression and the Theoretic Void, 1968.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4269.pdf>
- (8) The Postwar World: A. Marx's Humanism vs. the "Thought of Mao Tse-tung," 1968.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4272.pdf>
- (9) New Passions and New Forces, 1969.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4283.pdf>
- (10) Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya which accompanied Draft Chapters.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4289.pdf>  
 A series of letters, 1967-1970, as introduction to the various draft chapters.
- (11) Exchange of letters between Herbert Marcuse and Raya Dunayevskaya on first outline of Philosophy and Revolution  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4316.pdf>  
 Dec. 1960-Jan. 1961.
- (12) Outline for Philosophy and Revolution  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4334.pdf>  
 by Raya Dunayevskaya, Jan. 23, 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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4355.pdf>  
 on Part III of Philosophy and Revolution, Feb. 21, 1971. A brief summary of Dunayevskaya's presentation and discussion.
- (3) World Crises and the Needed American Revolution  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4365.pdf>  
 Draft Perspectives Thesis, July 1969.
- (4) On International Relations and Theoretic Challenges  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4385.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya to the National Editorial Board Plenum, Aug. 30, 1969.

(6) **The Newness of Our Philosophic-Historic Contribution**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4407.pdf>

June 1969. A response to some of the discussion on the draft chapters of Philosophy and Revolution. (Reissued, October 1973.)

**Section III. The Crucial Early 1970s**

(1) **Nixon's Wars at Home and Abroad**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4417.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, in News & Letters, June-July 1970.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4421.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, July 1970.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4431.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 1970.

(4) **War and Revolution**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4454.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, July 1971.

(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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4486.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, July 1972.

(7) **Perspectives 1972-73**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4497.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 1972.

**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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4516.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, in Telos, Spring 1970. Reprinted in Italian in Aut Aut, 1974. Microfilm includes translation into Serbo-Croatian, published in Yugoslavian journal, Praxis 1970.

(2) **Hegelian Leninism**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4543.pdf>

a paper delivered by Raya Dunayevskaya to Telos Conference in Waterloo, Ontario, Oct. 10, 1970. Published in Towards a New Marxism, Grahl and Piccone, eds., Telos Press, St. Louis, Mo. 1973.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4565.pdf>

Feb. 1970.

## ***Section V. Ongoing Revolts, Youth Especially***

### **(1) American Youth Revolt, 1960-69**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4573.pdf>

Youth Report by Eugene Walker to News and Letters Committees Plenum, Sept. 1969. A survey of the decade beginning with the Black youth sit-ins, Freedom Rides and Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, through the Free Speech Movement of the mid-1960s, to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and anti-war activism.

### **(2) A Discussion of Racism and Class**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4582.pdf>

a resolution submitted to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention, by Marxist-Humanists, Summer 1969.

### **(3) China: Voices of Revolt**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4589.pdf>

excerpts from "Whither China?" document of Sheng Wu-lien (Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance Committee), printed by News and Letters, Jan. 1970. Document of a revolutionary opposition movement that emerged in China during the Cultural Revolution. For an analysis, see "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung," in Philosophy and Revolution.

### **(4) 8 to 3: High School Prison Notes**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4633.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, May 1, 1971; a News & Letters pamphlet. Written on the 30th anniversary of the elaboration of the theory of state-capitalism. First printed in News & Letters in May 1971 and June-July 1971.

### **(6) Shipyard Workers Revolt Against Communist Party Leaders**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4760.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1973; a News & Letters pamphlet. A reissuance of the original 1941-42 articles on the nature of the Russian economy. (See Vol. I, Secs. II and IV.)

### **(3) Two Articles by Raya Dunayevskaya:**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4787.pdf>

"Footnote on the Detractors of Lenin," and "The Theory of Alienation: Marx's Debt to Hegel," issued by the Scottish Marxist-Humanist, 1970. Foreword by Harry McShane.

#### (4) Heaven and Earth Change Places

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4807.pdf>

A Critique of Dr. Han Suyin's biography of Mao Tse-tung, *The Morning Deluge*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, in *New Politics*, Spring 1973.

#### (5) Humanism and Marxism

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4812.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. An essay on Marx and Religion in *The Humanist Alternative*, edited by Paul Kurtz, 1973.

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

#### (1) Who We Are and What We Stand For...

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4821.pdf>

Oct. 1970; a News & Letters pamphlet. First issued in mimeographed form, Jan. 1970. A collection of articles on the newly emerging Women's Liberation Movement in the United States, written by Black, Latina and white women; working women, welfare rights activists, women's liberation activists. Includes an essay by Raya Dunayevskaya, "The Women's Liberation Movement as Reason and as Revolutionary Force." Microfilm includes Dunayevskaya's 1969 speech to a Chicago Women's Liberation group.

#### (4) Rosa Luxemburg: Revolutionary Theoretician

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4912.pdf>

by Lee Tracy, 1973; a News & Letters—Women's Liberation Committees pamphlet. A brief introduction to Rosa Luxemburg, based in part on the biography by J.P. Nettl.

## **VOLUME VIII: 1973-1975— PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION AS BOOK, AS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AGE**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4938.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1973, published by Delacorte Press, N.Y. in hardcover and Dell, N.Y. in softcover. (Foreign language edition: Spanish (Mexico), 1977 by Siglo Veintiuno; Italian, 1977, by Feltrinelli;

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4945.pdf>

as amended on Oct. 21, 1973, to include: Philosophy and Revolution as well as Marxism and Freedom as theoretical foundation; the rise of the Women's Liberation Movement; and the intensification of the Black struggles in the 1970s. A report of the Constitution session appeared in News & Letters, Dec. 1973.

## (3) REB Draft Perspectives 1973-74

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4952.pdf>

Draft Thesis, August 1973.

## (4) Perspectives 1973-74

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4964.pdf>

Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Oct. 20, 1973.

## (5) Philosophy and Revolution as Organization Builder

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/4982.pdf>

April 1973. A collection of writings and meetings on Philosophy and Revolution.

## ***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, Guinea-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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5005.pdf>

(Playing Politics with Nuclear Fuel), July 1974.

### (2) On the Threshold: Philosophic Preparation for Revolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5022.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 1974.

### (3) Dialectics of Liberation

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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. IE); Lecture Notes: Lenin on Science of Logic (see Vol. VI, Sec. III)

### (4) Latin America and the U.S.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5110.pdf>

Report by Eugene Walker to the News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 1974. On the imperialist relation of today, and on the possibility of a revolutionary relationship.

### (5) El Humanismo de Marx en la Actualidad

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5138.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, in News & Letters, Aug.-Sept. 1975. Beginning in 1975, News and Letters Committees decided to publish their Draft Perspectives directly in the pages of News & Letters.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5148.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to National Editorial Board Plenum, Aug. 30, 1975.

(8) Report on Organization: Philosophy, Spontaneity and Organization  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5168.pdf>  
Report by Olga Domanski, National Organizer of News and Letters Committees, to National Editorial Board Plenum, Sept. 1975.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5180.pdf>

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***

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5181.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5182.pdf>

first printed in News & Letters, Jan.-Feb. 1976. Includes Portuguese translation.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5193.pdf>

Jan. 24, 1976.

(3) Mao's Last Hurrah, Feb. 26, 1976.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5206.pdf>

Includes as Appendix Dunayevskaya's Aug. 1953 Essay, "The Beria Purge."

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5221.pdf>

May 23, 1976.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5236.pdf>

July 1976.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5245.pdf>

August 1976.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5255.pdf>

Oct. 1976. Includes as Appendix, "The New Humanism: African Socialism," reprinted from Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, 1961. (See Vol. V, Sec. I.)

(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?

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5268.pdf>

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>

Dec. 15-30, 1976.

## ***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>

by Charles Denby, 1978, published by South End Press, Boston. A new edition of the book published in 1952, with a new Part II dealing with the quarter of a century from 1953 to 1978, after Denby became editor of News & Letters. (A British edition was published by Pluto Press, 1980; a German edition by Rotbuch Verlag was published in 1981, entitled Im reichsten Land der Welt.) (The text of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal is not included on the microfilm.)

(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 Aba 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>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1977; a Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees pamphlet.

(4) Revolutionary Feminism—Women as Reason

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

1978; a Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees pamphlet. Collection of articles on International Women's Day, Women in the Paris Commune and Black Women's Liberation, Rosa Luxemburg, Critique of Joan Smith's "Women and the Family."

## ***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>

a Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya, May 15, 1978. Looks at Latin America's unfinished revolutions in terms not alone of U.S. imperialism but also lack of an independent Marxist philosophy of revolution. Covers Cuba, Trotskyism in Latin America, and Silvio Frondizi.

## **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. Franki 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>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1977; a News & Letters pamphlet. A collection of four essays, written from 1974-1976: a. Post-Mao China, What Now? Written one month after Mao's death, this analysis was published also as Appendix to the Italian, Spanish, and German editions of *Philosophy and Revolution*. b. Dialectics of Liberation in Thought and in Activity: Absolute Negativity as New Beginning. Written as an address to the 1974 conference of the Hegel Society of America, this is a Marxist-Humanist paragraph-by-paragraph interpretation of the final chapter on Absolute Idea in Hegel's Science of Logic. c. Leon Trotsky as Man and as Theoretician. Written for *Studies in Comparative Communism*, Summer 1977. The article is followed by a comment by Ernest Mandel and a rejoinder by Dunayevskaya. d. Commentary: a critique of B.J. Harrell's "Marx and Critical Thought." Written for *Paunch*, May 1976.

### (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

#### a. National, International, Objective-Subjective Crises Are Testing Revolutionaries

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

Draft Perspectives Thesis, in News & Letters, July 1976.

#### b. Philosophy and Revolution in Today's Global Freedom Struggles

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

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 4, 1976.

### c. Time is Running Out

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5720.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, in News & Letters, Aug.-Sept. 1977.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5726.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to National Editorial Board Plenum, Sept. 3, 1977.

e. Politicalization, Battle of Ideas and Organizational Growth

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5749.pdf>

Report by Olga Domanski, National Organizer of News and Letters Committees, to National Editorial Board Plenum, Sept. 4, 1977.

f. 1977 Plenum Proceedings

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5760.pdf>

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

g. New Beginnings that Determine the End

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5784.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, in News & Letters, July 1978.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5791.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 2, 1978.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5824.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, Jan. 1978; a News & Letters pamphlet, published jointly by News and Letters, Committees, Detroit, and Great Britain. Includes: "Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's Capital" (a polemic primarily against Ernest Mandel and his Introduction to the 1976 Pelican Marx Library edition of Capital); "Tony Cliff Reduces Lenin's Theory to 'Uncanny Intuition'" (a polemic against Vol. II of Cliff's Lenin); and four chapters on Marx's Capital, reproduced from Marxism and Freedom. Preface by Harry McShane. Microfilm does not include the four chapters from Marxism and Freedom. A syllabus for study of Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis is added here.

## **VOLUME X: 1979-1981 — 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**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5860.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5888.pdf>

August 1979.

### (4) Outline of Marx's Capital Volume One

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5897.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, in News & Letters, July 1979.

### (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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5904.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to National Editorial Board Plenum, Sept. 1979.

### (7) Report on Organization/News & Letters

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5943.pdf>

Report by Olga Domanski to National Editorial Board Plenum, Sept. 1979.

### (8) An Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Discussion Bulletin

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5967.pdf>

published by the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee, Sept. 1979.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5985.pdf>

December 1979. A Special Issue In Memoriam to Herbert Marcuse. Includes (p. 10) Dunayevskaya's "Herbert Marcuse, Marxist Philosopher," reprinted from News & Letters, Aug.-Sept. 1979.

### (10) The Political-Philosophic Letters of Raya Dunayevskaya

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/5999.pdf>

April 29, 1980.

b. Not So Random Thoughts on: What Is Philosophy? What Is Revolution?  
1789-1793; 1848-1850; 1914-1919; 1979

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6004.pdf>

Dec. 17, 1979.

c. Grave Contradictions in the Iranian Revolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6013.pdf>

Nov. 27, 1979.

d. Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6019.pdf>

March 25, 1979.

e. Special Introduction for Iranian Edition of Marx's Humanist Essays

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6037.pdf>

Oct. 11, 1979.

g. The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6050.pdf>

May 15, 1978.

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

a. Iran's Revolutionary Past — and Present

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6063.pdf>

Dec. 1973 "Two Worlds"

b. Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6066.pdf>

March 1979 Political-Philosophic Letter.

c. Women as Reason and as Force of Revolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6177.pdf>

Oct. 1, 1979 Political-Philosophic Letter.

e. Introduction to Iranian Edition of Marx's Humanist Essays

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6201.pdf>

edited by Warren Steinkraus and Kenneth L. Schmitz, Hegel Society of America, Humanities Press, 1980. Includes (p. 163) Dunayevskaya's "Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning."

(2) Marx's Concept of Woman, 1843-1883, and Today

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6212.pdf>

by Eugene Walker, July 1980.

(3) Marx's Concept of Organization

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6219.pdf>

by Eugene Walker, July 1980.

(4) Tomorrow is Now: U.S. Imperialism in the Iranian Desert, and at Home, in Deep Recession and Resurgent Racism

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6239.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, in News & Letters, July 1980.

(5) Today and Tomorrow

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6245.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Aug. 30, 1980. Bulletin includes also Convention Reports by Olga Domanski, National Organizer, "Theory and Our Archives," and Michael Connolly, Co-National Organizer, "On Organization."

(6) From the Pen

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6294.pdf>

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

(7) Today's Polish Fight For Freedom

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6320.pdf>

first printing March 1980, second edition, Nov. 1980, bilingual (Polish-English); a News & Letters publication. Includes: excerpts from Robotnik; letter from Dunayevskaya on Polish satire; "All Eyes on Polish Workers" by Charles Denby (reprinted/translated from "Worker's Journal" column, News & Letters, Oct. 1930); Karl Marx, "In Defense of Poland."

(8) British journal, Marxist Humanism

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6371.pdf>

British Marxist-Humanists' publication of their own journal, first issue, Summer 1980, second issue, Winter 1980/81.

(9) 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.: A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6383.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, Oct. 1980; a News & Letters pamphlet.

### ***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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6411.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, May 1981.

(2) Before and After the 1905 Revolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6420.pdf>

Draft Chapter of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Appeared in News & Letters, Jan.-Feb. 1980.

(3) The Break with Kautsky, 1910-11

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6426.pdf>

Draft Chapter of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Appeared in News & Letters, April 1980.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6432.pdf>

1978-81.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/6467.pdf>

Draft Chapter of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Appeared in News & Letters, Jan.-Feb. 1979.

(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>

by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1955 – 1981. [Listings by decade of titles and the full articles, 1955-1987, are available at the News and Letters Committees web site <http://newsandletters.org/category/newspaper/>]

## **VOLUME XI: 1981-1985 — DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION: AMERICAN ROOTS AND WORLD HUMANIST CONCEPTS**

### **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 Philosophic 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);
- and 3) "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts," the presentation given at the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs on March 21, 1985.

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7090.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Plenum, Sept. 5, 1981. Bulletin also includes Syllabus for classes in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7127.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, July 14, 1981.

- (3) Post-Plenum Bulletin #2.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7157.pdf>

a bilingual pamphlet. Includes "El Salvador: Reagan's Genocidal War and the Unfinished Latin American Revolutions" by Dunayevskaya. Sept. 1981.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7217.pdf>

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

(6) Iran: Revolution and Counter-revolution.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7219.pdf>

Political-Philosophic letters by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1978-1981. A News & Letters pamphlet, 1982.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7266.pdf>

Translated by Iranian youth and published March, 1982.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7350.pdf>

Essay by Neda Azad in News & Letters, June, 1981.

(9) Kurds' continuous struggle challenges Khomeini regime.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7353.pdf>

Essay by Cyrus Noveen in News & Letters, April, 1982.

(10) Ireland: Revolution and Theory

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7356.pdf>

by Michael Connolly. A News & Letters pamphlet. May 28, 1981.

(11) Marxist-Humanism, Issue #4.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7372.pdf>

Publication of British Marxist-Humanists. Feb.-March, 1982.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7392.pdf>

Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya. Dunayevskaya. Jan. 5, 1982.

(13) Down with the Perpetrators of the Palestinian Slaughter

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7402.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. Printed in News & Letters Oct, 1982.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7406.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. Printed in News & Letters, Jan.-Feb. 1982.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7409.pdf>

"Theory/Practice" column by Raya Dunayevskaya. March 1982.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7411.pdf>

Political-philosophic letter by Raya Dunayevskaya. Nov., 1982.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7415.pdf>

Selected writings by Raya Dunayevskaya on Women's Liberation. Published for International Women's Day, March 8, 1981 by Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees, on the tenth anniversary of their founding.

(18) La mujer como razon y fuerza revolucionaria.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7446.pdf>

Spanish edition of Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution, published by the Peruvian feminist group, ALIMUPER, March, 1982. Includes essay "Rosa Luxemburgo y el feminismo", by Anne Molly Jackson.

(19) The revolutionary activity of Polish women.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7473.pdf>

Essay by Urszula Wislanka, in News & Letters, March, 1982.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7476.pdf>

"Theory/Practice" column by Raya Dunayevskaya: her letter to Charles Denby of May 5, 1981. N&L June, 1981.

(21) The French edition of Capital, 100 years after.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7478.pdf>

Essay by Kevin A. Barry in News & Letters, Oct., 1981

(22) On the 150th anniversary since Hegel's death: How valid for our day are Marx's Hegelian roots?

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7481.pdf>

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

(23) Hobsbawm and Rubel on the Marx centenary, but where is Marx?

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7483.pdf>

"Theory/Practice" column by Raya Dunayevskaya. Aug.-Sept., 1982.

(24) On the Battle of Ideas: Philosophic-Theoretic Points of Departure as Political Tendencies Respond to the Objective Situation.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7486.pdf>

Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya. Oct. 5-15, 1982.

(25) Dialectics of Liberation

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7502.pdf>

Aug. 1982.

(27) Two letters by Dunayevskaya during Pre-Convention discussion

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7503.pdf>

1982: to Marianna for the Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees, June 22, 1982; and to the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee. Aug. 16, 1982.

(28) A Philosophy of Revolution Needed: Mass Opposition to Reaganomics and the Drive for Nuclear War.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7508.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis, June 25, 1982.

(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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7515.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 4, 1982.

(30) Post-Convention Bulletin #2.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7539.pdf>

Includes reports to Convention by Eugene Walker on News & Letters; Michael Connolly on Organization. Sept., 1982.

(31) Post-Convention Bulletin #3.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7560.pdf>

Includes Charles Denby's report on his last trip to the South; Index to Bound Volume of News & Letters, 1955-1962. Sept., 1982.

(32) Marx and non-capitalist lands: 1873-1883.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7610.pdf>

Essay by Eugene Walker in News & Letters, Dec., 1982.

(33) Brochure by Humanities Press, 1982

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7617.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Britain jointly published this 1982 edition. Included here is the "Postface for 1982," by Dunayevskaya.

(35) Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7639.pdf>

Presentation to expanded meeting of Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees by Raya Dunayevskaya. Jan. 1, 1983.

(2) The National tour on the Marx centenary.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7671.pdf>

A News & Letters pamphlet with Indian, peasant, and women's voices from the Guatemalan struggles. Includes "The 1954 Guatemalan Coup" by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "The Peasant dimension in Latin America" by Michael Connolly. March, 1983.

(5) Preface to the Iranian edition of Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7682.pdf>

by Raha, an Iranian revolutionary in exile. Translated into English and printed in News & Letters, Aug.-Sept., 1983.

(6) Iranian edition of Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism, and the Afro-Asian Revolutions.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7791.pdf>

by David Wolff. A News & Letters publication. Jan., 1983.

(9) Soweto Day: Black Consciousness and Marxist-Humanism.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7799.pdf>

A guest "Worker's Journal" column by Lou Turner, reporting on Turner's participation in Soweto Day meetings held by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, June 16-18, 1983. Printed in News & Letters, July, 1983.

(10) How to aid birth of workers' own forms of organization.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7801.pdf>

Essay by John Marcotte in News & Letters. Oct., 1983.

(11) Challenge to the Youth on the Needed Total Uprooting of the Old and the Creation of New Human Relations.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7803.pdf>

Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya written as part of Pre-Convention discussion. Aug. 13, 1983.

(12) Letters to Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7811.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. Jan. 27 and Jan. 31, 1983.

(13) Pre-Convention Bulletin #4.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7819.pdf>

This 95-page discussion bulletin, with 25 contributions, represents a part of the vital ferment of ideas that preceded the special 1983 Constitutional Convention of News and Letters Committees. Includes "Revolutions and Philosophies," letter by Dunayevskaya written Aug. 1, 1983. Bulletin published Aug. 1983.

(14) Mass Unrest at Home and Abroad in the Global Year of the Missile.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7915.pdf>

Draft Perspectives Thesis. June 23, 1983.

(15) The Marx Centenary Discloses the Need for the Philosophy of "Revolution in Permanence" for Uprooting Reaganism out to Shackle the People with Mind-Forged Manacles of Unfreedom.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7925.pdf>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, Sept. 3, 1983.

(16) Reports from Our 1983 Constitutional Convention.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7953.pdf>

Bulletin includes: statement to Convention by Charles Denby; plus reports on Organization by Michael Connolly; on the Constitution by Olga Domanski; on News & Letters by Eugene Walker; on the Black Dimension in revolutionary journalism by Lou Turner. Sept., 1983.

(17) Constitution and By-laws of News and Letters Committees

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/7993.pdf>

as amended at Constitutional Convention, Sept. 4, 1983. Amendments included addition of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution as theoretical foundation for the Committees, along with the other two works of what were now called 'a trilogy of revolution' — Marxism and Freedom, and Philosophy and Revolution.

(18) Three Reviews of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8004.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya: George Armstrong Kelly in Political Theory (Vol. 11, No. 4, Nov. 1983); Kevin Anderson in Africa Today (Vol. 29, No. 4, 1982); Valeria Russo in Dimensions (Milan, Italy) (No. 30, 1984).

(19) Letter on American Civilization on Trial

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8019.pdf>

from Charles Denby to Raya Dunayevskaya. Printed in Denby's "Worker's Journal" column, June, 1983.

(20) American Civilization on Trial.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8020.pdf>

Statement of the National Editorial Board. Fourth expanded edition published on the 20th anniversary of both the 1963 March on Washington and the first edition of this News & Letters pamphlet. This 1983 edition includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya. Published Aug. 1983.

(21) Statement by Charles Denby to 1983 News and Letters Committees Constitutional Convention.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8032.pdf>

Written on Aug. 13, 1983, it is the last letter by Charles Denby, who passed away Oct. 10, 1983.

(22) "Charles Denby, Worker-Editor"

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8033.pdf>

an In Memoriam to Denby, by Raya Dunayevskaya, published in News & Letters Nov., 1983, traces Dunayevskaya's 35-year-long, political relationship with him.

(23) Grenada: Revolution, Counter-revolution, Imperialist Invasion.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8036.pdf>

Two articles by Raya Dunayevskaya, plus an eyewitness report on the "mass freeing and army murder of Maurice Bishop". A News & Letters pamphlet. Dec. 1983.

(24) La invasion y conquista imperialista de Grenada por Reagan.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8058.pdf>

Spanish translation of article by Raya Dunayevskaya in News & Letters, Dec. 1983.

### ***Section III. 1984-1985: Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism in the Historic Mirror***

(1) Eleanor Marx in Chicago

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8062.pdf>

by Terry Moon. A Women's Liberation-News & Letters publication, this mini-pamphlet focuses on the American tour of Eleanor Marx in 1886, and her trip to Chicago at the time of the Haymarket events. Jan. 1984.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8066.pdf>

This article by Raya Dunayevskaya 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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8088.pdf>

Two articles by Michelle Landau and Terry Moon, published in the feminist newspaper, off our backs (Vol. XIV, No. 8, Aug.-Sept. 1984). The articles were reprinted as a Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committee publication, Oct. 1984.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8102.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. Third English language edition (it appeared in Japanese in 1955 and in Farsi in 1983) contains a new Introduction by Dunayevskaya written Feb. 15, 1984.

(5) Page One of Jan.-Feb. 1984 News & Letters.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8116.pdf>

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>

by John Alan. Essay published in News & Letters, April, 1984.

(7) A 1980s View: The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

**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>

Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya to News and Letters Committees Convention, July 7, 1984.

(11) Post-Convention Bulletin #3.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8229.pdf>

Includes reports on Organization by Michael Connolly, and on Black and Third World by Lou Turner. Aug., 1984.

(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>

"Theory/ Practice" column by Raya Dunayevskaya, Oct. 1984. A discussion of Louis Dupre's Marx's Social Critique of Culture.

(15) Farsi translation of "Intellectuals in the Age of State-Capitalism"

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8270.pdf>

Raya Dunayevskaya's 1961 review of Herbert Marcuse's Soviet Marxism. Published by Iranian revolutionaries in exile. May, 1984.

(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>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. Includes "On Ten Years of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives" by Olga Domanski. Oct. 1984.

(18) The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8306.pdf>

A News & Letters discussion bulletin containing, the first American discussion of Marx's 1880-82 Mathematical Mss., a part of which appeared in English in 1983. Includes: articles by Ron Brokmeyer and Franklin Dmitryev, and letters by Raya Dunayevskaya and others. Dunayevskaya examines the roots of Russian distortions of the Mss. in Bukharin's 1931 presentation to the International Congress on the History of Science and Technology. Nov. 1984.

(19) Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism in the Historic Mirror: A Revolutionary-Critical Look.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8334.pdf>

Presentation by Raya Dunayevskaya to the first Expanded Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees following the move of the Center of Marxist-Humanism to Chicago. Dec. 30, 1984.

(20) Marxist-Humanism as a body of Ideas: a special bulletin.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8348.pdf>

A collection of writings on "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts". Includes a presentation given by Raya Dunayevskaya in Chicago on Jan. 27, 1985 and new developments since the move of the Center of Marxist-Humanism to Chicago. Also includes: Dunayevskaya's "In Memoriam" to Charles Denby and essays on News & Letters, on the Marxist-Humanist Archives and on Women's Liberation by Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski. Published as a News & Letters pamphlet. March, 1985.

(21) Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts.

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

Lecture given at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs by Raya Dunayevskaya on the occasion of the opening of an exhibit of her collection—"Marxist-Humanism: Its Origin and Development in the U.S., 1941 to Today". March 21, 1985.

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

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya. A Humanities Press International book, 1985. Included here are the page-proofs of the Table of Contents and the Introduction/Overview.

## **VOLUME XII: RETROSPECTIVE AND PERSPECTIVE — THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION, 1924-1986**

### **INTRODUCTION/OVERVIEW TO VOLUME XII**

The March 21, 1985, lecture, "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts," that the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs sponsored, was the occasion at which I handed in new material for the years 1981-85, and promised to bring the Collection up through the end of 1985. In the process of my working on Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 1985-86, the Marxist-Humanist archivist, Michael Connolly, informed me of newly discovered materials dating back to the mid-1920s. When I looked at the U.S. Congressional "Red Files" on the founding convention of the American Negro Labor Congress, the vivid memory of my arrival in the U.S. during the Palmer Raids against "Reds" and Negroes in the post-World

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 multilinearity 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 Comunista 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-

61, 1963-65, 1965-66, 1967-68, 1971-75, 1976-78] or Peter Bergmann, Jean Malaquais or Paul Piccone, Dixon Colley or John O'Neill, or even C.L.R. James and Grace Chin Lee [#9209, #9224, #9234, #9250, #9291, #1595], or whether it was with Leon Trotsky [#2211 and #2226] or Yoshimasa Yukiya. 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 *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, *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, *Dialectics of Organization: Philosophy, the "Party," and Opposite Forms of Organization Born Out of Spontaneity*.

The Black Dimension, which was central in *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 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."

**Raya Dunayevskaya**  
**February 28, 1986**

### **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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8527.pdf>

written by Dunayevskaya and included on the dust jacket of the English translation of Gorki's "Bystander," published in New York by Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930.

(4) Max Sterling letter to Dunayevskaya

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8535.pdf>

Article by Dunayevskaya in Militant, June 3, 1933.

(6) National "Free Tom Mooney" conference.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8538.pdf>

Issues Nos. 5, 6, 7, 11, 12-13, 17-18, 19. October 1929-March 1931.

(9) Special issue of the Militant

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8774.pdf>

Article by Dunayevskaya in the Militant, March 24, 1934. Describes organizing campaign of January-March 1934 in the Emergency Home Relief Bureau (Single Men's Division) in New York City. Dunayevskaya worked in the typing pool there.

(12) "Strike Struggles Continue Militant Traditions"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8776.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8777.pdf>

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"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8778.pdf>

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)

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8779.pdf>

on "Fundamental Party Principles for the Youth." Class by Rae Ruskin (Dunayevskaya). Printed in New Militant, March 2, 1935.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8780.pdf>

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

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8781.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8783.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8784.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8792.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8809.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8822.pdf>

Article in New York Times by Arthur Pincus, March 27, 1938. Includes reference to Dunayevskaya.

(23) "Trotsky, with Pistol at Hand Against Foes, Combats Invalidism to Spread His Doctrine"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8825.pdf>

Article in New York World Telegram, May 14, 1938. Includes reference to Dunayevskaya.

(24) Letters to and from Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) after her return to the U.S.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8832.pdf>

Nov. 2, 1938. On Dunayevskaya's search for a publisher for her article "The Man Trotsky." Malamuth translated Trotsky's book, "Stalin," into English.

(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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8838.pdf>

June, July and November, 1938, on the Russian Bulletin of the Opposition. Includes reference to Bulletin's tenth anniversary meeting, with Antoinette Konikow and Rae Spiegel as speakers, and letter from Business Manager of Bulletin in Paris, April 12, 1939.

(28) Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) to Max Shachtman

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8842.pdf>

April 29, 1940. Summary of Dunayevskaya's translation of an article by Trotsky in Russian Bulletin of the Opposition.

(29) Max Shachtman letter to "Freddie" (Raya Dunayevskaya)

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8862.pdf>

by Dunayevskaya. Early 1940s.

(4) Notes on Lenin's State and Revolution and Selected Works

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.)

(5) "Report of the Siberian Delegation, Second Congress of the Russian SDP," 1903

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8884.pdf>

Notes by Dunayevskaya. Undated.

(9) Notes on An Essay on Marxian Economics by Joan Robinson.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8888.pdf>

Unpublished article by Dunayevskaya against views of Trotsky, Shachtman, and Carter. Unpublished typescript. 1942.

(2) "The Law of Value and Capitalist Society".

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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>

Dec. 1, 1942. Draft of letter submitting "The Nature of the Russian Economy" for publication.

(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>

May 8, 1944; Feb. 2, 1945; Oct. 30, 1946. Protests handling of Dunayevskaya's articles on the "Russian Question"; gives chronology of Dunayevskaya's research.

(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>

Oct. 31, 1946 and Nov. 4, 1946. On Farrell's study of Dunayevskaya's articles in New International and in American Economic Review.

(12) Lydia Beidel letter to Dunayevskaya

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/8997.pdf>

Dec. 1, 1946. On draft of Dunayevskaya's articles in New International.

(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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9034.pdf>

(1940 Agricultural Yearbook). Undated.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9039.pdf>

given by Dunayevskaya in 1948(?).

(7) "Industrialization of the Negro"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9084.pdf>

A summary lecture for the Capital class by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya). Given in 1946. For Dunayevskaya's "Outline of Capital, Vol. II", see # 385.

(5) "Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx".

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9119.pdf>

An answer by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) to Gates' attack on Forest's "Outline of Marx's Capital, Vol. One". Published in the Workers Party Internal Bulletin, March, 1947.

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

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9157.pdf>

Article by Dunayevskaya written for Ten Eventful Years, an Encyclopedia Britannica volume edited by Walter Yust. January, 1947.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9166.pdf>

March 2, 1947. On WP/SWP unity discussion. Published in Workers Party Internal Bulletin, May 27, 1947.

(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.

(7) Journalism by F. Forest in the Militant, 1948-51.

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

Articles written for the party press during the final period of Dunayevskaya's work in the Socialist Workers Party. For other articles see # 1477. Articles included here are: (a) "A Glorious Page of U.S. History". Militant, Feb. 23, 1948. On Black populists. (b) "Maintain the Schomburg Collection!". Militant, Mar. 8, 1948. On the crucial Black research library in Harlem. (c) "Civil Rights Demagogy", Militant, Aug. 9, 1948. On Jim Crow in the U.S. Army. (d) "Palmer Raids". Militant, Aug. 23, 1948. On the U.S. government's attacks on Black activists and the Left after the Russian Revolution. (e) "Randolph's Betrayal" Militant, Aug. 30, 1948. On A. Phillip Randolph. (f) "Social Scientists and Labor". Militant, Aug. 30, 1948. On conference of the American Economic Association and other academics. (g) "Raging Witch-Hunt in Pittsburgh Bans Worker, Jails CP Leaders". Militant, Oct. 9, 1950. On McCarthy era prosecutions. (h) "State Sedition Law Trial of 3 Opens in Pittsburgh". Militant, Jan. 29, 1951.

(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>

(1) Dunayevskaya (RD) to C.L.R. James (CLRJ). Nov. 22, 1948. On Hegel's Logic and Marx's Capital. (2) RD to Grace Lee (GL). Jan. 5, 1949. On dialectic in Capital. (3) RD to CLRJ. Jan. 27, 1949. Cover letter with Dunayevskaya's translation of Lenin on Hegel's Philosophy of History. (4) RD to GL. Jan. 31, 1949. On organizational developments. (5) RD to GL. Feb. 1, 1949. On Hegel's "infinite in the finite". (6) RD to GL. Feb. 10, 1949. On Determinate Being in Hegel and "barrier and limit". (7) GL to RD. Feb. 14, 1949. Comments on RD's letters. (8) RD to GL. Feb. 17, 1949. On Determinate Being in Hegel, and relation to Marx and Lenin's work.

Letters after Dunayevskaya's study of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, 1949

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9224.pdf>

(1) RD to CLRJ. Oct. 5, 1949. On categories in Marx. (2) "Notes on Ch. I of Marx's Capital: Its Relation to Hegel's Logic." Mss. by RD (6 pp.). Oct. 5, 1949. (3) RD to GL. Oct. 12, 1949. On Marx, Ricardo and Bukharin

## 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>

(1) William Warde to RD, April 4, 1950. Socialist Workers Party view of the coal miners general strike. (2) RD to CLRJ. May 5, 1950. On Engels as "my chief enemy". (3) RD to Warde. June 25, 1950. On Yugoslav contacts. (4) RD to CLRJ. Oct. 30, 1950. On Youngstown, Ohio, activity. (5) RD to CLRJ. July 19, 1950. On historic stages in 19th and 20th century. (6) RD to CLRJ. Oct. 20, 1950 On commodity-form. (7) RD to CLRJ. Dec. 2, 1950. On the "placing of our tendency historically".

**Dec. 27, 1950 – Jan. 31, 1951**

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9250.pdf>

(8) Two presentations by RD on "Form and Plan," Dec. 27, 1950 and Jan. 14, 1951. 38 pp. typescript (9) GL to RD. Jan. 18, 1951. On RD's "tremendous leap". (10) RD to CLRJ. Jan. 31, 1951. On developments inside Russia.

**March 2, 1951 – Nov. 27, 1951**

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9291.pdf>

(11) RD to CLRJ. March 2, 1951. On Bukharin, tying up "intelligensia and labor bureaucracy with plan" (12) "Cooperative Form of Labor vs. Abstract Labor" Mss. by RD. March 2, 1951. (13) RD to "Cy" (Charles Denby). April 5 1951. On Marx, Lenin and Black America. (14) RD to CLRJ. April 27, 1951. On document by Warde and Wright. (15) RD to CLRJ. June 16, 1951. On the exact date of "Lenin's LEAP" in his Hegel studies. This is the last letter written while the state-capitalist tendency was still within the Socialist Workers Party. In July, 1951, they split and formed Correspondence Committees. A division, however, appeared in the Committees even before the first issue of their mimeographed paper, Correspondence. (16) RD to "Hermann" (John Zupan). Sept. 13, 1951. On the new miners' strike and the first issue of mimeographed 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 L. 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. (18) "Miners Wildcat Strike". Lead article in Vol. 1, #1 of mimeographed Correspondence. Nov. 15, 1951. (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>

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>

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>

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>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9396.pdf>

June 27, 1958 and July 15, 1958. On C.L.R. James' Facing Reality.

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess. March 20, 1959.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9403.pdf>

On Mao's China and the theory of "permanent revolution." Letter written during Dunayevskaya's preparatory study for her 1959 pamphlet, "Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions."

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess. July 29, 1959.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9407.pdf>

On preparation for trip to West Europe.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9426.pdf>

July 17, 1959 and Aug. 28, 1959. On Marxism and Freedom.

Dunayevskaya letters to Grandizo Munis.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9429.pdf>

Sept. 14, 1958 and Oct. 20, 1958. On the break-up of the Johnson-Forest tendency and the publication of Marxism and Freedom.

Dunayevskaya's letters during her trip to Europe.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9470.pdf>

September, 1959. Typescript.

Dunayevskaya speech to meeting in Milan, Italy.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9474.pdf>

Sept. 27, 1959. Typescript.

"Marx's Debt to Hegel"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9478.pdf>

Speech by Dunayevskaya at University of Leeds, England. Oct. 14, 1959. Typescript.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9485.pdf>

Notes for speech by Dunayevskaya and discussion.

"State Capitalism and the Bureaucrats"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9488.pdf>

Article written by Dunayevskaya while on tour in England. Printed in Socialist Leader, Glasgow, Scotland, Jan. 2, 1960.

#### Dunayevskaya letter to Chaulieu and Vega.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9513.pdf>

A report on follow-through to Dunayevskaya's 1959 trip and Bess's trip in 1958. Given to the News and Letters Committees Convention, September 1960.

#### "La teoria dell' accumulazione della Luxemburg"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9517.pdf>

by Dunayevskaya. Article printed in Italian in Prometeo, January 1961.

#### "Premesse per l'annalisi della crisi Cubana"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9527.pdf>

by Dunayevskaya. Article printed in Italian in Prometeo, January 1963. On the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

#### "La Sfida di Mao Tse-tung"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9533.pdf>

by Dunayevskaya. Italian translation of new concluding chapter to second (U.S.) edition of Marxism and Freedom. Published 1964. Translated by Gigante. For the text of Dunayevskaya's introduction to the Italian edition of Marxism and Freedom, April 1959, see # 3266.

#### Africa Trip of 1962

Dunayevskaya letters from Africa during her trip. March 28, 1962 through May 23, 1962.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9608.pdf>

May 15, 1960. On Marxism and Freedom and on his report to the Constitutive Congress of the Party of African Federation.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9609.pdf>

Feb. 17, 1961. On the murder of Patrice Lumumba. Also includes Kanza's reply, April 7, 1961.

Sekou Toure, President of Guinea, letter to Dunayevskaya.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9612.pdf>

A reply to her letter of July 12, 1961.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," Sept. 25, 1962.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9622.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. An article published in Presence Africaine. Paris. Vol. 20, No. 48, 1963. For another article by Dunayevskaya in this journal, see # 3193.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9629.pdf>

Letter by Dunayevskaya to Bess, Sept. 20, 1962. Also includes following letter to Bess of Sept. 29, 1962. On the development from state-capitalism to Marxist-Humanism through the break with Johnson, and on the tasks of Marxist-Humanism ahead.

"Kofi," Ghana, report on situation in Ghana during Nkrumah period.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9635.pdf>

Letter sent to News & Letters, July 14, 1963. Mailed from Takoradi, Ghana. Excerpts published in News & Letters, August-September 1963.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Eme," Nigeria, Dec. 11, 1963.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9711.pdf>

Japan. Dec. 13, 1965.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9723.pdf>

Letters from Feb. 21, 1959 through May 21, 1966. Correspondents are Iwasaki Shigeo; Tadayuki Tsushima; Kenichi Koyama; Yoshimasa Yukiya; 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://ravadunayevskaya.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"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9855.pdf>

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.

Newspaper and journal accounts of Dunayevskaya trip to Japan. December 1965 through January 1966.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9873.pdf>

a. Agricultural College News. Agricultural College, Tokyo University. Nov. 20, 1965. A translation of Dunayevskaya's article, "Indonesian Communism: a case of world Communism's decomposition." b. Zenshin. Tokyo. Dec. 6, 1965. A summary of Dunayevskaya's speech to Zenshin, Dec. 4, at the Telephone and Telegraph Workers Hall, with summary of her speaking schedule for the tour. c. Asahi Shimbun. Nagoya. Dec. 15, 1965. Article titled "Recollections of Trotsky; his secretary Mme. Dunayevskaya welcomed." d. Keio University News. Dec. 15, 1965. Article titled "Current American Marxism" on Dunayevskaya's tour. e. Text of speech (Japanese) by Dunayevskaya, Dec. 19, 1965, at Waseda University titled "Raya Dunayevskaya's theory and practice." A booklet issued by the "Revolutionary Communist League Revolutionary Fraction." f. Zenshin. Tokyo, Jan. 3, 1966. A report on a speech by Dunayevskaya, Dec. 26, 1965, on "America's labor movement and the revolutionary movement." g. Waseda University News. Tokyo. Jan. 6, 1966. Japanese text of an article by Dunayevskaya on "Marx's Humanism: the fundamental basis of today's anti-Stalinism."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," Jan. 18, 1966.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9887.pdf>

Written after her return from Japan, on organization in Japan and in U.S. Marxist-Humanism.

## ***Section V. The Battle of Ideas***

Correspondence with Herbert Marcuse, 1954-1978

Letters between Raya Dunayevskaya (RD) and Herbert Marcuse (HM) from Dec. 7, 1954 through Oct. 27, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9889.pdf>

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).

Dunayevskaya-Marcuse letters, Dec. 2, 1955 through Oct. 15, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9900.pdf>

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 RD's "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.

Dunayevskaya-Marcuse letters, Jan. 28, 1958 through July 15, 1958.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9923.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya-Marcuse letters, Aug. 8, 1960 through Jan. 12, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9930.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya-Marcuse letters, March 6, 1961 through Sept. 9, 1965.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9951.pdf>

11 letters. Letters begin with HM's response — not on Absolute Idea, but on RD's critique of Deutscher. Correspondence breaks off, resuming Aug. 6, 1964, at the time of RD's review of One-Dimensional Man. Includes RD's presentation of an outline for Philosophy and Revolution, centering on "Why Hegel? Why Now?" (Oct. 27, 1964); discussion on the early translations of Marx's 1844 Essays (Sept. 9, 1965). For discussion of Philosophy and Revolution as it was published in 1973, see reviews by Louis Dupre, John O'Neill and others.

Dunayevskaya-Marcuse letters, May 16, 1967 through Jan. 31, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9966.pdf>

Eight letters. On RD lecture tours; on the completion of Philosophy and Revolution; on Freedom of Information Act files on both RD and HM. Includes Marcuse's reference to his work-in-progress (The Aesthetic Dimension, 1978). Last letter from RD to HM (Jan. 31, 1978) takes up her study of Luxemburg and Women's Liberation, published in 1982 as Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

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://ravadunayevskaya.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".

Dunayevskaya-Fromm letters, Nov. 21, 1963 through Jan. 16, 1965.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/9982.pdf>

11 letters. RD appeals for "dialogue on Hegel between us" (Nov. 21, 1963), outlines Absolute in Phenomenology of Mind. Letters in this period center on RD's participation in Fromm's symposium, Socialist Humanism, published in 1965. Includes comments by EF and RD on Marcuse's One-Dimensional Man, and RD's discussion (Dec. 6, 1964) of a proposed collection of essays, "A Doctor's Notebook", by Louis Gogol.

Dunayevskaya-Fromm letters, May 23, 1965 through Nov. 25, 1966.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya-Fromm letters, July 10, 1967 through Dec. 10, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya-Fromm letters, July 25, 1971 through July 28, 1975.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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).

Dunayevskaya-Fromm letters, July 8, 1976 through Nov. 27, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10062.pdf>

Vol. 23, No. 3, July 1956. On Russian revisions of Marxism in economics and in philosophy.

"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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10069.pdf>

(1) "Reason and Revolution vs. Conformism and Technology". Fall 1964. A review of Marcuse's One-Dimensional Man. (2) "Youth, Philosophy and Revolution". Fall 1966. A review of The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864-1943, by Milorad Drachkovitch. (3) "Cadres and Communists: A Dissent". Spring 1967. A discussion of Tracey Strong's review of Ideology and Organization in Communist China. (4) "Philosophy in Revolt". Fall 1968. A review of The Alienation of Reason by Leszek Kolakowski.

### 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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10093.pdf>

"Why Hegel? Why Now?" Letter from Peter Bergmann, as printed in News & Letters, August-September 1974; a critique of Part One of Philosophy and Revolution. Answer by Dunayevskaya as printed in News & Letters, November 1974. For other discussion of Philosophy and Revolution during 1974, see especially Dunayevskaya's address to the Hegel Society of America, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning", # 5631. See also her view of the significance of Chapter One of that book for organization, # 5622. (2) Discussion of "Absolute Method" in Philosophy and Revolution as it appears in George Armstrong Kelly's Hegel's Retreat From Eleusis, 1978. Printed in News & Letters, March 1979, accompanied by response from Dunayevskaya. A fuller discussion of Kelly's critique by Dunayevskaya is presented in her 1982 Introduction to the second U.S. edition of Philosophy and Revolution, # 7622.

### 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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10098.pdf>

edited by Theodore Mills Norton and Bertell Ollman, 1978.

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10103.pdf>

a. Industrial Worker, Chicago. March 17, 1958. (Fred Thompson) b. The Socialist Leader, Glasgow, Scotland. Sept. 13, 1958. (Eric S. Heffer) c. Universities and Left Review, Oxford, England. Autumn 1958. (Alasdair MacIntyre) d. New York Review of Books, New York. Dec. 17, 1964. (George Lichtheim) e. The Times Literary Supplement, London. Aug. 21, 1959. (unsigned) f. Cambridge Forward, Cambridge, England. November 1960. (Peter Cadogan) g. Mankind, Hyderabad, India. November 1960. (M.T. Khan) h. London Tribune, London. Aug. 21, 1964. (Paul Foot) i. Il Popolo, Rome. Feb. 8, 1963. (Silvio Bertocci) j. Reader's Weekly, Tokyo. Oct. 19, 1964. (Sobuku Yamada) k. La Revolution Proletarienne, Paris. January 1973. (Pierre Aubery) l. Le Monde, Paris. Sept. 3, 1971. (Jean-Michel Palmier) Response by Dunayevskaya in News & Letters, October 1971 and February 1972. m. Uno Mas Uno, Mexico City. Jan. 30, 1979. (Margarita Sordo)

## Reviews of Philosophy and Revolution:

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10129.pdf>

a. Journal of the History of Ideas, Philadelphia. April 1974. (Louis Dupre) b. Peace News, London. April 5, 1974. (Bob Potter) c. Owl of Minerva, Villanova, Pennsylvania. June 1974. (Raymond Plant) d. Slavic Review, New York. December 1974 (Henri Chambre) e. Telos, Buffalo, New York. Winter 1974-75. (John O'Neill) f. Aut-Aut, Milan, Italy. July-October 1974. (Amadeo Vigorelli) g. Sin Nombre, Puerto Rico. January-March 1975. (Jose Emilio Gonzalez) h. Uno Mas Uno, Mexico City. May 1979. (Virgilio Torres) i. Journal of Chinese Philosophy, Honolulu, Hawaii. Vol. 7, No. 4, 1980. (George Hampsch)

## Reviews of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution:

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10171.pdf>

a. Political Theory, Beverly Hills, California. November 1983. (George A. Kelly) b. Dimensions, Rome. No. 30, 1984. (Valeria Russo) c. Africa Today, Denver, Colorado. No. 4, 1982. (Kevin Anderson) d. off our backs, Washington, D.C. August-September 1984. (Michelle Landau and Terry Moon) e. Idealistic Studies, Oswego, New York. January 1985. (Bat-Ami Bar On) f. Local 1930 Newline, New York. March 1985 (Dave Beasley) g. Marxist Review, Calcutta. September 1985 (Gabrielle Dietrich)

## Philosophers Index Retrospective Bibliography, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10228.pdf>

Interview published in the Chicago Literary Review, March 15, 1985.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10234.pdf>

A review of Dunayevskaya's Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution. Published in News & Letters, May 1985.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10236.pdf>

An essay by Dunayevskaya, published in News & Letters, June 1985. Connects current world events as seen in Reagan's May 1985 trip to the 1937 Spanish Revolution and to contradictions in post-World War II Europe.

"Garvey Papers, Vol. III"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10239.pdf>

a review-essay by Lou Turner on The Marcus Garvey Papers, edited by Robert Hill, 1984. Published in News & Letters, July 1985.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10241.pdf>

by Olga Domanski. A critique of Beilharz's review of Dunayevskaya's Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Published in Thesis 11, Melbourne, Australia, November 1984-March 1985.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10318.pdf>

Selected articles include: "Unchaining the Dialectics of Revolution: in Hegel, in Marx, in Marxist-Humanism" by Eugene Walker; "On 'The concrete-universal: a retrospective look at 30 years of News & Letters'" by Kevin A. Barry; "Marxist-Humanism's View of Hegel's Absolutes: Draft of a Critical Essay" by Lou Turner.

"Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1985-86"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10342.pdf>

by the Resident Editorial Board. Published in News & Letters, August-September, 1985.

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"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10348.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. A report to the 1985 National Plenum of News and Letters Committees, held in Chicago, Aug. 31-Sept. 1. 1985.

"The Undeclared and Ongoing Civil War in South Africa"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10385.pdf>

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"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10388.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10400.pdf>

includes: "On Organization and Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution" by Olga Domanski; "Marxist-Humanist Philosophy in Readers' Views and in News and Letters Committees Organization" by Michael Connolly. Reports given to the 1985 Plenum.

"Still another version of the dialectic?"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10421.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. A "Theory/Practice" column published in News & Letters, December 1985. A critique of David MacGregor's The Communist Ideal in Hegel and Marx.

"Geneva 1985: the summit that wasn't"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10422.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. An editorial published in News & Letters, December 1985, after the November 1985 meeting of Reagan and Gorbachev in Switzerland.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10424.pdf>

an essay 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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10476.pdf>

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".

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10492.pdf>

A report by Raya Dunayevskaya to the Expanded Resident Editorial Board meeting of News and Letters Committees, Dec. 29, 1985. Published as special bulletin, January 1986.

"News & Letters Workshop Classes on Current Events and the Dialectic Method"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10513.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. A "Theory/Practice" column published in News & Letters, January-February 1986.

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

**link to PDF file: <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10515.pdf>**

A study by Raya Dunayevskaya begun for the 30th anniversary of the first issue of News & Letters, June 24, 1955. Published in three parts in News & Letters: July 1985; November 1985; March 1986. Forthcoming as a News and Letters Committees pamphlet.

Expanded 1986 edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought

**link to PDF file: <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10528.pdf>**

by Lou Turner and John Alan. Published in Black History Month, February 1986, with new Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan. New Appendices on Negritude and Language by Haitian poet, Rene Depestre, and Kenyan writer, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, and on "Grenada: Counter-Revolution and Revolution" by Raya Dunayevskaya. Includes photographs of 1985 founding Convention of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) sent to News & Letters direct from South Africa.

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/](http://www.newsandletters.org/category/newspaper/).

### [Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection](#)

[Volume XIII](#): Raya Dunayevskaya's Last Writings, 1986-1987 — Toward the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy [#10640-11627]

[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]

[Volume XIV](#): The Writing of Raya Dunayevskaya's "Trilogy of Revolution," 1953-83: The "Long, Hard Trek and Process of Development" of the Marxist-Humanist Idea [#11628-15378]

[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]

[Section IV](#). *Dialogues and the Battle of Ideas* [#16831-17146]

[Section V. Towards the "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," the unfinished book \[#17147-17358\]](#)

[The Raya Dunayevskaya Audio-Video Tape Collection](#)

[Audiotapes](#)

[Videotapes](#)

[Marginalia in Books from Raya Dunayevskaya's Personal Library](#)

## VOLUME XIII: RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S LAST WRITINGS, 1986-1987—TOWARD THE DIALECTICS OF ORGANIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY

[Open the original Volume XIII listing document: 10640](#)

### 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 Dunayevskaya'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 [rdbuf@rayadunayevskaya.org](mailto:rdbuf@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/](http://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>

Excerpts from letter of Sept. 16, 1986.

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>

Mimeographed bulletin published by News and Letters Committees Jan. 12, 1987. Includes: Report to the meeting of the Expanded Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, Jan. 3, 1987 by Raya Dunayevskaya; report during discussion by Eugene Walker, Managing Editor of News & Letters; an exchange of correspondence between Raya Dunayevskaya and non-Marxist Hegelian scholars. Copy here includes marginalia by Dunayevskaya, and her "Talking to Myself" letter of Jan. 21, 1987, which she appended to this bulletin. Also includes original contents page for Dunayevskaya's Jan. 3, 1987 talk, and excerpts from her "Dear Friends" letter of Jan. 13, 1987, on the Bulletin.

5. Presentation by Dunayevskaya to the REB on March 23, 1987.

**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.

#### 6. Presentation by Dunayevskaya to the REB on April 20, 1987.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

#### 1. Random Thoughts #1. Written in this form June 26, 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

#### 2. Random Thoughts While Working on Dialectics of Organization. Written Sept. 24, 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10770.pdf>

On Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind, and commentary on it by Gustav Emil Mueller.

#### 3. Talking to Myself on the first (12/12/60) Notes on Phenomenology of Mind. Written about Sept. 25, 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10779.pdf>

in Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa (Vol. 52, No. 4), 1982. Written about Sept. 26, 1986.

#### 5. Notes on Dialectics of Liberation pamphlet.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

#### 6. Postscript to Random Thoughts. Written Sept. 30, 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10785.pdf>

On "the long, tortuous road of the two decades between 1953 and 1973".

#### 7. No title. Written Oct. 6, 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

12. No title. Written Nov. 15, 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

14. No title. Notes on "Methodology", from the divergence between Marx and Engels, through the attitudes of Luxemburg and Lenin on the dialectic, to Marxist-Humanism's view.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

15. Re: Reproduction of Summary on Phenomenology Made in 1960, with New (11/18) Introduction.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10821.pdf>

Written Nov. 18, 1986.

16. Key to CLRJ's Notes on the Dialectic.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10825.pdf>

Written Nov. 18, 1986. A sharp critique of CLR James' 1948 work. Includes also a "P.S." written Nov. 25, 1986.

17. Substitutionism, or Theory/Philosophy.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10837.pdf>

Notes written Dec. 22, 1986.

19. Random Thoughts on 2 Responses to my Letter on the Idea of Cognition by Dupré and G.A. Kelly.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10846.pdf>

Written Jan. 5, 1987. On letters received by Dunayevskaya from Hegel scholars Louis Dupré and George Armstrong Kelly.

20. Talking to Myself. Written Jan. 21, 1987.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

21. No title. Written Feb. 7, 1987.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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

22. No title. Notes on research by Eugene Walker on Marx and the First International given to Dunayevskaya in Dec. 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10856.pdf>

Written Feb. 20, 1987. Singles out Marx on women's liberation and on the trade unions.

23. No title. Notes by Dunayevskaya for her secretaries.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10860.pdf>

Written March 2, 1987. On REB meetings since Jan. 12, 1987 and on the dialectic of organization in the period of the biweekly News & Letters.

24. What is Marxist-Humanism? Prolegomena as introductory stimulant to reconsideration of '1, not 2' in 1951.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10867.pdf>

Written March 12, 1987. A chronology of Dunayevskaya's work in the writing of that chapter. Includes additions made in her own copy after publication.

27. What is Marxist-Humanism? How to Project it at Momentous Historic Moments?

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10869.pdf>

Written March 16, 1987. Review of Dunayevskaya's three major books and their projection by News and Letters Committees; on concept of Absolute "as new beginning". Notes for presentation by Dunayevskaya to her secretaries.

28. Off the top of my head.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10877.pdf>

Written March 30, 1987. Notes on the relation of the book-in-progress to the whole Marxist-Humanist body of ideas.

29. First Rough Summary View of Phenomenology Writings, 1953-1987.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10880.pdf>

Written April 3, 1987. On Dunayevskaya's view of Hegel's Phenomenology in 1953 and 1986-87.

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10883.pdf>

Written in this form April 3, 1987. Notes for a projected Part II of "Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?" Part I was published in News & Letters, May 8, 1987.

31. No title. Notes on Pannekoek, especially letter from Pannekoek to Chaulieu (Castoriadis), dated Nov. 8, 1953.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10901.pdf>

Written April 4, 1987. Includes discussion of research by Peter Wermuth on Pannekoek and Mattick.

### 32. On Organization.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10905.pdf>

Written April 5, 1987. Notes on research by Eugene Walker on Marx and the First International in the period of the Paris Commune, and by Michael Connolly on the Spanish Revolution of the 1930's.

### 33. The Organization, the Paper, the Book—All Equal Philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. All were grounded in May, 1953.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10917.pdf>

Written May 11, 1987. Notes for presentation by Dunayevskaya to her secretaries.

### 34. One possible outline for Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10922.pdf>

Dictated by Dunayevskaya May 11, 1987. Marked "keep for pre-Plenum".

### 35. Talking to Myself: Crucial on Book, yet 1953 as concept vs. experience.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10923.pdf>

Written May 13, 1987, and May 18, 1987. On the dialectics of philosophy as unseparated from the dialectics of organization. A discussion of Hegel's Phenomenology and Marx's Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic from the vantage point of Marxist-Humanist organizational questions of 1987 and the 1953 letters on Hegel's Absolutes.

### 36. Another Talking to Myself, this time on what has happened since "Not by Practice Alone", 1984-87.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10942.pdf>

Written May 19, 1987. A review of new developments in Marxist-Humanism since Dunayevskaya's July 1984 presentation to the News and Letters Committees Convention, and a discussion of Hegel's three final syllogisms in his Philosophy of Mind.

### 37. New Beginnings, Historic Turning Points, Great Divides.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10956.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10959.pdf>

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".

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10967.pdf>

Fragment of a larger document, written May 25, 1987.

### 40. 1987's relationship to 1953. Notes for June 1, 1987 presentation.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10971.pdf>

Dictated May 28, 1987. First pages dictated to Olga Domanski, the handwriting is by Dunayevskaya.

### 41. No title. Notes on the June 1 presentation.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10976.pdf>

Handwritten by Dunayevskaya, May 28, 1987.

### 42. July 1984 to June 1987.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10983.pdf>

Notes written May 28, 1987. On new developments within Marxist-Humanism.

### 43. Parts for June 1 presentation.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10986.pdf>

Written May 29, 1987. Outline for talk to REB.

### 44. On Form of Presentation, Talking to Myself.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10988.pdf>

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."

45. Part I: The Philosophic Moment — Marx, Lenin, Hegel, Marxist-Humanism  
1953. Part II: Organization and Books: Why 1987? On Lukacs and Arthur  
1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/10994.pdf>

Notes written May 29, 1987. On Marx's view of Hegel's Phenomenology in "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic".

47. "Conclusion" for June 1, directly, finally, on the question of "where to" with the biweekly.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

48. 1953: The Philosophic Moment re: Organization, and therefore also re: Paper.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11002.pdf>

A. Reagan's attacks in the Gulf of Sidra and Marxist-Humanist Perspectives

1. Special. Special. Special. A preliminary Marxist-Humanist Statement on the Last 48 Hours.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

5. Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1986-87.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

#### 6. Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1986-87.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11035.pdf>

Written by Dunayevskaya for presentation to 1986 Convention of News and Letters Committees, Aug. 30, 1986. Copy included here is Dunayevskaya's, with marginalia added May, 1987.

#### B. Revolutionary Journalism of Dunayevskaya in the pages of News & Letters

##### 1. Lesotho coup, Savimbi and Reagan.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11060.pdf>

An Editorial written by Dunayevskaya, and published in N&L, May, 1986.

##### 3. Open letter to Paul Buhle.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11069.pdf>

Written about July 26, 1986, and published in N&L, Aug.-Sept., 1986. Giganti was president of Charles H. Kerr, the socialist publishing house, and a comrade of Dunayevskaya in labor struggles of the 1920s in Chicago. Also included here is Dunayevskaya's letter to Annette Giganti, written Sept. 26, 1986.

##### 6. Ongoing world revolts and economic crises challenge superpower grip.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11072.pdf>

Lead article in Oct. 1986 N&L written about Sept. 16, 1986. Developed by Dunayevskaya from her "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1986-87".

##### 7. Reagan, Gorbachev in Iceland: all things fall apart.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11075.pdf>

Lead article in Nov. 1986 N&L. Written Oct. 22, 1986. An analysis of the collapse of the Reagan-Gorbachev "pre-summit" in Iceland, and the question of science in Russia. Also included here are Dunayevskaya's "Notes from the Speeches of Gorbachev", summaries of New York Times reports in Oct. 1986, and her "Dear Friends" letter of Oct. 14, 1986, written as the summit collapsed.

##### 8. Reagan's imperial presidency: The shocking liaison of US-Iran and the need for a biweekly N&L.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

##### 9. Star Wars from the skies: Reagan's Grand Illusion.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11087.pdf>

"Theory/Practice" column in N&L written about Jan. 14, 1987 and published in the first biweekly N&L, dated Jan. 30, 1987. Developed from Dunayevskaya's report to the Jan. 3, 1987 meeting of the Expanded Resident Editorial Board of News & Letters:

## 10. Whither China?

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11088.pdf>

"Theory/Practice" column written Feb. 10, 1987, and published in N&L, Feb. 27, 1987. On the Dec. 1986 demonstrations in China — their roots and ramifications for the future. In preparation for this column, Dunayevskaya created for herself extensive notes on the context of the crisis in Deng's China, beginning Jan. 20, 1987 and continuing through Feb. 17, 1987; these notes are included here. Also included is a letter written by Dunayevskaya to Kevin A. Barry on Feb. 17, on the possibility of publishing her essay in another journal.

## 11. Two of a kind: Reagan and Gorbachev and their bipolar world.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11154.pdf>

"Theory/Practice" column written May 5, 1987, and published in N&L May 22, 1987. Subtitled "Cultural thaw is not restoration of history", the column takes up a new play by Mikhail Shatrov, "The Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk". Included here are drafts for the column written by Dunayevskaya May 6 and May 8, 1987.

## 14. Reader's View sent to News & Letters by Dunayevskaya

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11162.pdf>

about May 24, 1987. On "Thurgood Marshall's magnificent attack on the false and hypocritical bicentennial of the Constitution".

## 15. On political divides and philosophic new beginnings.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11171.pdf>

written Jan. 17, 1986. On the text of the new "Introduction/Overview" to Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, signed by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan.

### 3. Dunayevskaya letter "to all organizers"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11173.pdf>

written Jan. 22, 1986. On publication by Criticas 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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11175.pdf>

written Feb. 8, 1986. On organization and philosophy in the Iranian Revolutions of 1905 and 1979.

### 5. Dunayevskaya letter to Middle East scholar Hanna Batatu

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11178.pdf>

written March 4, 1986. On Batatu's book-in-progress on Syria.

### 6. Dunayevskaya letter to Saikou (a Gambian correspondent)

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

### 8. Remarks by Dunayevskaya at REB meetings of July 1 and July 28, 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

### 9. Suggestions for Terry's report.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11190.pdf>

written Oct. 25, 1986. On dialectics and mathematics in a nuclear world.

### 11. Youth of the '80s, Youth of the '60s, in a Changed World.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11206.pdf>

written Nov. 14, 1986. On Cosroe Chaqueri's study of the Iranian revolutionary Sultanzadeh.

### 14. Dunayevskaya letter to Ron Brokmeyer

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11207.pdf>

written Dec. 25, 1986. On "absolute contradiction in science as in everything"; on Dunayevskaya's discussions on cybernetics and unified field theory, 1950-53.

### 15. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11208.pdf>

written Jan. 26, 1987. On "the current outburst of ever-present racism" in the U.S. and its "absolute opposite". Discussion of how to commemorate Black History Month in N&L.

#### 16. Dunayevskaya letter to Lou Turner

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11210.pdf>

written March 2, 1987. On tour by a South African Black trade unionist in the U.S. and a new international conference on Negritude in Miami.

#### 17. Notes on William Blake

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11214.pdf>

written June 6, 1987. On Margarethe von Trotta's film, "Rosa Luxemburg". Dunayevskaya dictated this letter while in the hospital.

### ***Section III. The Battle of Ideas: Philosophic Correspondence and Reviews***

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11228.pdf>

Letters of July 3 and Sept. 15, 1986, Feb. 16 and March 26, 1987. Dunayevskaya's inquiries to Dupré concern the same subjects as those she had raised with G.A. Kelly. Dupré also comments on the discussion of his review of Dunayevskaya's Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution in the pages of News & Letters.

##### 3. Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Arnold V. Miller.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11248.pdf>

written May 27, 1986. On the divergence between Hegel's discussion of the "Idea of Cognition" in the Science of Logic and in the (smaller) Encyclopedia Logic, and on Lenin's interpretation of both.

#### B. Dialogue with Marxist-Humanists on the Hegelian-Marxian Dialectic

##### 1. Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11253.pdf>

written Jan. 30 and Feb. 1, 1986. On his draft of an essay on dialectics for Quarterly Journal of Ideology. Marginalia on the Feb. 1 letter are by Lou Turner.

### 3. Dunayevskaya letters to Franklin Dmitryev

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11257.pdf>

written Feb. 7 and March 11, 1986. On Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts and Hegel's section on "The Theorem" in the Science of Logic.

### 4. Correspondence between Kevin A. Barry and Dunayevskaya.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11260.pdf>

Letters of June 15 and June 20, 1986. On the "Idea of the Good" in the Science of Logic, and Lenin's view of it; on Dunayevskaya's correspondence with Herbert Marcuse in Vol. XII of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.

### 5. Dunayevskaya letter to John W.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11262.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11266.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11267.pdf>

(excerpts). Letters of Sept. 28 and Oct. 2, 1986. On Hegel's critique of religion; on post-World War II "sociology of religion". Includes also quotation from Hegel's Briefe.

### 8. Michael Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11270.pdf>

written Dec. 10, 1986. On Wallace translation of ¶176 of Hegel's Encyclopedia Logic. Marginalia on letter are by Dunayevskaya.

### 9. Dunayevskaya letter to Wayne Carter

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11272.pdf>

written Jan. 8, 1987. On archives, the Black Dimension and Dunayevskaya's changed perception of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence.

### 10. Eugene Walker letter to Dunayevskaya

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11274.pdf>

written Jan. 26, 1987. On Dunayevskaya's new perceptions of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence and their relation to her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. Marginalia on letter are by Dunayevskaya.

### 11. Michael Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11276.pdf>

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.

### 12. 1986-87: New illuminations on the philosophic expression of Marxist-Humanism.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11279.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11281.pdf>

Letters of June 1 and June 4, 1987. On his reading of Dunayevskaya's special supplement in N&L on "Why Phenomenology? Why Now?"; on the need for a "literary agent" for her Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution. Marginalia on letter of June 1 are by 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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11293.pdf>

A review-essay on four books by Raya Dunayevskaya, written by Adrienne Rich, and published in The Women's Review of Books (Amherst, Mass.), Sept., 1986. Rich's essay topic encompassed Dunayevskaya's newly-published Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, as well as her three earlier books — Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. After the publication of the review, Dunayevskaya initiated a correspondence with Rich. Included here are letters of Sept. 18, 1986, and Jan. 24 and Feb. 4, 1987.

### 2. Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Louis Dupré

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11313.pdf>

published in Sage: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women (Atlanta, Ga.), Vol. III, No. 1 (Spring, 1986). Also included here are letters by Dunayevskaya to "Dear Sister-Comrades", written Jan. 3, 1986, on Lee's review; and April 8, 1987 to Sage editors, on Dunayevskaya's activity with Black women. The April 8 letter contains a discussion of Black working women's critique of Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex.

### 4. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Michelle Landau

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11337.pdf>

published in Women's Studies News (East Lansing, Michigan), Spring, 1986.

### 9. Feministe et revolutionnaire

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11340.pdf>

essay on Dunayevskaya's view of Rosa Luxemburg, as seen in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Essay by Kevin Anderson, was published in Rosa Luxemburg aujourd'hui, in France, 1986. Developed from comments at a conference on Luxemburg in Paris, May, 1983.

### 10. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, by John F. Welsh

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11347.pdf>

published in Quarterly Journal of Ideology (Montgomery, Ala.), Vol. 10, No. 2, 1986.

11. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, by Flora Crater

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11350.pdf>

published in The Woman Activist (Falls Church, Virginia), Jan. 1987. Also included is an exchange of letters between Crater and Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 18 and Feb. 3, 1987.

12. Recent Writings of R. Dunayevskaya. Article by Kevin Anderson

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11354.pdf>

published in Hegel-Studien (West Germany), Vol. 21, 1986.

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11358.pdf>

published in International Labor and Working Class History (New Haven, Conn.), No. 31, Spring 1987.

14. Marxist-Humanism: Perspectives on Labor.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11372.pdf>

A special issue of the Quarterly Journal of Ideology, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1986. This special issue includes an article by Dunayevskaya, "Unchaining the Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts". Also included in this issue are articles by Zagorka Golubovic, Kevin Anderson, Lou Turner, Ron Brokmeyer, Terry Moon, David Ranney and John Dwyer.

#### ***Section IV. Retrospective/Perspective: "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism"***

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11449.pdf>

1. The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11450.pdf>

a pamphlet written by Raya Dunayevskaya and published by News and Letters Committees in August, 1986. This work includes 1) Dunayevskaya's "Introduction/Overview" to Vol. XII of her archives, entitled Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of World Development. This essay was written Feb. 28, 1986, with a "P.S." added on April 10, 1986. 2) "Thirty Years of News & Letters", an essay first published in three parts in the pages of N&L (July 1985, November 1985, March 1986). Here it is published with Dunayevskaya's final revisions and in full. On p. 2 of the pamphlet is a "Note from the author" (which did not appear on any of the earlier publications of either essay), on the title of the pamphlet.

2. Dunayevskaya letter "to all organizers"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11516.pdf>

written Jan. 8, 1986. On the forthcoming "Workshop/Classes" in current events and the dialectic method, and on Dunayevskaya's Dec. 29, 1985 presentation, "New Beginnings that Determine the End".

3. Presentation by Dunayevskaya given to the REB Feb. 13, 1986

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11518.pdf>

on "The 30 Years Retrospective/Perspective in the context of the Workshop/Classes as well as the biweekly".

4. Remarks by Dunayevskaya at REB Meeting of Feb. 27, 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11520.pdf>

Comments on new material to be donated to the Marxist-Humanist Archives, especially documents on the period 1958-59.

5. The Trail to the 1980s from the 1880s: Marx's New Moments and Those in Our Age

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11522.pdf>

written April 22, 1986. Presentation by Dunayevskaya as sixth and final lecture in "Workshops/Classes". On "history in the making", on dialectics and the relationship of objective to subjective. This lecture,

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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11534.pdf>

written May 19, 1986. On Dunayevskaya's first (1958) outline of her archives, and C.L.R. James' publication of Facing Reality.

#### 8. Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11535.pdf>

by Raya Dunayevskaya. A "News & Letters Reprint" of a paper by Dunayevskaya given at the 1974 meeting of the Hegel Society of America. Originally published in Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy, edited by Warren E. Steinkraus and Kenneth L. Schmitz (Humanities Press, 1980). Reprint published by N&L, July, 1986. Also included here are comments by Dunayevskaya on the reprint, from a "Dear Friends" letter written July 18, 1986.

#### 9. The Black-Red Conference.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 Raya 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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11580.pdf>

written Nov. 30, 1986. On organizational growth, the biweekly N&L, and the Marxist-Humanist Archives.

#### 14. Presentation written for "Humanism and Marxism" session of the Midwest Sociological Society

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11582.pdf>

written by Raya Dunayevskaya about April 15, 1987. On the development of the idea of Marxist-Humanism out of the theory of state-capitalism. A review of the period from World War II to the 1980s.

#### 15. A Post-World War II View of Marx's Humanism, 1843-83. Marxist Humanism, 1950s-1980s. Article written by Dunayevskaya, May 1, 1987, for publication in The Encyclopedia of Contemporary Socialism, to be edited in Yugoslavia. Included here is the original text of the article. An abbreviated version was published in N&L, July 25, 1987. Also included here are two early drafts for the article, written by Dunayevskaya on April 4 and 28, 1987.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11588.pdf>

Volume XIII concludes on # 11627.

# **VOLUME XIV: THE WRITING OF RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S "TRILOGY OF REVOLUTION," 1953- 83: THE "LONG, HARD TREK AND PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT" OF THE MARXIST-HUMANIST IDEA**

[Open the original Volume XIV listing document: 11628](#)

## **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***

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11723.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11733.pdf>

Letters on Hegel's Absolutes of May 12 and 20, 1953

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11753.pdf>

### ***Section II. Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 until Today***

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11785.pdf>

Draft Outlines for *Marxism and Freedom*, 1955-57

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*.

## Marxism and Freedom: From the Industrial Revolution to Automation. "An Outline of a Book in Preparation."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11786.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11816.pdf>

Includes covering page "Note to: every reader," and overline, "Preliminary draft – not for publication." Probably written April, 1956. Outline includes summaries of those chapters not yet written out in draft form.

### Table of Contents of Marxism and Freedom.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11822.pdf>

Probably written Sept., 1956. Includes number of pages in mss. drafts of each of the four parts of the book as it was then organized.

### Letter "to the NEB" (National Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11823.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11826.pdf>

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.

### Draft Chapters of Marxism and Freedom, 1952-57

#### Introduction. Written May, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11828.pdf>

#### The French Revolution and Classical German Philosophy.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11334.pdf>

Written May, 1956. A draft of what became Chapter 1 of Marxism and Freedom (M&F). Handnotes on the mss. are by Dunayevskaya.

#### Marx and the Utopian Socialists.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11854.pdf>

Probably written March 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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11860.pdf>

Probably 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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11874.pdf>

Two drafts of what became Chapter 6 of M&F. The first draft was written in April, 1952, and published in the mimeographed bulletin, Correspondence (Vol. II No. 1, May 1, 1952). The second draft was probably written in April, 1956.

#### Capital, Vol. I, 1867-1883.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11895.pdf>

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).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11921.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11944.pdf>

Draft of what became Chapter 10 of M&F. Probably written Feb., 1956.

#### Lenin's Will.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11953.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11955.pdf>

A draft of what became Chapter 13 of M&F. Written March, 1956.

#### Part IV — The Problem of Our Day: State Capitalism vs. Freedom.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/11976.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12015.pdf>

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

Dunayevskaya letter to Herbert Marcuse, written Feb. 12, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12036.pdf>

Suggests meeting in New York to discuss dialectics; tells Marcuse she "had been working for some time on the Absolute Idea, Absolute Knowledge, Absolute Mind." (This letter and most of the other correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Marcuse can also be found in Vol. XII of this collection. They are included here because of their significance in the development of Marxism and Freedom.)

Robert S. Cohen letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 17, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12037.pdf>

On their joint project to publish translations of unpublished writings of Marx and Lenin.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written April 3, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12038.pdf>

Asks about prospects for publishing a work on Marx and Marxism; says "twin poles of (such a work) must have automation at one end, and the absolute idea or freedom at the other end."

Marcuse letter to Dunayevskaya, written April 14, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12039.pdf>

Comments on Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, and on her translation of the original ending of Capital.

Dunayevskaya letter to Arthur Kunin, written April 15, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12040.pdf>

On divergences between C.L.R. James and Dunayevskaya on philosophy in the 1940s; on the background of the current Marcuse-Dunayevskaya correspondence.

Dunayevskaya letter to Will Lissner, written April 18, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12041.pdf>

On Dunayevskaya's split with C.L.R. James and her plans for her book "on Marxism." For a more extended discussion of "the book on Marxism" in April 1955, see Dunayevskaya's report to the first Conference of News and Letters Committees (#2410).

Dunayevskaya letter to "Editing Chairmen" (of News & Letters)

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12042.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written May 5, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12051.pdf>

Reports reading Dunayevskaya's 1947 draft outline on "State Capitalism and Marxism"; denies "immediate" connection between "philosophy and praxis."

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written June 28, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "all local committees," written July 28, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Aug. 24, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12057.pdf>

On the ramifications of the 1950 coal miners' strike against the continuous miner for the work on the new book.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written Sept. 5, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12058.pdf>

On the possibility of publishing her translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written Oct. 27, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12061.pdf>

Introduction by Dunayevskaya to first pamphlet issued by News and Letters Committees, a mimeographed edition of Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic" and Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. "Foreword" written Nov. 1955. (For the text of the entire pamphlet, see #2431).

Marcuse letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 2, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Dunayevskaya letter to Joseph Buttinger, written Dec. 13, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12065.pdf>

Asks for financial assistance to complete the book; outlines her economic and philosophic studies since World War II.

Dunayevskaya letter to Russell Potter, written Dec. 18, 1955.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12067.pdf>

Encloses first outline of book "tentatively called Marxism and Freedom," as well as 1944-45 articles in American Economic Review; asks for assistance in presenting mss. to publishers.

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12069.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12085.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12088.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12089.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12090.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12091.pdf>

Reports on discussion in West Virginia with miners and miners' wives, on the last chapter of M&F. Quotations from participants in this meeting appear in the Introduction to M&F and in what became Chapter 16. Also included here is a typed transcript of part of the discussion at that meeting.

Translator's Introductory Note and An Exchange of Letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12098.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12102.pdf>

On consideration of the book by Beacon Press; comments that "I like your approach and the development of the theory very much."

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written May 3, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12103.pdf>

Reports beginning work on "the chapter on Hegel" which became Chapter 1 of M&F.

Meyer Schapiro letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 13, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12104.pdf>

A critique of Dunayevskaya's first outline of M&F.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 18, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12105.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12107.pdf>

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).

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12108.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12109.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12124.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12125.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12128.pdf>

On last day of uninterrupted work on the book; reports that "first draft is entirely finished."

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written Sept. 6, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12129.pdf>

On Marcuse's Eros and Civilization; on her progress on M&F.

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, Andy Phillips and Louise Inghram, written Sept. 14, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12130.pdf>

On the meaning of the "Absolute Idea" for organization today.

Marcuse letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 21, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12131.pdf>

Comments on draft chapters of M&F on Marx's early essays, on the Second International; on Russian state-capitalism.

Dunayevskaya letter to Saul Blackman, written Oct. 10, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12132.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to members of News and Letters Committees, written Oct. 18, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12134.pdf>

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).

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol, written Oct. 20, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12136.pdf>

On the relationship between where Marx stopped in his "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," and where Dunayevskaya's Letter of May 20, 1953 — on Hegel's Philosophy of Mind — begins.

Marcuse letter to Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 23, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12137.pdf>

On Dunayevskaya's chapter on Capital, Vols. II and III.

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Oct. 25, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12138.pdf>

On Domanski's assignment to write an article for News & Letters on "stratification of workers" as "political-theoretical analysis." Also included is Domanski's response, written to Saul Blackman about Oct. 30, 1956.

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Nov. 2, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12143.pdf>

On the concept of stratification of the working class in Lenin and in Marx; includes an extract from Marx's speech to 1871 London conference of the International Workingmen's Association -translated by Dunayevskaya — on the trade unions as "an aristocratic minority." This discussion appears in Chapter 11 of M&F.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written Nov. 6, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12146.pdf>

During last days of work on the mss. of M&F, sets date for meeting with Marcuse on the book as a whole.

Dunayevskaya letter to members of News and Letters Committees, written Nov. 20, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12147.pdf>

Reports that "the book is finished!"; relates the 1953 East German workers' revolt to the ongoing Hungarian Revolution.

Dunayevskaya letter to John Dwyer, written Nov. 27, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12148.pdf>

Describes her meeting with Marcuse on M&F and his critique of the book.

Olga Domanski letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 7, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12149.pdf>

Comments on the mss. chapters of M&F; on "the Absolute Idea and Automation" as the two axes for the book.

Alexander Ehrlich letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 24, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12152.pdf>

Detailed comments on the draft chapters of M&F on Russian state-capitalism vs. workers' revolt. For a letter from E.H. Carr on draft chapters of M&F, written Dec. 21, 1956, see #2593.

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol, written Dec. 26, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12156.pdf>

Reports on receiving letter from E.H. Carr, praising her view of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.

Dunayevskaya letter to Alexander Ehrlich, written Dec. 26, 1956.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12157.pdf>

Responds to Ehrlich's comments on the "section on the Russian economy"; on the raison d'être for M&F.

Correspondence and Notes on the Writing of Marxism and Freedom February 1957 – December 1957

Dunayevskaya letter to Arthur Kunkin, written Feb. 14, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12158.pdf>

Responds to Kunkin's objections to publishing a critical Preface by Marcuse in M&F.

Arthur Kunkin letter to Dunayevskaya, written April 6, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12160.pdf>

On his assignment to write a footnote on the St. Louis Hegelians. Sends draft of lengthy footnote.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written April 28, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12163.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12165.pdf>

notes for a presentation by Dunayevskaya, given May 5, 1957. On the book, current world events, and the tasks of the organization.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 13, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya to "Dear Friends," written Oct. 16, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Nov. 24, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12190.pdf>

on Milovan Djilas' book, *The New Class*.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Dec. 5, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12192.pdf>

On educational to be held on M&F.

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol and Olga Domanski, written Dec. 9, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12194.pdf>

On the contrast between Dunayevskaya's Introduction and Marcuse's Preface.

Dunayevskaya letter to Andy Phillips, Raymond Inghram and Robert Ellery, written Dec. 23, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12195.pdf>

On the need for "personal struggle with a theoretic problem."

Resident Editorial Board (REB) letter to "Dear Friends," written Dec. 31, 1957.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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?"

"Why Hegel? Why Now?" Letter to Nathan Simon, probably written in Feb., 1965.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Notes on D.H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1924), and on N. Chiaramonte, "Pasternak's Message," *Partisan Review* (1958).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12201.pdf>

Notes on Eugene Kamenka, Ethical Foundations of Marxism (1962).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12202.pdf>

Two sets of notes are included.

Notes on G.W.F. Hegel, "Introduction" to Philosophy of History

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12208.pdf>

as published in Carl Friedrich, ed., The Philosophy of Hegel (1953).

Notes on George Lichtheim, The Concept of Ideology and Other Essays (1967).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12209.pdf>

Notes on Jean Hyppolite, Studies on Marx and Hegel (1969).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12212.pdf>

Notes on Donald Egbert and Stow Persons, eds., Socialism and American Life (1952).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12214.pdf>

Quotations from Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind, Marx's Capital, Dunayevskaya's own writings.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12217.pdf>

Dunayevskaya letter to "Si" (Charles Denby), written March 10, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12218.pdf>

On Maurice Merleau-Ponty, humanism, automation, and the Hegelian dialectic.

Exchange of letters between Jonathan Spence and Dunayevskaya, written February, 1962.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12220.pdf>

Begins with Spence's critique of Dunayevskaya's special essay printed in News & Letters (Jan. 1962) on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung." Dunayevskaya's response centers on Hegel's concept of "Will" and its relevance to Mao and to Stalin.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Nov. 11, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12226.pdf>

On her new (1970) draft of Chapter 2 of P&R, then entitled "Marx's Transcendence of, and Return to, Hegel."

The following documents were added to this file after November, 1973:

Notes for speech at Cass Technical H.S. (Detroit, Mich.), given April 11, 1975

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12229.pdf>

entitled "Adventuring in Labor History and Literature: Black and English — A Philosophy of Liberation."

Notes for speech at University Center for Adult Education (Detroit), given in 1975.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12230.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12233.pdf>

on "Today's Global Crisis, Marx's Capital, and the Epigones, who try to Truncate It."

Transcript of presentation given in Detroit on Dec. 5, 1976, entitled "Hegel, Marx, Lenin, Fanon and the Dialectics of Liberation Today."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12235.pdf>

Transcript not corrected by Dunayevskaya.

Chapter 1 – "Hegel"

Notes on "Absolute Idea" in G.W.F. Hegel, Science of Logic trans. by A.V. Miller (1969).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12250.pdf>

Notes on "Absolute Knowledge" in G.W.F. Hegel, Phenomenology of Mind, trans. by J.B. Baillie (1931).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12254.pdf>

Notes on G.W.F. Hegel, History of Philosophy, Vol. III, trans. by Haldane and Simpson (1955).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12269.pdf>

Most of the handnotes are by Lee.

Notes on G.W.F. Hegel, Philosophy of Nature, trans. by M.J. Petry (1970).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 Karl Marx, "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic,"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12310.pdf>

as trans. by Dunayevskaya in Marxism and Freedom (1958).

Notes on Walter Kaufmann, Hegel (1965).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12312.pdf>

Notes on Stuart R. Tompkins, The Russian Intelligentsia (1957).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12315.pdf>

Notes on Gustav Wetter, Dialectical Materialism (1958).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12323.pdf>

All quotations in French; most of the notes in English.

Dunayevskaya letter to Joseph Buttinger, written Oct. 20, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Dunayevskaya letter to Saul Blackman, written Oct. 25, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12331.pdf>

on the difficulties of the Johnson-Forest Tendency in working out the dialectic, 1947-53.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Dec. 12, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12333.pdf>

Cover letter sent out with Dunayevskaya's "Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Jan. 25, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12334.pdf>

Cover letter sent out with Dunayevskaya's "Summation of Hegel's Science of Logic."

Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Porter, written Dec. 13, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12345.pdf>

Largely in shorthand.

Notes on Karl Marx, "The King of Prussia and Social Reform" (1844).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12347.pdf>

Notes probably created by Grace Lee.

Notes on Karl Marx, The Holy Family (1965 Moscow edition).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12355.pdf>

Notes on Karl Marx, Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (1843).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12357.pdf>

a section of the Grundrisse, trans. by E.J. Hobsbawm (1965).

Notes on sources of quotations in the Grundrisse (French edition, 1967).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12402.pdf>

Probably written in 1971.

Notes on "Letter of Marx to Danielson, 4/10/1879."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12412.pdf>

Notes created by Dunayevskaya, June 15, 1951.

Notes on Iring Fetscher, "Marxismusstudien, Rediscovery of a Native Son," Survey (1960).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12418.pdf>

Peter Bergmann letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 12, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12428.pdf>

On her "obsession" with Hegel and the Hegel-Marx relationship.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 25, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12430.pdf>

Critique of translation of a section of Grundrisse to be included as Appendix to P&R.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written July 1, 1973.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 the "Archives of Marx, Vol. 5" (Moscow, 1930).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12451.pdf>

This document was evidently written for use in Dunayevskaya's 1940s classes in Marx's Capital.

Notes on "Karl Marx on the trade unions vs. revolutionary workers," from the September, 1871 London conference of the International Workingmen's Association

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12456.pdf>

On the debate among economists in Stalin's Russia on the nature of capitalist crisis. A French translation of an earlier version of this article appeared in Quatrième Internationale (Paris, Jan.-Feb., 1948).

Notes on "About the Preparation of a Scientific Edition of Theories of Surplus Value of Karl Marx," by V. Brushlinsky, from Voprosy Ekonomiki (1950).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Notes on "Machinery and Modern Industry" chapter in Karl Marx, Capital, Dona Torr edition (1939).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12495.pdf>

Fragment from notes on Nikolai Bukharin, Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital (1924).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12497.pdf>

Notes on Frederick Engels, "Critique of the Social-Democratic Program (Erfurt) of 1891" (1901).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12498.pdf>

Random Thoughts on the new mode of production.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12501.pdf>

(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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12505.pdf>

given by Dunayevskaya at UCLA, 1958.

Richard Greeman letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 23, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12517.pdf>

On the Hegel-Marx relationship.

The following document was added to this file after Nov. 1973:

Draft of a review of Roman Rosdolsky, The Making of Marx's Capital (1977).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12528.pdf>

text of a presentation by Dunayevskaya to the Telos International Philosophic Conference. Given Oct. 9, 1970.

The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12546.pdf>

Two fragments of a draft chapter on Lenin for P&R, written Jan. and Feb. 1970. One of the drafts is dated Feb. 28, 1970.

Notes on "Lenin on Hegel's Absolute Idea (Philosophic Notebooks)."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12578.pdf>

This footnote does not appear in the published text.

Notes on V.I. Lenin, "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic," in Collected Works, Vol. 38 (1961).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12579.pdf>

Fragment of these notes, only.

Notes on Cliff Slaughter, Lenin on Dialectics (1963).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12584.pdf>

Notes on David Joravsky, Soviet Marxism and Natural Science (1961).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12585.pdf>

Notes on Milorad Drachkovitch, The Revolutionary Internationals (1966).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12597.pdf>

Notes on articles by A. Zvorikine 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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12603.pdf>

Dunayevskaya letter to McKim Steele, written May 16, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12618.pdf>

The Evolution of the Political Attitudes of Leon Trotsky in his Later Years.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12620.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12630.pdf>

Notes for a lecture by Dunayevskaya on "Leon Trotsky as Theoretician,"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12635.pdf>

given Nov. 8, 1961 at Columbia University. Fragment only.

Notes on Robert Conquest, The Great Terror (1968).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12636.pdf>

Notes on Leon Trotsky's role in the 1905 Russian Revolution, from Isaac Deutscher, The Prophet Armed (1954).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12637.pdf>

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).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12638.pdf>

Some Memories of Trotsky, text of an article written by Dunayevskaya for Asahi (Toyota, Japan), Dec. 11, 1965.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12639.pdf>

This article was written during Dunayevskaya's 1965-66 trip to Japan. For the article as printed in Japanese, see #9876

Notes on Isaac Deutscher's three volume biography of Trotsky -The Prophet Armed, The Prophet Unarmed, The Prophet Outcast (1954, 1959, 1963) -

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12643.pdf>

"theoretical subjects only."

Notes on L. Trotsky, History of the Russian Revolution (1932); The Permanent Revolution (1931); Introduction to Isaacs' Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution (1938).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12647.pdf>

Two quotations from V.I. Lenin, "The Historical Meaning of the Internal Party Struggle in Russia" (1910).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12649.pdf>

Re: Kant, rough notes.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12650.pdf>

On Trotsky's as a "Kantian philosophy of history."

Fragment of a draft chapter on Trotsky for P&R.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12651.pdf>

One page only.

The Timeliness of the Slogan, The United States of Europe.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12652.pdf>

Translation by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) of an article by L. Trotsky written in June, 1923. Translation completed on June 15, 1944. This translation remains unpublished.

Notes on L. Trotsky, Our Revolution (1918)

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12661.pdf>

as translated by Olgin.

Notes on L. Trotsky on Tolstoy

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12664.pdf>

as published in Fourth International, 1951.

Trotskyism and the Marxist-Leninists.

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**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/12813.pdf>

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Chapter 9 – "New Passions and New Forces"

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**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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).

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**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13085.pdf>

Notes on special issue of The Progressive on "A Century of Struggle" (December 1962).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13089.pdf>

Notes on C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (1957); Elizabeth Lawson, Thaddeus Stevens (1962).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13091.pdf>

Notes on Africa as Seen by American Negroes, a Présence Africaine publication, by the American Society for African Culture (1958).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13093.pdf>

Notes on R.K. Kent, From Madagascar to the Malagasy Republic (1962); Adam Ulam, The Unfinished Revolution (1960).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13094.pdf>

Notes on R. Gregorie and F. Perlman, Worker-Student Action Committees in France, 1968 (1969).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13096.pdf>

Notes on Paris, May 1968, Solidarity pamphlet #30; "Festival of the Oppressed," special issue of New Left Review, #52 (1968)

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13098.pdf>

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."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13100.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13101.pdf>

Notes on Trade Unionism.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

#### Part I: Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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

Dunayevskaya letter to Herbert Marcuse, written Jan. 28, 1958.

**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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written July 15, 1958.

**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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Joseph Buttinger, written Oct. 28, 1958.

**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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Buttinger, written Sept. 2, 1959.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13732.pdf>

On progress on the new book.

Dunayevskaya letter to Buttinger, written Dec. 15, 1959.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 #9364-9572.) 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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13734.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13736.pdf>

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." Report to the Convention of News and Letters Committees, given by Dunayevskaya in Sept. 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13755.pdf>

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.

Correspondence and Notes on the Writing of Philosophy and Revolution, October, 1960 – June, 1961.

Letters and Summations of Hegelian Philosophy relative to new book, begun 10/12/60, ended 1/26/61.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13759.pdf>

Two listings by Dunayevskaya of her notes and correspondence which she considered work on what became P&R. Written January, 1961. Included in her list are several works which have appeared elsewhere in the Dunayevskaya Collection, and are not reproduced in this section. These are: Letters on the Absolute Idea, 1953 (#1797); Lecture at Leeds University on "Marx's Debt to Hegel," 1959 (#9478); "Summaries of Hegel's Major Writings," 1960-61 (#2806).

Dunayevskaya letter to Louis Gogol, written Oct. 12, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13761.pdf>

On Gustav Wetter's Dialectical Materialism, with concentration on Marxism and science.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written Oct. 16, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13764.pdf>

On Bukharin, Hegel's Absolute Idea and liberation struggles in Africa.

Dunayevskaya letter to Saul Blackman, written Oct. 17, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13768.pdf>

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."

Dunayevskaya letter to Frank W. (Britain), written Oct. 20, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13772.pdf>

Asks for books on "activity of the masses" in Africa.

Dunayevskaya letter to Joseph Buttinger, written Oct. 20, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13773.pdf>

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."

Dunayevskaya letter to Saul Blackman, written Oct. 25, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13777.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13779.pdf>

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 Philosophic Foundations for the Struggles for Freedom in the Latin American and Afro-Asian Countries.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13782.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written Nov. 22, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13815.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13818.pdf>

Announces that she will end intensive work on the book and concentrate on organizational work in this period.

Dunayevskaya letter to A.N.L. Wina, written Dec. 16, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13819.pdf>

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.

Marcuse letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 22, 1960.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13822.pdf>

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.

A.N.L. Wina letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 8, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13823.pdf>

On Marxism in Africa and his view of Marxist-Humanism.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written Jan. 12, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13824.pdf>

A response to Marcuse's letter of Dec. 22, 1960. On the Absolute Idea in Hegel and its ramifications in Marx, in Lenin, and in Dunayevskaya's own work.

Dunayevskaya letter to Arthur (A.N.L.) Wina, written Jan. 17, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13830.pdf>

On Marxist-Humanism in Africa, in the Hungarian Revolution, and in the U.S.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Jan. 25, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13832.pdf>

On her summation of Hegel's Science of Logic, just completed. For Dunayevskaya's letter on her summary of Hegel's Phenomenology, see #12333.

Olga Domanski letter to Dunayevskaya, written Feb. 2, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13833.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13836.pdf>

Notes by Dunayevskaya for a talk to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, given Feb. 4, 1961 in Detroit. On her 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes and the 1960-61 new "philosophical letters." Also included here are Resident Editorial Board minutes on Dunayevskaya's presentation, given Feb. 4, 1961.

#### Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Feb. 7, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13842.pdf>

A response to Domanski's letter of Feb. 2, 1961. On the Hegelian categories of Universal, Particular, Individual.

#### Dunayevskaya letter to "Com. Spence" (Jonathan Spence), written Feb. 27, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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)

#### Correspondence, Presentations and Notes on the Writing of Philosophy and Revolution, September 1961 – December 1966.

#### Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Sept. 21, 1961 (excerpts).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13854.pdf>

Suggestions for Domanski's summation of the "Executive session" of the Sept. 1961 News and Letters Committees Plenum. On the relationship of the work on the new book to organization and to responses to current world events.

#### Dunayevskaya letter to Joseph Buttinger, written Oct. 1, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

#### Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Nov. 29, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

#### Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Bernstein, written Nov. 30, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13860.pdf>

On Robert Tucker's Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx; on Dunayevskaya's M&F.

Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Portes, written Dec. 13, 1961.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13868.pdf>

Dunayevskaya's report was given July 10, 1962. Included here are excerpts from the REB minutes of that report.

Dunayevskaya letter to Joseph Buttinger, written Jan. 1, 1963.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13869.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13870.pdf>

A continuation of correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Gregor, an author of articles on Marx's 1844 manuscripts. Gregor comments on the Hegel-Marx relationship.

Dunayevskaya letter to A. James Gregor, written June 25, 1963.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13872.pdf>

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 letters to Julius Jacobson (New Politics, New York), written Oct. 3, 1963, and to George Heltai (The Review, Belgium), written Oct. 8, 1963.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13875.pdf>

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 Bess Gogol, written Oct. 19, 1963.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13877.pdf>

On the relationship of the supplement to Marxism and Freedom (second edition, 1964) on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung," to the work on the new book.

Dunayevskaya letter to Erich Fromm, written Nov. 21, 1963.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13878.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to A. James Gregor, written Jan. 19, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13881.pdf>

On the Marx-Engels relationship and the different understanding each had of the Hegelian dialectic.

Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, written Jan. 24, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13883.pdf>

A letter to the youth committee on Dunayevskaya's archival material from the early 1940s on Marx's Early Essays and Hegel.

Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, written June 9, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13884.pdf>

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).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13886.pdf>

On "where we must begin on uncharted roads — in the 1953 Letters on the Absolute Idea."

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol and Eugene Walker, written Sept. 27, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13888.pdf>

On Dunayevskaya's re-reading of Marcuse's 1960 preface to Reason and Revolution, "pin-pointing the philosophic point that separates us."

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol and Eugene Walker, written Oct. 1, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13890.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13893.pdf>

Asks his assistance with "philosophical problems of the new book."

Dunayevskaya letter to Morgan Gibson, written Oct. 6, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13894.pdf>

On Marx's view of "mode of production"; on a philosophy for the 1960s.

Dunayevskaya letter to Morgan Gibson, written Oct. 22, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13896.pdf>

On the "nature of the proletariat" under state-capitalism; on suggestions for a study of the Hegelian dialectic.

Dunayevskaya letter to Marcuse, written Oct. 27, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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?'"

Report on "Philosophical Letters and Trip to New York," given by Dunayevskaya to REB, meeting of News and Letters Committees, Nov. 4, 1964 (excerpts).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13903.pdf>

Discussion of philosophical letters written by Dunayevskaya in Sept.-Oct., 1964.

Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Bergmann, written Nov. 8, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.)

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Nov. 14, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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 Philosophic Problems of the New Book.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to George Lichtheim, written Dec. 1, 1964.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13910.pdf>

Asks for "philosophic dialogue on Hegel"; sends him draft outline on "Subjectivity of self-liberation."

Dunayevskaya letter to New York Review of Books, written Jan. 21, 1965.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13911.pdf>

On George Lichtheim's review (Jan. 28, 1965) of Wilfrid Desan's *The Marxism of Jean-Paul Sartre*.

Dunayevskaya letter to Charles A. Moore, editor, *Philosophy East and West*, written Jan. 26, 1965.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13915.pdf>

Asks for support from Fromm for her request for a Guggenheim Fellowship to complete *Philosophy and Revolution*.

Erich Fromm letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 13, 1965.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13916.pdf>

On the Guggenheim Foundation; on Sartre's autobiography.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Com. Yukiya" (Yoshimasa Yukiya), written Sept. 14, 1965.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13923.pdf>

Asks for Tsushima'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://ravadunayevskaya.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 Yukiya, written May 22, 1966.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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 Yukiya letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 27, 1966.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13932.pdf>

Notes by Dunayevskaya for report to the Executive session of Convention of News and Letters committees (excerpts), given Sept. 3, 1966. On the development of Philosophy and Revolution and its ramifications for organization.

Eugene Walker letter to Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 17, 1966.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13935.pdf>

Comments on Dunayevskaya's just-completed essay, "State-Capitalism and Marxist-Humanism, or Philosophy and Revolution."

Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, written Oct. 20, 1966.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13936.pdf>

On the development of state-capitalist theory, 1940-56, "and how that led to Marxist-Humanism."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Oct. 21, 1966.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13938.pdf>

On her re-reading of the articles by East Europeans in the symposium, Socialist Humanism, edited by Erich Fromm.

Dunayevskaya letter to New York Review of Books, written Oct. 23, 1966.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13944.pdf>

Seeks a copy of paper by Nikolai Bukharin to International Congress of the History of Science and Technology (London, 1931).

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Jan. 16, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Herbert Marcuse, written Jan. 19, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13946.pdf>

Reports finishing her "draft chapter on Hegel's Absolutes"; asks if he would be willing to comment on it.

Herbert Marcuse letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 25, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.)

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Jan. 30, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13949.pdf>

Reports completing "the first and most difficult chapter of the entire book, "Hegel's Absolutes as New Beginnings"; gives outline of what became Part I of P&R, "Why Hegel? Why Now?"; asks for a conference in each News and Letters Committees local on the chapters on Hegel and Marx.

Dunayevskaya letter to Karel Kosik, written Jan. 30, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13950.pdf>

Sends copy of chapter on "Hegel's Absolutes as New Beginnings"; asks for discussion.

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Feb. 12, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13951.pdf>

Sends first two sections of Chapter 2 [on Marx].

Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, written Feb. 25, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13952.pdf>

Sends Chapter 3 [on Lenin].

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Feb. 25, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13954.pdf>

A discussion of approaches to the "economic chapter" of P&R which "S" was then drafting.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends" (in the Detroit local of News and Letters Committees), written March 13, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13956.pdf>

On the nature of the proposed theoretical conference.

Philosophic Conference on the New Book.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13957.pdf>

Transcript of the Introduction to lecture given by Dunayevskaya in Detroit, March 19, 1967. Transcript not corrected by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written March 20, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13962.pdf>

Gives an outline of P&R as a whole.

Egon Lass letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 4, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13965.pdf>

Comments on Dunayevskaya's draft chapter on Hegel.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Aug. 6, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13967.pdf>

On preparation for discussion of responsibilities of leadership at News and Letters Committees Plenum; an analysis of Regis Debray's book, Revolution in the Revolution. Parts of this letter appear in Chapter 9 of P&R, "New Passions and New Forces."

Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, written Aug. 9, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13992.pdf>

Comments on his draft chapter, and asks for further research.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Sept. 17, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/13999.pdf>

Comments on her draft chapter on "Leon Trotsky as Theoretician," which was completed Nov. 3, 1967.

Noam Chomsky letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 3, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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).

Dunayevskaya letter to New York Review of Books, written Dec. 19, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14004.pdf>

Comments on Connor Cruise O'Brien's article on the "tragedy of Biafra" (Dec. 21, 1967). Portions of this letter appear in Chapter 7 of P&R, "The African Revolutions and the World Economy."

Dunayevskaya letter to Charles Leinenweber, written Dec. 27, 1967.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14010.pdf>

Transcript of comments by Dunayevskaya, given Jan. 25, 1968, at the Detroit local of News and Letters Committees, after the murder of Che Guevara. Transcript not corrected by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya letter to Russell Gilmore, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, written Jan. 29, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Alfonso Roberts, written Jan. 29, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14016.pdf>

On Louis Althusser's essay, "Contradiction and Over-determination."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Feb. 20, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14019.pdf>

Comments on draft chapter on "Leon Trotsky as Theoretician."

Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Ashcraft, written March 19, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14025.pdf>

Response to his critique of draft chapter on Trotsky; discussion of new draft of Lenin chapter.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written March 19, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14028.pdf>

Sends her draft chapter on "economic reality"; compares her approach in this chapter to his draft on the same subject.

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol, written May 20, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14029.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written May 24, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14033.pdf>

On theoretical and organizational perspectives from the vantage point of "beginning from the Absolute."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written May 28, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14036.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14039.pdf>

On events in Czechoslovakia and the need to "establish purely philosophic relations among Marxists."

Ivan Svitak letter to Dunayevskaya, written Aug. 12, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14040.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Oct. 13, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14041.pdf>

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"

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Oct. 13, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14043.pdf>

A follow-up to the preceding letter; on "organizational responsibilities of leadership in matters of philosophy."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Oct. 23, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14045.pdf>

On changes in the form of the book; sends new section of Chapter 2, on the Grundrisse.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Oct. 25, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14046.pdf>

On Marx's Grundrisse and its relevance today.

Olga Domanski letter to Bonnie McFadden, written Oct. 26, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14048.pdf>

Outlines Part I of P&R as a whole; asks for help with typing.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Nov. 28, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14050.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Dec. 7, 1968.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14055.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letters, 1969.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14057.pdf>

Jan. 3, 1969, letter to Will Stein responds to Stein's notes on Dunayevskaya's draft of Chapter 1 of P&R.

March 7, 1969, letter to "Dear Friends," on a "possible re-structuring" of Parts II and III of P&R.

July 5, 1969, letter to "Dear Friends" 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.

Philosophy and Leadership. Notes for a presentation by Dunayevskaya to Executive Session of News and Letters Committees Plenum, Aug. 31, 1969.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14062.pdf>

Also included is an abbreviated transcript of Dunayevskaya's report.

Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, Mike Connolly, and Will Stein, written Oct. 14, 1969.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14070.pdf>

On archives of Marxist-Humanism "as a continuing, living experience."

Dunayevskaya letter to Harry McShane, written Oct. 27, 1969.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14073.pdf>

Asks for discussion on "philosophy and reality" in East Europe.

Dunayevskaya letter to Nick Ternette, written Dec. 8, 1969.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Mihailo Markovic letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 2, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mihailo Markovic, written Jan. 7, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Jan. 15, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Feb. 2, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Paul Piccone, written Aug. 1, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mihailo Markovic, written Sept. 15, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Report on "The First Telos International Conference: The New Marxism,"  
Telos (Fall, 1970).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14094.pdf>

Excerpts from report on the conference in which Dunayevskaya participated, as written up by Paul Piccone.

Dunayevskaya letter to John Alan, written Oct. 26, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Nov. 11, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14099.pdf>

On just-completed second draft of Chapter 2, on Marx.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Nov. 14, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14101.pdf>

On the methodological problems of Part II, which she now began to re-write.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Jade," written Dec. 6, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mihailo Markovic, written Dec. 9, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14104.pdf>

On the need for a chapter in Part III of P&R on East Europe in the period since 1963.

Dunayevskaya letter to John Alan, written Dec. 10, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14105.pdf>

Reports finishing the chapter on Mao; suggests preparation for their collaboration on Chapter 9, "New Passions and New Forces."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Dec. 14, 1970.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Will Stein letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 4, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14108.pdf>

Asks for clarification of the relationship between revolutionary "subjects" and "philosophy of revolution."

Dunayevskaya letter to Will Stein, Mike Connolly, and Bonnie McFadden, written Jan. 15, 1971. Response to Stein's letter of Jan. 4, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14110.pdf>

On the relationship between subjects of revolution and a philosophy of liberation.

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Feb. 4, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14112.pdf>

On the Hegelian concepts of "Fact" and "Ground" in the Smaller Logic.

John Alan letter to Dunayevskaya, written Feb. 23, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 John Alan, written March 3, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14114.pdf>

Response to Alan's letter of Feb. 23, 1971.

Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Greeman, written March 5, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14115.pdf>

Asks Greeman (in Paris) to obtain Reinhart Klemens Maurer's *Hegel und das Ende der Geschichte* (1965).

Dunayevskaya letter to Ron Brokmeyer, written March 10, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14117.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written March 27, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14123.pdf>

On "leadership responsibilities" as "relationship to P&R."

Mihailo Markovic letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 23, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14124.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14126.pdf>

Comments on draft of Chapter 8 of P&R, especially on the Polish workers' revolt of 1970-71.

Dunayevskaya letter to John O'Neill, written May 25, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14129.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Sept. 20, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14130.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol and Eugene Walker, written Oct. 5, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14131.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14133.pdf>

Comments on Chapter 1, on Hegel.

Dunayevskaya letter to Hayden White, written Nov. 9, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14134.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14135.pdf>

Argues against Dunayevskaya's thesis: "Why Hegel? Why Now?"

Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Huett, Dell Books, written Jan. 31, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14139.pdf>

Sends the finished mss. of P&R.

Dunayevskaya letter to the National Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, written Feb. 1, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14140.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14143.pdf>

On the role of intellectuals in the revolutionary movement.

Hayden White letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 31, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14146.pdf>

Comments on Chapter 2 of P&R, on Marx.

Dunayevskaya letter to Hayden White, written July 15, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to John O'Neill, written July 17, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14149.pdf>

Objects to Dunayevskaya's proposed subtitle for P&R – "Marxist-Humanism."

Richard Huett letter to Dunayevskaya, written Aug. 1, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14150.pdf>

Suggests subtitle for P&R.

Richard Huett letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 1, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14151.pdf>

Editorial comments and suggestions on Part I of P&R.

Richard Huett letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 2, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14157.pdf>

Suggests eliminating the Appendix (translation from Marx's Grundrisse), and the chapter on Sartre.

Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Huett, written Nov. 13, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14158.pdf>

Explains why she cannot agree to drop the Sartre chapter.

Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Huett, written Nov. 17, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14165.pdf>

Response to editorial suggestions and proposal on subtitle.

Peter Bergmann letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 14, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Erich Fromm letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 8, 1973.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14176.pdf>

Offers to write a statement on P&R for use by the publisher.

Iring Fetscher letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 18, 1973.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Iring Fetscher, written Jan. 27, 1973.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14181.pdf>

Response to Fetscher's critique of her mss.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Feb. 12, 1973.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14182.pdf>

On "Philosophy and Revolution as Organization Builder"; on the relationship of Lenin to Lassalle's concept of organization.

Harry McShane letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 4, 1973.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Harry McShane, written March 9, 1973.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14187.pdf>

Responds to McShane's letter of March 4, 1973. On the "dichotomy between philosophy and organization" in Lenin.

Erich Fromm telegram to Dunayevskaya, written March 25, 1973

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14188.pdf>

Suggests four editorial corrections in the mss.

Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Huett, written April 9, 1973.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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***

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14191.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14192.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14193.pdf>

Table of Contents as printed in the "Official Call for Convention" of News and Letters Committees, June 1, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14194.pdf>

Table of Contents as written Nov. 3, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14196.pdf>

Table of Contents as written Dec. 16, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14197.pdf>

Table of Contents as written March 17, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14198.pdf>

Table of Contents as written September 5, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14199.pdf>

Also included here is Dunayevskaya's draft for that Table of Contents.

### 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://ravadunayevskaya.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 (Pyaty Syezd RSDRP).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Notes on Vol. 12 of Lenin's Collected Works, Jan.-June, 1907, 1962 English language edition.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14214.pdf>

Also included are quotations by Lenin from Vol. 12.

Notes on Solomon M. Schwarz, The Russian Revolution of 1905 (1967).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Notes on Oskar Anweiler, The Soviets: The Russian Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Councils, 1905-21 (1974).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14225.pdf>

Alternative: On 1905 Revolution and 1907 Congress.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14238.pdf>

Fragment only.

Translation by Dunayevskaya of Rosa Luxemburg's "Concluding remarks" to the 1907 Congress of the RSDRP. Speech given to 24th session of the Congress.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14239.pdf>

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).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14246.pdf>

Notes on Norman Geras, The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg (1976).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14248.pdf>

Notes on Mary-Alice Waters, Rosa Luxemburg Speaks (1970).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14251.pdf>

Notes on Carl E. Schorske, German Social Democracy, 1905-17 (1955).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14258.pdf>

Fragment only.

Notes on Olga Hess Gankin and H. H. Fisher, The Bolsheviks and the World War (1940).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14259.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14261.pdf>

Edited and with an Introduction by Kenneth J. Tarbuck. (1972). Two sets of notes on this book are included.

Notes on Rosa Luxemburg, The Accumulation of Capital, trans. by Agnes Schwarzchild (1951).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14267.pdf>

Notes on Georg Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14268.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14269.pdf>

Dunayevskaya's notes begin with a reference from Roman Rosdolsky, *The Making of Marx's Capital* (1977).

Notes on Rosa Luxemburg, "Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy" (1904)

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14271.pdf>

as published in Dick Howard, *Selected Political Writings of Rosa Luxemburg* (1971).

Notes on Edward Thomas Wilson, *Russia and Black Africa Before World War II* (1974).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14278.pdf>

Chapter 4

Notes on Horace Davis, ed., *The National Question: Selected Writings by Rosa Luxemburg* (1976).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14281.pdf>

Notes on Bertram D. Wolfe, ed., *The Russian Revolution and Leninism or Marxism?* (writings by Rosa Luxemburg), 1961 edition.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14285.pdf>

(The title "Leninism or Marxism?" was not Luxemburg's; her title was "Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy.")

Notes on Norman Geras, *The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg* (1976).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14288.pdf>

Dunayevskaya's notes concentrate on quotations from Luxemburg on the 1917 Russian Revolution. Fragment only.

Translation by Dunayevskaya of V. I. Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," from Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30 (Russian edition), 1932.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14290.pdf>

Copy marked "Rough translation"; probably created in the 1940s.

Quotation from Hegel, *Science of Logic*, Johnston and Struthers edition (1929).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14300.pdf>

On Hegel's view of "causality." Dunayevskaya wrote at top of page: "Quotations appended to Organization chapter."

Excerpt on Rosa Luxemburg from a letter on Trotsky, written Oct. 14, 1948.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Notes on V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14306.pdf>

Notes on Walter Held, "Once Again, Lenin and Luxemburg," *Fourth International*, June, 1940.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14309.pdf>

Lenin and Junius: the Junius Pamphlet.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14311.pdf>

Notes by Dunayevskaya on V.I. Lenin, "The Pamphlet by Junius" (1916), as published in English translation in Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 19 (1942).

Notes on E.J. Simmons, ed., *Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought* (1955).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14316.pdf>

Chapter 5

Notes on Eric Waldman, The Spartacist Uprising of 1919 (1958).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14317.pdf>

The Revolution Starts.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Notes on Luxemburg, Letters from Prison (1966).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14326.pdf>

Notes on J.P. Nettl, Rosa Luxemburg (Chapters 14 and 15 of Vol. II only).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14327.pdf>

Chapter 6

Dunayevskaya letter to Diane Lee, written Jan. 19, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Jan. 30, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14344.pdf>

Notes on Werner Thonnessen, The Emancipation of Women (1973).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14346.pdf>

Notes on Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (1972).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14348.pdf>

Notes on Women and Russia: Dorothy Atkinson, Alexander Dallin and Gail Warshofsky Lapidus, Women in Russia (1977).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14349.pdf>

Dunayevskaya's notes concentrate on articles by Alfred G. Meyer and Richard Stites; Richard Stites, The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia (1978); Jaqueline Heinen, "Kollontai and the History of Women's Oppression," New Left Review #110 (1978).

Brief Summary of Talk Given by Raya Dunayevskaya to Wayne State University Women's Liberation, March 7, 1975.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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

Notes on Elzbieta Ettinger, Comrade and Lover (1979).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14362.pdf>

Fragment only. One reference is to J.P. Nettl, Rosa Luxemburg.

Notes on Feliks Tych, ed., Roza Luxemburg: Linty do Leona Jogichesa-Tyszki (1968, 1971).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14363.pdf>

Women's Liberation—in the air.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Hans Cozak, written Dec. 9, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14366.pdf>

On Henrietta Roland-Holst's Rosa Luxemburg (1937). Also included is Cozak's letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 26, 1981, with translation of Roland-Holst's discussion of Luxemburg's anti-war struggle in World War I.

Dunayevskaya letter to Meintje Westerbeek, written June 8, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14377.pdf>

Handnotes on the fragment are by Dunayevskaya.

Chapter 8

Notes on Hal Draper, Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution (Books I and II, 1977).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14378.pdf>

Notes on Maria Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta, Maria Velho da Costa, The Three Marias (1975).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Notes on Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (American edition, 1953).

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14407.pdf>

Two sets of notes are included.

Notes on Adrienne Rich, "Anti-Feminists," *New York Review of Books*, Nov. 30, 1972.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14412.pdf>

Neda Azad letter to Dunayevskaya, written Feb. 5, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14413.pdf>

On women in the Iranian Revolution.

Notes on Joyce Maupin, *Working Women and their Organizations* (1974).

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14416.pdf>

Notes on Heleieth I.B. Saffioti, *Women in Class Society* (1978).

**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>

Notes on Rayna R. Reiter, ed., *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (1975).

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14421.pdf>

Notes on Toni Cade, ed., *The Black Woman* (1970).

**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>

Notes on Branka Magas, "Theories of Women's Liberation," *New Left Review* #66, 1971.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14431.pdf>

Notes on Vivian Gornick, *Essays on Feminism* (1978).

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14433.pdf>

The Detroit News and Letters Committee Celebration of International Women's Day, March 8, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14435.pdf>

Includes presentation by Olga Domanski.

Notes on Peter Nettle, *Rosa Luxemburg* (1966).

**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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14443.pdf>

The speech was the fifth in a series of lectures on "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries."

Lecture notes for speech on "Women, Literature and Revolution," given at University of California-Berkeley, March 7, 1976.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14445.pdf>

## Chapter 9

Two fragments of early drafts of Chapter 9 of the book.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14447.pdf>

On Marx's doctoral dissertation (1841); on Marx's view of Feuerbach.

Notes on "Notes for Marx's Ph. D., 1839-41," as excerpted by Lloyd Easton and Kurt Guddat, *The Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society* (1967).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14461.pdf>

"From the Preliminary Work for Marx's Ph. D. Dissertation, 1839ff."; "Aus der Rheinescher Zeitung (On the Freedom of the Press), May 1842 and July 1842"; "Debates on the Law Regarding Thievery of Wood, October, 1842"; "The 'Liberal opposition' in Hannover, Nov. 1842"; "Letters to Ruge, May 1843"; "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, March-Aug., 1843." The selections were translated in the 1940s from the German in Mehring's 1901 selection of Marx's Early works. Translations by Grace Lee.

Notes on Norman Livergood, *Activity in Marx's Philosophy* (1967).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14465.pdf>

Notes on Herbert Marcuse, "The Foundation of Historical Materialism" (1932)

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14467.pdf>

as published in *Studies in Critical Philosophy* (1972).

Notes on Maximilien Rubel and Margaret Manale, *Marx Without Myth* (1975).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14470.pdf>

Notes on Joseph Schumpeter, "The Communist Manifesto in Sociology and Economics," *Journal of Political Economy*, 1949.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14480.pdf>

Notes on Nicholas Lobkowitz, *Theory and Practice* (1967).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14481.pdf>

Notes on Karl Lowith, *From Hegel to Nietzsche* (1964).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14493.pdf>

On Marx's Capital and its relationship to his Grundrisse.

Notes on John Mepham and D-H Ruben, eds., Issues in Marxist Philosophy (1979).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14496.pdf>

Notes on Roman Rosdolsky, The Making of Marx's "Capital" (1977).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.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://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14506.pdf>

Extracts translated from French by Barbara Gibson. Handnotes are by Dunayevskaya.

"Quotations from Althusser vs. Marx." Notes on Louis Althusser, For Marx (1969).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14520.pdf>

Also included are quotations from Marx's correspondence, and from Vol. I of Capital.

Notes on Andrew Levine's apologia for Althusser in Radical America, after first series in RA, Vol. III, 5.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14522.pdf>

Notes on the Dona Torr edition of Capital, Vol. I (1939).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14523.pdf>

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written July 1, 1973.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14528.pdf>

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,"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14533.pdf>

as published in Neue Zeit (1901).

Quotation from H.M. Hyndman, The Record of an Adventurous Life (1911).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14534.pdf>

Notes on David Joravsky, Soviet Marxism and Natural Science, 1917-1932 (1961).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14535.pdf>

Dunayevskaya letter to Arthur McGovern, written June 1, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14539.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14541.pdf>

On the concept of permanent revolution; on Marx's work for the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

## Chapter 12

Notes on Hal Draper, "Marx and Engels on Women's Liberation", International Socialism (1970).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14543.pdf>

Notes on Eleanor Burke Leacock, "Introduction" to Frederick Engels, Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, 1972 edition.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14547.pdf>

Quotation from Frederick Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky, written Feb. 16, 1884.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14550.pdf>

Quotation from D. Ryazanov, "New data about the literary legacy of Marx and Engels," Bulletin of the Socialist Academy (1923).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14551.pdf>

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written Nov. 3, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14552.pdf>

Requests Anderson search for a copy of Ryazanov's article mentioning the finding of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks.

Quotations from Yvonne Kapp, Eleanor Marx, Vol. II: The Crowded Years (1976).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14554.pdf>

Notes on Karl Marx, Ethnological Notebooks (1972).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14555.pdf>

Includes notes on Introduction by Lawrence Krader; notes on Krader, "The Works of Marx and Engels in Ethnology Compared," International Review of Social History (1973).

Notes on Lawrence Krader, The Asiatic Mode of Production (1975).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14563.pdf>

Notes on George Lichtheim, "Marx and the Asiatic Mode of Production," in St. Anthony's Papers (1963).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14568.pdf>

Notes on Cyril Levitt's review of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks, Catalyst #12 (1978).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14570.pdf>

Dunayevskaya's notes include a reexamination of Krader's Introduction to the Notebooks.

"Dialectics and the Asiatic Mode of Production (re both Lukacs' critique of Engels; Lawrence Krader's AMP; Lichtheim's 'Marx and the AMP'; and E. Leacock's Introduction to Engels' Origin of the Family)."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14576.pdf>

Notes by Dunayevskaya on attitudes to Marx's category of "Asiatic mode of production."

"Notes for Draft paragraph on p. 190 of RLWLKM, in the third paragraph, after 'To Marx the development of the relationship of the individual to society and to the state was crucial.'"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14584.pdf>

Probably written in 1983.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Sisters," written Oct. 15, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14586.pdf>

On her study of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks.

Fragment from an early draft of Chapter 12 of the book.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14588.pdf>

On Marx's 1882 Preface to the Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto.

Notes on Maximilien Rubel, Marx Without Myth (1975).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14589.pdf>

Notes focus on Marx's last decade.

Kevin Anderson letter to Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 20, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14591.pdf>

On his research in the F.A. Sorge papers in the New York Public Library.

Notes on Carl Boggs, Gramsci's Marxism (1976).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunavevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14595.pdf>

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, Eugene Walker and Michael Connolly, written Oct. 18, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14604.pdf>

On her projection of a whole Part for the book on Marx's philosophy of revolution.

Notes on Books and Articles NOT on Rosa Luxemburg

Notes on J.N. Findlay, Hegel: A Re-Examination (1958).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14605.pdf>

Notes on Karl Lowith, From Hegel to Nietzsche (1964).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14609.pdf>

Notes on Nicholas Lobkowitz, ed., Marx and the Western World (1967).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14619.pdf>

Dunayevskaya's notes concentrate on the article by Herbert Marcuse on "The Obsolescence of Marxism."

Notes on Karel Kosik, The Dialectics of the Concrete (1976).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14620.pdf>

Fragment only.

Phenomenology and Mao.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Notes on Richard Schacht, Alienation (1971).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14630.pdf>

Notes on Leonard Krieger, "History and Existentialism in Sartre," in The Critical Spirit, ed. by Kurt Wolff and Barrington Moore, Jr. (1968).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14632.pdf>

Notes on George Lichtheim, "Rebel," a review of Wilfrid Desan, The Marxism of Jean-Paul Sartre, in New York Review of Books (Jan. 28, 1965).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14635.pdf>

Notes on Maxime Rodinson, review of Fred Halliday, Arabia Without Sultans, in New Left Review #95 (1976).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14636.pdf>

Notes on Paul Mattick, "Marxism and the New Physics," in Philosophy of Science (1962).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14637.pdf>

Notes on George Lichtheim, Marxism (1961).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14640.pdf>

Notes on Shlomo Avineri, Hegel's Theory of the Modern State (1972).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14641.pdf>

Notes on Martin Jay, The Dialectical Imagination (1973).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14643.pdf>

Notes on Carol Gould, Marx's Social Ontology (1978).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14645.pdf>

Notes on Adam Ulam, "Stalin and the Theory of Totalitarianism," in Ernest J. Simmons, ed., Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought (1955).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14647.pdf>

References in Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 38, to Capital.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14657.pdf>

Notes on Reinhart Klemens Maurer, Hegel und das Ende der Geschichte (1965).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14667.pdf>

Notes on Grace Lee, letter of March 22, 1950

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14670.pdf>

on "Hegel's concept of Condition, in Science of Logic, Vol. II, pp. 98-106 (Johnston and Struthers translation, 1929)." Included here are Dunayevskaya's extracts of Lee's letter. The letter itself has not been found. Also included is a "P.S." by Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 12, 1959.

Notes on N. Bukharin and the Hegelian dialectic.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14673.pdf>

Dunayevskaya's discussion begins with extracts from a letter by Grace Lee to C.L.R. James, written May 21, 1949. Works discussed in Dunayevskaya's notes concentrate on Bukharin's Historical Materialism (1925), Hegel's Science of Logic, Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic." A note by Dunayevskaya, added by hand to the typed notes, is dated May 5, 1978.

Notes on Herbert Marcuse, "Re-examination of the Concept of Revolution," New Left Review #56 (1969).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14681.pdf>

Notes on Hegel, Lectures on the History of Philosophy, Vols. I-III, as translated by E. Haldane (1955).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14682.pdf>

Notes for "Dialectics of Liberation, or Dialectics in Thought and in Action."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14693.pdf>

Lecture #3 of five talks on WDET-FM (Detroit, Michigan) by Dunayevskaya on her book, Philosophy and Revolution (1973). This lecture was subtitled, "Is the Self-Thinking Idea Really a Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty?" and was broadcast on WDET-FM on Jan. 11, 1977.

Lecture notes for "Rosa Luxemburg, 1905, 1919,"

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14701.pdf>

a lecture given by Dunayevskaya. at Russian Institute, Columbia University, March 3, 1982.

"The Humanism of Hegelian Philosophy or Adventures of the Hegelian Dialectic."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14703.pdf>

Text of a lecture given by Dunayevskaya in the early 1960s. Date and place unknown.

Summaries of Works on and by Luxemburg

Notes on J.P. Netti, Rosa Luxemburg (1966).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14709.pdf>

These notes are in several parts: 1) extensive chapter-by-chapter notes on Netti's two volume work; 2) notes on "Netti's references to women"; 3) notes on the 1905-06 Russian Revolution and on Luxemburg as an émigré revolutionary in 1898.

Notes on "Luxemburg's review of Marx, Theories of Surplus Value," as published in Vorwärts, Jan. 8, 1905.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14725.pdf>

Notes on Paul Froelich, Rosa Luxemburg (1972).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14729.pdf>

Notes on Gilbert Badia, Rosa Luxemburg (1975).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14730.pdf>

Typed notes written by Michael Connolly; handnotes by Dunayevskaya.

Notes on Luxemburg, The Accumulation of Capital (1951).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14736.pdf>

Also includes notes on Luxemburg's letters on this work in 1911 and 1917.

Translation of Luxemburg letter to Hans Diefenbach, written May 12, 1917.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14740.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14743.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14750.pdf>

Conclusion for Chapter 2.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14754.pdf>

Form for Women's Liberation chapter: Then and Now.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14773.pdf>

Notes on Luxemburg's letters to Karl and Luise Kautsky.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14775.pdf>

Quotations on Women's Liberation, taken by Dunayevskaya from a variety of sources:

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14776.pdf>

Kathleen Gough, "The Origin of the Family," in R. Reiter, Toward an Anthropology of Women; Sheila Rowbotham, Women, Resistance and Revolution; J.P. Nettl, Rosa Luxemburg.

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 center on Solomon Schwartz, The Russian Revolution of 1905, and Leon Trotsky, History of the Russian Revolution.

#### Notes on Women's Liberation in Russia from several sources.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14791.pdf>

Alfred Meyer, "Marxism and the Women's Movement," in Atkinson, Dallin and Lapidus, Women in Russia (1977); 2) Jacqueline Heinen, "Kollontai and the History of Women's Oppression," New Left Review #110 (1978); 3) Richard Stites, The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia (1978); 4) Elzbieta Ettinger, Comrade and Lover (1979); 5) J.P. Nettl, Rosa Luxemburg (1966).

#### 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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14795.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14800.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14820.pdf>

This draft chapter, as revised, became Chapter 3 of the book as published.

#### Outline of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14846.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14852.pdf>

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)."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/14866.pdf>

Probably written in September, 1980. 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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Chapter 10. Philosopher of Permanent Revolution and Organization Man.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 Zasluch, as Well as Undigested 1882 Preface to the Russian Edition of the Communist Manifesto.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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).

**Dunayevskaya presentation on "East-Coast Report and Next Book-to-be," given to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, May 3, 1976.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15013.pdf>

Presentation proposes a new title for the book: "Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women Theorists, and the Women's Liberation Movement."

Dunayevskaya letter to William Pelz, written May 10, 1976.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15015.pdf>

On his study of "The Role of Proletarian women in the German Revolution, 1918-1919."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written May 30, 1976.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15021.pdf>

Asks for translation and summarization of works by Luxemburg, 1910-13.

Dunayevskaya letter to Isabel do Carmo (Lisbon, Portugal), written Oct. 4, 1976.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15061.pdf>

Presentation by Dunayevskaya to Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, given June 15, 1977.

Dunayevskaya letter to Anny Brackx (London, England), written July 1, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15064.pdf>

On Brackx's editorship of the feminist journal, Spare Rib, and her view of Luxemburg.

Dunayevskaya letter to John Alan, Lou Turner and Diane Lee, written July 4, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15065.pdf>

On Judith Van Allen's study of the 1920s "Igbo Women's Uprising" in Nigeria.

Dunayevskaya letter to Suzanne Casey, written July 18, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Aug. 7, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15067.pdf>

On "collectivity and SELF-reorganization," a discussion of the relationship between Marx and Engels.

Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Bergmann, written Oct. 3, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15069.pdf>

Asks for discussion on Luxemburg's attitude to Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism; on Luxemburg on Women's Liberation.

Dunayevskaya letter to Therese S. (Paris, France), written Oct. 18, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Karen Honeycutt, written Oct. 20, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15072.pdf>

On the relationship between Clara Zetkin and Luxemburg.

Dunayevskaya letter to Erich Fromm, written Oct. 20, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15073.pdf>

On Luxemburg's reference, in a letter from prison, to the slaying of Achilles by Penthesilea.

Erich Fromm letter to Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 26, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15074.pdf>

On Luxemburg and the "male Social Democrats."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Sisters," written Nov. 26, 1977.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Herbert Marcuse, written Jan. 31, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15078.pdf>

Asks for discussion of Luxemburg's work in the period 1910-1914.

Dunayevskaya letter to "S" (East Europe), written Feb. 1, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15079.pdf>

Asks for references to Luxemburg's writings on women, and on Luxemburg's relations with Lenin in 1905-06.

"S" (East Europe) letter to Dunayevskaya, written Feb. 26, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15080.pdf>

Responds to Dunayevskaya's request for references to Luxemburg's writings on women; offers suggestions for further research.

Dunayevskaya letter to Meintje Westerbeek, written June 8, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15083.pdf>

Asks for discussion of attitudes in the Women's Liberation Movement to Luxemburg.

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, given June 12, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, Michael Connolly and Eugene Walker, written June 26, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Dunayevskaya letter to Sheila Rowbotham, written June 29, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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

Dunayevskaya letter to Stephen Bronner, written Aug. 16, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15092.pdf>

Comments on the mss. of his book, The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg.

Stephen Bronner letter to Dunayevskaya, written Aug. 27, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15094.pdf>

Responds to Dunayevskaya's letter; cites points of agreement and disagreement on Luxemburg. Also included here is a brief reply from Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 9, 1978.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Sept. 10, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15097.pdf>

On the relationship between Marx and Engels from the writing of The Holy Family to Capital. Excerpts only.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Sept. 24, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15099.pdf>

Addressed to "all teachers, students, readers, and re-readers of Marxism and Freedom"; calls attention to a paragraph on p. 89 of this 1957 work by Dunayevskaya, which concerns the relationship between "the limits of a theoretical work" and "the indispensability of the theoretician."

Dunayevskaya letter to Mikhail Vitkin (Manitoba, Canada), written Oct. 1, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15101.pdf>

On his article, "Karl Marx and the Asiatic Mode of Production" (Asian Thought and Society, 1978).

A Note on Pope John Paul II.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15102.pdf>

A note by Dunayevskaya written Oct. 16, 1978 on the implications, especially for women's liberation and for Latin America, of the election of Cardinal Wojtyla as Pope. Included here is the note as printed in News & Letters (November, 1978). The following day Dunayevskaya wrote a letter to "Dear Sisters," discussing her new study of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks as contrasted to Engels' Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. This letter is already included in the Dunayevskaya Collection (#6434).

Mikhail Vitkin letter to Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 29, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15103.pdf>

In Russian. Included here is Dunayevskaya's response to Vitkin, on her dissatisfaction with Ryazanov's reports on Marx's archives. Dunayevskaya's response is dated Nov. 6, 1978.

Dunayevskaya letter to Harry McShane, written Nov. 10, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15106.pdf>

On the divergence between Marx and Engels, as seen in Engels' 1888 preface to the Communist Manifesto. On the same day, Dunayevskaya completed her first draft chapter of the new book and wrote a letter to "Dear Friends," describing its content (#6436).

Sheila Rowbotham, letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 23, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15108.pdf>

On women's liberation and the Left in Britain. Included here is handwritten letter by Rowbotham and "rough transcript" of the letter (typewritten), with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya letter to Lawrence Krader (Berlin, West Germany), written Nov. 30, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15112.pdf>

Comments on his Introduction to, and editing of, Marx's Ethnological Notebooks (Van Gorcum, 1972); sends him galley proofs of her first draft chapter from her "work-in-progress," "Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted: Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation." Included here also is Krader's response, written Dec. 7, 1978 — a discussion of the critical reception of his book.

Dunayevskaya letter to Angela Terrano, written Dec. 7, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15117.pdf>

Asks for Terrano's recollections of Dunayevskaya's 1952 or 1953 discussions with Black women workers on Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*.

Dunayevskaya letter to Sheila Rowbotham, written Dec. 12, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15118.pdf>

Responds to Rowbotham's letter of Nov. 23; on women's liberation, the vanguard parties of the Left, and forms of organization, as related to the draft chapter just completed.

Lawrence Krader letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 31, 1978.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15120.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mikhail Vitkin, written Jan. 16, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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).

Remarks by Dunayevskaya at a meeting sponsored by News and Letters Committees (Detroit) on the first draft chapter of the book, Feb. 4, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15142.pdf>

Transcript of remarks was not checked by Dunayevskaya.

Allison Jaggar letter to Dunayevskaya, written Feb. 15, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15144.pdf>

Comments on the first draft chapter of Dunayevskaya's book as published in *News & Letters* (Jan.-Feb., 1979). Included here is Dunayevskaya's response, written Feb. 23, 1979.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Feb. 16, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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*.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mikhail Vitkin, written March 2, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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).

Additions to the Syllabus for the Philosophy and Revolution Classes, written by Dunayevskaya May 1-2, 1979, for classes in her 1973 book given by News and Letters Committees.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mikhail Vitkin, written June 18, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15178.pdf>

On her view of the differences between Marx and Engels, and her study of Lenin's 1914 Philosophic Notebooks.

Peter Bergmann letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 21, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15180.pdf>

On the relationship of Marx to Engels, and of Marx to Hegel. Bergmann's original letter (handwritten) is missing, but a typed transcription of the letter, with Dunayevskaya's marginalia, is included.

Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, written June 23, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15185.pdf>

On the relationship of Engels to Marx, and its impact on all Marxism after Marx's death, especially on the question of the relationship of philosophy to organization.

Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Wermuth, written July 28, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15186.pdf>

Asks for his assistance in locating and translating certain passages in works by Luxemburg; discusses Lenin's critique of Trotsky's conciliationism and her own view.

Baruch Knei-Paz (Jerusalem, Israel) letter to Dunayevskaya, written Aug. 15, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15189.pdf>

Comments on his reading of Dunayevskaya's work in Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution.

Dunayevskaya letter to Joseph O'Malley, written Aug. 30, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15190.pdf>

Calls his attention to Marx's 1880-82 Ethnological Notebooks, and asks correction of O'Malley's statement in his Introduction to Marx's Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right that Marx's "productive years of research" ended in 1878. Also included here are O'Malley's reply, written Sept. 21, 1979, and Dunayevskaya's further discussion, written Oct. 8, 1979. Subjects include the Hegel Society of America, and Marx scholarship by Maximilien Rubel and others.

Dunayevskaya letter to Harry McShane, written Sept. 9, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15195.pdf>

Asks McShane for research into greetings by English women sent to the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party Congress meeting in London in April-May, 1907.

Correspondence, Presentations and Notes on the Writing of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, September, 1979 – March 1981

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written Sept. 11, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15197.pdf>

On "Marx's Philosophy of Revolution" as "not only the most important 'part' of the three in the title," "but THE WHOLE."

Olga Domanski letter to Michael Connolly, written Sept. 30, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15198.pdf>

Describes the first week of Dunayevskaya's work on the book at a remote location in Canada; presents sequence of the work on a "Political-Philosophic Letter" on Leon Trotsky and on what became Chapter 1 of the book: "Before and After the 1905 Revolution: Two Turning Points in Rosa Luxemburg's Life." Excerpts only. (For Dunayevskaya's letter on Trotsky, see #6037.)

Dunayevskaya letter to Urszula Wislanka, written Oct. 8, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15200.pdf>

On Wislanka's translation (from Polish) of Luxemburg's speech to the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

Dunayevskaya letter to Dave Wolff, written Oct. 8, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15201.pdf>

On Wolff's translation (from German) of Luxemburg's article entitled "Theory and Practice." (For the full article as translated and published by News & Letters, see #6475.) Dunayevskaya wrote three letters to colleagues in News and Letters Committees on her work on the book in the month of Oct. 1979. (See #6440-6443).

Dunayevskaya letter to Alexander Ehrlich, written Oct. 9, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15202.pdf>

On her study of Luxemburg, and on the 1907 Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

Dunayevskaya letter to Dave Wolff, written Oct. 15, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15203.pdf>

Asks Wolff to translate articles by Luxemburg on publications from Marx's archives by Mehring and by Kautsky.

Dunayevskaya letter to Robert Belknap, written Oct. 25, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Michael Connolly, written Oct. 31, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15205.pdf>

On Dunayevskaya's reading of Trotsky's 1909 article, "Our Differences," as Trotsky reprinted it in 1922.

Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, written Nov. 1, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15209.pdf>

Responds to Raha's discussion of Marx's 1844 Essays, and the relationship of philosophy to organization in the Iranian Revolution. During this period, Dunayevskaya decides to change the title of her book-to-be to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution and writes two new letters on her work on the book to her colleagues in News and Letters Committees (#6444-6447). On Nov. 27, 1979 she completes a new "Political-Philosophic Letter" entitled "Grave Contradictions in the Iranian Revolution" (#6013).

Dunayevskaya letter to Andy Phillips, written Nov. 5, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15211.pdf>

Asks for a discussion "on the form of the party."

Dave Wolff letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 7, 1979.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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).

### Remarks by Dunayevskaya to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, given Feb. 3, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

### Dunayevskaya letter to Mikhail Vitkin, written Feb. 13, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.)

### Dunayevskaya letter to Dave Wolff, written Feb. 25, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15223.pdf>

A critique of the publishing history of Luxemburg's works since her death.

### Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written March 17, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15224.pdf>

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).

### Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Sisters," written March 19, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15225.pdf>

On the death of Erich Fromm.

### Dunayevskaya letter to Sheila Rowbotham, written March 27, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15226.pdf>

Sends Chapter 2 of the book, entitled "The Break with Kautsky, 1910-11." Included here is a typed transcript of Dunayevskaya's handwritten note. Chapter 2 was published in News & Letters (April, 1980). Also included is Rowbotham's response, written June 3, 1980.

### Narihiko Ito (Kamakura, Japan) letter to Dunayevskaya, written April 23, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15229.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15232.pdf>

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 Raha, written Sept. 4, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15235.pdf>

An extended critique of John Molyneux's Marxism and the Party (1978), written after Iranian Left activists translated Molyneux's book into Farsi. Handnotes on the letter are later annotations by Dunayevskaya, probably made in 1986.

### Dunayevskaya letter to Jim Mills and Peter Wermuth, written Sept. 15, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15240.pdf>

Suggests that the Marxist-Humanist youth paper, From the Pen, print a quotation from Marx on the bureaucratization of education.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Sept. 16, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15241.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15243.pdf>

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).

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, Michael Connolly, and Eugene Walker, written Oct. 7, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15245.pdf>

On Dunayevskaya's new view of how to begin the "Marx chapter" with a section on attitudes to the dialectic—in Luxemburg, in Lenin.

Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, Eugene Walker, and Michael Connolly, written Oct. 18, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15247.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15248.pdf>

Asks for translation of Luxemburg's article, "Lassalle and the Revolution."

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin A. Barry, written Dec. 2, 1980.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15250.pdf>

Asks for translation and review of a paragraph from Marx's Capital, added to the French edition in 1872, but not included in Engels' later editions. Also included here is Barry's response, after his study of Maximilien Rubel's edition of Le Capital. Barry's letter, written Dec. 12, 1980, discusses the publishing history of the French edition since its first appearance.

Relationship of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to his Concept of Organization.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 'Philosopher 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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15258.pdf>

Proposes possible essay article topics for News & Letters. Included here also is Dunayevskaya's response, written Jan. 16, 1981, with discussion of the French edition of Capital.

Sheila Rowbotham letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 12, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Richard Huett, written Jan. 19, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Sisters," written Jan. 22, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <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.)

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Feb. 20, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15266.pdf>

On Marx's changes in the French edition of Capital as printed in the Dona Torr edition.

The Book as a Whole.

**link to PDF file:** <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>

A response to Dunayevskaya's "Theory/Practice" column, printed in News & Letters (June, 1981), entitled "A 1981 View of Marx's 1841 Dialectic" (#7476).

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Simon Silverman, Humanities Press, written Aug. 10, 1981.

**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>

Presentation given at the News and Letters Committees Plenum, Sept. 5, 1981. Dunayevskaya projects two new categories from her work on Chapter 12 of the book: "Post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative," and "Organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism."

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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15306.pdf>

On Dunayevskaya's addition of a new, fourth section to Chapter 12, entitled "A 1980s View," and other additions made after preliminary work on the Index to the book.

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin A. Barry, written Nov. 15, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15308.pdf>

On the quotation from Herman Melville to be added to the beginning of Chapter 7.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Nov. 25, 1981.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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).

Presentation by Dunayevskaya on the book, given Dec. 14, 1981 to the Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15313.pdf>

Dunayevskaya focuses only on "what is new," rather than an "overview of the whole book."

Leadership and Responsibilities for Jan. 2, 1982 Expanded REB Perspectives.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15318.pdf>

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 Philosophic Expression.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15326.pdf>

Presentation by Dunayevskaya to the Expanded Resident Editorial Board meeting, Jan. 2, 1982.

Politicalization and Proofreading. Report by Olga Domanski to Resident Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees, given Feb. 8, 1982.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15332.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15334.pdf>

On Georg Lukacs' work and its divergence from Lenin's Philosophic 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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15336.pdf>

A discussion of the relation of footnote references to the body of the text.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written April 20, 1982.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15337.pdf>

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).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15339.pdf>

On how to present her three books "as a totality."

Dunayevskaya letter to Simon Silverman and John Spiers, written May 27, 1982.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15340.pdf>

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.

Convention Call for 1982 Convention of News and Letters Committees, written June 1, 1982.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15343.pdf>

Principal author was Dunayevskaya. Includes a discussion of the "Difference between the 1980 Draft and the 1982 completed work."

Dunayevskaya letter to Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees, written Aug. 20, 1982.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15350.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15353.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Ali Mazrui, written Dec. 12, 1982.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15355.pdf>

On the internationalism of the "Black Dimension"; on that dimension within her new book.

Dunayevskaya letter addressed only as "Hello," written Jan. 13, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

Dunayevskaya letter to Michael Connolly, written Feb. 20, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15357.pdf>

A further discussion of her category of "post-Marx Marxists," this letter focuses on Dunayevskaya's critique of Karl Korsch.

New paragraph added to the last chapter of the book. Written by Dunayevskaya for inclusion in her speech on "Marx and the Black World," given at the Center for African and Afro-American Studies, University of Michigan, March 30, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Comrades," written Aug. 26, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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>

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***

### **and from Reagan's Invasion of Grenada to Raya Dunayevskaya's Work on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy"**

[Open the original Volume XV listing document: 15379](#)

## 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:

- "1983: The Marx Centenary Year" and "1984-1985: Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism in the Historic Mirror" (7639-8441 in Volume XI).
- "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

a. Marxist-Humanism, 1983: The Summation That Is A New Beginning, Subjectively and Objectively.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

b. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Jan. 4, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15430.pdf>

On the January 1983 News & Letters, "Trilogy of Revolution" as a title for Dunayevskaya's three books, and the upcoming constitutional convention of News and Letters Committees. Included also is new "Who We Are and What We Stand For" statement in the January-February 1983 News & Letters.

c. Dunayevskaya letter to Harry McShane, written Jan. 5, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15433.pdf>

On "why we challenge post-Marx Marxism."

d. Dunayevskaya letters to Andrew Murdoch, written Jan. 5 and Jan. 17, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15434.pdf>

On the totality of Marx's philosophy as "the ground for Marxist-Humanism globally" and projecting Marxist-Humanism in Britain.

e. Dunayevskaya letter to Simon Silverman, written Jan. 8, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15436.pdf>

On Dunayevskaya's 1938 essay on Trotsky submitted to an encyclopedia in Palestine. Essay is missing.

f. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Jan. 11, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

g. Dunayevskaya letter to Bertell Ollman, written Jan. 19, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

- h. Dunayevskaya letter to Felix Martin, written Jan. 24, 1983.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15446.pdf>  
 On the Los Angeles News and Letters Committee and the Marx Centenary lecture tour.
- i. Dunayevskaya letter to Dave Wolff, written Feb. 10, 1983.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15448.pdf>  
 On Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg.
- j. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Feb. 14, 1983.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15453.pdf>  
 On "Japanese connection" in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Included also is Ito letter to Dunayevskaya, written Feb. 21, 1983, inviting her to the Rosa Luxemburg Symposium in Paris.
- l. Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written March 7, 1983.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 Tacchinardi 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://ravadunayevskaya.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
- a. Notes for lecture on "Civil Rights and The Philosophy of Freedom," given March 2, 1983  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15474.pdf>  
 at the New York News and Letters Committee meeting.
- e. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written March 28, 1983.  
**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15482.pdf>  
 Summary of Dunayevskaya's keynote address to Center for Iranian Research and Analysis (CIRA) conference on "Revolution, Counterrevolution and the Islamic Republic," given April 2, 1983, at American University in Washington, D.C. Included also are notes on Ivar Spector, The First Russian Revolution: Its Impact on Asia.

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://ravadunayevskaya.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, given April 10, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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

a. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 5, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

b. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 17, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15515.pdf>

On "global dimensions" of "philosophy as action" in the Marx Centenary Year.

c. Dunayevskaya letter to Suzanne Casey, written May 23, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15516.pdf>

On "a return to Marx's Marxism" in a paper on Margaret Fuller, with marginalia not by her.

d. Dunayevskaya letter to Ted Rosmer, written May 25, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15518.pdf>

On the "economics and dialectics in world history." Included also is Rosmer letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 6-10, 1983.

e. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 30, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

h. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written July 5, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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."

j. Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written July 11, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15540.pdf>

On Anderson's review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution for Africa Today. Typed copy of handwritten note. For review, see 10180. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to Simon Silverman, written July 11, 1983.

k. Dunayevskaya remarks at the Constitutional Convention of News and Letters Committees, made Sept. 3-4, 1983.

**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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15556.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15559.pdf>

Some contain marginalia by Dunayevskaya and marginalia not by her.

b. Articles and citations on Dunayevskaya's life and writings.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15668.pdf>

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"

Dunayevskaya letter to Stanley Diamond, written Feb. 9, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15677.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15681.pdf>

Included are "Very rough notes from Raya's comments on Marx and non-capitalist societies at Detroit local. Jan. 13, 1983 (by Mike)," transcribed by Michael Connolly, not checked by Dunayevskaya; Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya, written Feb. 10, 1983, outlining an article on Dunayevskaya's studies on Marx's

Ethnological Notebooks in light of writings by modern theorists in anthropology and women's liberation; Connolly's draft of article; Dunayevskaya's notes on letter and draft; Connolly notes on Stanley Diamond's critique of Levi-Strauss, fragment; Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 11, 1983; "Mike's letter to me of 3/11/83 on anthropology..."; Dunayevskaya's notes on theorists on Marx and anthropology; Susan Van Gelder letter to Neda Azad, written May 24, 1983, on Claude Levi-Strauss; articles and article fragment by Stanley Diamond, also with marginalia not by Dunayevskaya.

Raya on notes for Diamond conference.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15709.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15723.pdf>

No date. Included also are marginalia on fragment of Michael Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 24, 1983, on research requested by Dunayevskaya for New School conference paper; Connolly research on Marx's writings on "Iroquois/Pagagenos," mythology, and Asiatic Mode of Production; Connolly draft and review of Pat Albers's *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Women*.

Michael Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya, written July 5, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15743.pdf>

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."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15746.pdf>

Manuscript of paper submitted to Stanley Diamond for the New School conference. Included also is Dunayevskaya cover letter to Diamond, written July 20, 1983.

Dunayevskaya letter to Stanley Diamond, written Aug. 24, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15779.pdf>

On Biafra and on Dunayevskaya's participation in the conference. Included also is Diamond letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 1, 1983.

Marginalia by Dunayevskaya on "Agenda" and list of "abstracts and paper" for the New School conference.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15781.pdf>

The Philosopher's Index Retrospective Bibliography, 1984. Abstract for "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies" and cover letter by Dunayevskaya, both written March 28, 1984, with marginalia not by Dunayevskaya.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15790.pdf>

Included also are entry on "Raya Dunayevskaya" as published; drafts of abstract by Olga Domanski; Dunayevskaya revision of Domanski draft with a note to Domanski. For other entries on "Raya Dunayevskaya," see 10216 and 15556.

Correspondence and presentations related to Marx and anthropology  
Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Mikhail Vitkin.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15795.pdf>

Four letters from Vitkin, written Jan. 15, June 21, July 12, and December 1983, in Russian with marginalia by Dunayevskaya on all but June 21 letter. Included also are Jan. 15 and June 21 letters translated by Stephen Steiger. Dunayevskaya letters to Vitkin are missing.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Teodor Shanin.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15807.pdf>

Two letters from Dunayevskaya, written May 25 and July 8, 1983, on Shanin's "style" of writing on Marx's last decade versus her own, with marginalia not by Dunayevskaya on July 8 letter; one letter from Shanin,

written June 21, 1983, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. Included also is Dunayevskaya's letter to Michael Connolly, written June 10, 1984, on Connolly's review of Shanin's Late Marx and The Russian Road.

Dunayevskaya letter to Maxime Rodinson, written July 27, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15813.pdf>

On Rodinson's book Islam and Capitalism as it relates to Marx's Ethnological Notebooks.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and David McLellan.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15814.pdf>

Two letters from Dunayevskaya, written July 28 and Aug. 18, 1983, thanking McLellan for promising to review Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, and one letter from McLellan, written Aug. 12, 1983. July 28 letter is a typed summary.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Sept. 28, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15818.pdf>

Reports on Dunayevskaya's participation in the New School conference. Included also is presentation by Dunayevskaya and remarks by Michael Connolly to the Resident Editorial Board, given Sept. 27, 1983.

Dunayevskaya card to Cynthia Williams, written Oct. 3, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15822.pdf>

On visiting the Kinomaagew-gamig Cultural Center at Walpole Island, Ontario. Typed copy of handwritten note. Included also is Cynthia Williams letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 23, 1983.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mary Holmes, written Oct. 1, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15824.pdf>

On publishing the New School conference paper in Mexico. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to Alicia Hammer, written Sept. 27, 1983, on the Mexican edition of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Marvin Gettleman.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15827.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15830.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15834.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15836.pdf>

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.

"The Science of Anthropology: An Essay on The Very Old Marx" by Donald R. Kelley, Journal of the History of Ideas, April-June 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15850.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15852.pdf>

Extends the category of Post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative to Western Marxists including Karl Korsch. For final draft of letter, written Feb. 20, 1983, see 15357.

Notes by Dunayevskaya on Douglas Kellner ed., Karl Korsch: Revolutionary Theory (1977), and Karl Korsch, Marxism and Philosophy (1970).

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15872.pdf>

Marginalia by Dunayevskaya on Korsch bibliography by Patrick Goode, and on writings by Paul Mattick and Paul Piccone.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15875.pdf>

Date of marginalia on Mattick article is unknown; for Dunayevskaya notes on Mattick article, see 14637.

Marx and The Black World and a new edition of American Civilization on Trial

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Robert Hill.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15914.pdf>

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).

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Jan. 25, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15918.pdf>

On Black Studies and women's liberationists "becoming a centerpoint of the tour."

Dunayevskaya letter to Lou Turner, Mike Connolly, and Eugene Walker, written Feb. 3, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15919.pdf>

On Marxist-Humanist participation in the Fifth Annual Afro-American Writers' Conference at Howard University. Included also is Lou Turner letter to "Dear Friends," written Feb. 16, 1983, on the conference, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya letter to Coleman Chauncey, written Feb. 7, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15925.pdf>

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.

Charles Denby letter to Dunayevskaya, published in Denby's "Worker's Journal" column, News & Letters, June 1983.

**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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15963.pdf>

On Skotaville Publishing company in South Africa. Included also is Olga Domanski letter to John Alan, written May 8, 1984.

Dunayevskaya letter to Robert Hill, written May 11, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Calvin Brown, written May 17, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mike T., written Sept. 14 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15981.pdf>

On a "philosophic discussion" of the Miners' General Strike.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written March 1, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, made May 8, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Summations of two sessions of the News and Letters Committees convention, July 7-8, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/15993.pdf>

On the Miners' General Strike, worker-writers in News & Letters, and Marxist-Humanist Perspectives.

Notes and marginalia on articles and letters studied by Dunayevskaya for work on the Miners' General Strike pamphlet.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16031.pdf>

See also 10200.

The death of Charles Denby, editor of News & Letters

Dunayevskaya letter "To Marxist-Humanists, Nationally and Internationally, and Friends of Charles Denby, Editor of News & Letters," written Oct. 11, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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 reorganization of News & Letters; Harry McShane letter to Dunayevskaya, written Oct. 26, 1983, typed copy of handwritten note.

Raya at the funeral for Simon Owens (Charles Denby).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16039.pdf>

Remarks by Dunayevskaya, made Oct. 15, 1983.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Oct. 19, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16040.pdf>

On ramifications of the death of Denby for News & Letters. Included also are remarks by Dunayevskaya to the Resident Editorial Board, made Oct. 18, 1983, and Dunayevskaya letter to Dave Park, written Oct. 25, 1983, typed copy of handwritten letter. Both are on her article, "Charles Denby, Worker-Editor." For article, written Oct. 24, 1983 and published in News & Letters, November 1983, see 8033.

Notes for Dunayevskaya's remarks at the memorial meeting for Charles Denby, held Nov. 6, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to John Marcotte, written Dec. 5, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16059.pdf>

Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution and U.S. Imperialist Invasion

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Nov. 2, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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>

Outline of Dunayevskaya's lead-editorial article for News & Letters titled "Reagan's Imperial Invasion and Conquest of Grenada: The Three-Way Drive to War: Grenada, Endless Militarization, Retrogression on Black Rights." For Dunayevskaya's article, her Political-Philosophic Letter, and an eye-witness account from Grenada, published as "Grenada: Revolution. Counter-Revolution and Imperialist Invasion," see 8036. Included also is a "P.S." added to Political-Philosophic Letter, written Jan. 7, 1984.

Dunayevskaya letter to Dave Black, written April 9, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <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>

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>

## ***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."

Dunayevskaya presentation to an expanded meeting of the Resident Editorial Board, given Jan. 1, 1984.

**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.

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Jan. 17, 1984.

**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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Jan. 30, 1984.

**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>

On "what a body of ideas, as unity of mental/manual, means." Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written Feb. 7, 1984; revised "Table of Contents for Lecture 1"; Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues" in New York, written March 7, 1984.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written March 21, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Dec. 5, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16233.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16236.pdf>

Includes eight letters written between Dec. 18, 1983 and Oct. 30, 1984, on the development of Marxist-Humanism in Chicago, New York, and the San Francisco Bay Area, and on responsibility for Marxist-Humanism. Included also is Mary Holmes reply to one letter.

Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, written Jan. 20, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16249.pdf>

On "concrete totality" as it relates to News & Letters. Included also is Walker letter to Dunayevskaya, written Feb. 1, 1984. Both contain marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written March 13, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16253.pdf>

On projecting Marxist-Humanism as "a walking body of ideas."

Dunayevskaya letter to the Philosophic-Technical Committee of News Letters, written April 2, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16256.pdf>

On Chicago as new home "to plan each issue never for a moment forgetting the universality of what we are."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 23, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16257.pdf>

On how Marxist-Humanists respond to ongoing labor battles and "points of crises" in the Middle East.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues," written July 14, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16259.pdf>

On the philosophic ground and historic roots of reorganization of News and Letters Committees and News & Letters newspaper.

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Sept. 10, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16262.pdf>

On "Universals of philosophy as they relate to organization." Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Sept. 11, 1984.

Not By Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory

Call for Convention to Work Out Perspectives for 1984-85

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16265.pdf>

written by Dunayevskaya, April 6, 1984.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written April 18, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16269.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya remarks to Resident Editorial Board, made May 8, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16272.pdf>

On "Theory/Practice as the unique characteristic of the whole" News & Letters. Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to John Marcotte, written May 13, 1984, and Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, written June 13, 1984, on projecting what's new "in the Hegelian sense" in News & Letters.

Dunayevskaya remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, made May 22, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16276.pdf>

On new stage reached in Marxist-Humanism in the decade of 1974-84, and on the division between philosophy and organization.

Dunayevskaya remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, made May 29, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written June 4, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Aug. 1, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

Dunayevskaya letter to John Marcotte, written Nov. 2, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16308.pdf>

On reactionary times when "nothing is more urgently imperative than 'not by practice alone.'"

Excerptas de Perspectivas Marxista-Humanistas.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16339.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Aug. 21, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16347.pdf>

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."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16365.pdf>

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Sept. 26, 1984. On additions to "Introduction and Overview" on "Life" and organization, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya on entire minutes. Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Sept. 27, 1984, on developing "a full body of ideas"; Dunayevskaya letter to Simon Silverman, written Sept. 17, 1984; Dunayevskaya letter to Michelle Landau, written Sept. 26, 1984; bibliographic table of contents for the new book, compiled by Landau, December 1984, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Manuscript of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16379.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Katherine Davenport, written Sept. 20, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16412.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mary Holmes, written Jan. 1, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16419.pdf>

On New York as cultural center, "Life' in Hegel's Science of Logic, and "talking to oneself," with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

'The 4th book and concentration on March 21 for the whole organization...'

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Feb. 17, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16420.pdf>

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

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16425.pdf>

with marginalia by Dunayevskaya and marginalia not by her.

Dunayevskaya letter to Anne Jaclard, written May 23, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16428.pdf>

On projecting Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution in New York.

Dunayevskaya letter to Neda Azad, written July 1, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16435.pdf>

On "a new book on dialectics of the 'Party'" and projections of Marxist-Humanism in India.

Dunayevskaya letter to John Marcotte, written July 20, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16436.pdf>

On projecting Marxist-Humanism in Mexico.

Dunayevskaya's inscriptions in Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution to Harry McShane, written Sept. 5, 1985, and to Ana Maria Portugal, Margarita Segura and Richard Huett, written Oct. 1, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16439.pdf>

On learning from critique.

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written probably in December 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Oct. 8, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16468.pdf>

Transcript not checked by Dunayevskaya.

Marginalia by Dunayevskaya on Eugene Walker class presentation

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16476.pdf>

given Nov. 11, 1984.

C. Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation

"3 dates." Dunayevskaya notes, written Jan. 4, 1985, on the relation of Marx, Lenin, and Marxist-Humanism to Hegel.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16489.pdf>

Contents page for Lecture Jan. 27, 1985 on: Dialectics of Revolution and of Women's Liberation by Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16491.pdf>

Contents page and notes for lecture given Jan. 27, 1985. Included also is contents page for distribution at lecture.

A Lecture Delivered in Chicago, Jan. 27–Feb. 3, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16495.pdf>

Contents page and manuscript of lecture by Dunayevskaya, with marginalia by her and marginalia on 16516 not by her. The lecture, given in two parts, concluded the class series on "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and The Dialectics of Revolution." Concluding page is missing.

Practicing Philosophy OR What Flows from the Dec. 30, 1984 and Jan. 27, 1985 Meetings for Ongoing Activities and Projection of Future Activity.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16517.pdf>

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Jan. 29, 1985.

Special Bulletin on "Marxist-Humanism as a Body of Ideas: Dialectics of Revolution—American Roots and World Humanist Concepts." Contains Jan. 27–Feb. 3, 1985 lecture and "In Memoriam" to Charles Denby by Dunayevskaya, and presentations by Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly, and Olga Domanski.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16520.pdf>

Included are pages from two copies of bulletin with marginalia by Dunayevskaya; date of marginalia is unknown. For complete bulletin, see 8348.

Wayne State University exhibit and lecture on the life and work of Raya Dunayevskaya

Philip P. Mason, director of Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, letter to Raya Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 4, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16536.pdf>

On arrangements for a lecture and exhibit at Wayne State University. Included also is Olga Domanski letter to Mason, written Jan. 12, 1985, confirming arrangements.

Olga Domanski letter to Philip P. Mason, written Jan. 15, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16538.pdf>

On "Items proposed for Raya Dunayevskaya Collection Exhibit." Included also are list of items, and Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski, written March 14, 1985, on Reagan and on "when RD wrote literary reviews [for] the Negro Champion" in 1927.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Jan. 30, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16544.pdf>

On "a wealth of new-old material" that belongs in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. Included also are Peter Wermuth letter to Mike Connolly and Olga Domanski, written Jan. 16, 1985 (misdated as 1984), on the material found in Los Angeles, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya; "In Memoriam" articles for Simon Silverman and Alexander Erlich, News & Letters, January–February 1985. See also 16906.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Feb. 6, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16548.pdf>

On covering "the range of a half century of writings and activities" in the lecture and special bulletin, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. Included also are draft of letter, with revisions dictated by Dunayevskaya, and Dunayevskaya letter to "Local Organizers," written Feb. 11, 1985, on "unchaining the dialectic" in Marxist-Humanism.

Dunayevskaya letter to David Joravsky, written Feb. 17, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16557.pdf>

On "fellow traveling with you" in Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.

"March 21—Detroit WSU-Sponsored Meeting on the Archives..."

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16559.pdf>

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."

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16564.pdf>

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>

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given May 13, 1985. Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written May 14, 1985; Dunayevskaya letter to "The Bay Area NEB..." written May 13, 1985, on "three fundamental theoretic contributions to Marxism of our age"; "Sudan," notes written April 1985; "Notes on Outline for Sudan Article," written April 25, 1985.

Dunayevskaya letter to Bess Gogol, written June 18, 1985.

**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>

Written by Dunayevskaya, June 28, 1985 and published in "Pre-Plenum Discussion Bulletin 1," July 1985. Included is bulletin introductory note. Both contain marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written July 2, 1985.

**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.

Dunayevskaya remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, made Sept. 13, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16605.pdf>

On re-thinking 1941 as a point of departure in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.

Dunayevskaya letter to Tony S., written Nov. 24, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16606.pdf>

On "my next book, Dialectics and The Party," and the death of Bernard Wolfe. Included also are Tony S. letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 12, 1985, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya; "In Memoriam" for Bernard Wolfe as it appeared in News & Letters, December 1985.

Publicity about the Wayne State University exhibit and lecture on the life and work of Raya Dunayevskaya.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16631.pdf>

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given June 3, 1985. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written June 4, 1985.

Dunayevskaya letter to Ted Rosmer, written June 5, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16636.pdf>

On Marxist-Humanism's "unique combination of worker and intellectual" and on Marxist-Humanism and the Middle East. Included also is Rosmer letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 25, 1985.

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given June 17, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16639.pdf>

On "Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism in the Historic Mirror: A Revolutionary-Critical Look (Report by Raya on Theory/Practice's Retrospective Look at the First 15 years of N&L, Part One of the 30-Years of N&L" and "Why the Big Move to Chicago; What We Did This Year; Perspectives for the Future.") Included are typed copy of presentation; minutes which include presentation as well as remarks on why a book on "the Party" is necessary; meeting agenda.

Dunayevskaya letter to John Marcotte, written June 21, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16656.pdf>

On practicing methodology "by showing what it is in any specific stage."

Dunayevskaya presentation and remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, given July 10, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16658.pdf>

On the draft of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 1985-86. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written July 31, 1985. For the perspectives draft as published, see 10342.

Dunayevskaya letter to John W., written July 12, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16663.pdf>

On Kansas and Abolitionism.

"The 1970s and '80s Retrospective and the New Pamphlet."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16665.pdf>

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Sept. 30, 1985, on Part III of her column on "30 Years of News & Letters," For the pamphlet, published as The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II, see 11450.

Dunayevskaya letter to Dave Park, written Sept. 30, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16667.pdf>

On factory shutdowns and state-capitalist planning.

Dunayevskaya notes on News and Letters from 1970 to 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16668.pdf>

Marginalia by Dunayevskaya on "When Archives Are Not Past, But Are Living" by Michael Connolly, and on 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism, with only pages containing marginalia by Dunayevskaya. For complete pamphlet, see 6383.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16696.pdf>

A new edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought

Dunayevskaya letter to John Alan, written June 20, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16728.pdf>

On the Caribbean and C.L.R. James. Included also is John Alan letter to Lou Turner, written July 3, 1985.

Marginalia by Dunayevskaya on "The Black Dimension and The Caribbean" by Lou Turner.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16734.pdf>

Includes draft of subreport and minutes of subreport to 1985 News and Letters Committees plenum. Plenum subreport proposed a new edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought with a new Introduction. For Dunayevskaya remarks at the News and Letters Committees plenum on C.L.R. James and Grenada, see 17243.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Sept. 13, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16746.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16767.pdf>

For article, see 10385. Included also is John Alan letter to Dunayevskaya, written Sept. 19, 1985.

Dunayevskaya letter to John Alan, written Oct. 11, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16798.pdf>

McKay's letter also contains marginalia not by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Nov. 19, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16807.pdf>

On "a new type of dialogue, a new kind of periphery" in Dunayevskaya's New York lecture tour.

Dunayevskaya letter to Susan Van Gelder, written Nov. 29, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16823.pdf>

Dunayevskaya letter to John Alan and the Resident Editorial Board, written Jan. 17, 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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

Dunayevskaya letter to Azadkar, written Jan. 3, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16831.pdf>

On Marx and historic roots of the Iranian revolutions. Included also is Azadkar letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 25, 1982.

Dunayevskaya letter to Neda Azad, written Jan. 20, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16833.pdf>

On Marxism and Feminism, edited by Lydia Sargeant. Included also is Azad to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 18, 1983, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Wermuth, written Feb. 25, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16836.pdf>

On the articulation of a new moment and the "Stalin chapter" in Marxism and Freedom as it relates to Ahmad Sultan-Zadeh.

Dunayevskaya to Raha, written May 10, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16838.pdf>

On Raha's draft introduction to the Iranian edition of Nationalism. Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, published in "Pre-Convention Bulletin No. One," July 1983. Included also is draft of introduction in English, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. For introduction as published in News & Letters, August–September 1983, see 7682. For complete Farsi pamphlet, see 7684.

Dunayevskaya letter to Neda Azad, written June 9, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16846.pdf>

On Lenin's theory of national self-determination. Included also is Azad letter to Dunayevskaya, written June 1, 1983, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Raha on first Farsi edition of Marx's 1844 Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16856.pdf>

Included are exchanges of letters in 1983 and 1985. Included also is Raha's preface, written May 1, 1985, and published as "Why The Publication of Marx's Humanist Essays Now?" in "The San Francisco Bay Area Pre-Plenum Discussion Bulletin, 1985." For Dunayevskaya's "Special Introduction" in English, see 6034 and 15175; in Farsi, see 6198. For introduction and preface as published with essays, see 10476. For Dunayevskaya letter to Raha, written Nov. 3, 1979, on philosophy and organization in Marx's early writings, see 15209.

Dunayevskaya letter to Azadkar, written Jan. 7, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16863.pdf>

On presenting Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letter on Grenada to an Iranian audience, with addendum by Olga Domanski. Included also is Azadkar letter to Dunayevskaya, written Dec. 31, 1983, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya letter to Neda Azad, written Jan. 19, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16867.pdf>

On Azad's draft statement for "Anjomane Azadi Zan (Women's Liberation Committee)" and the "decentralized committee-form" of organization. Included also are fragment of Azad cover letter to Dunayevskaya, written Jan. 11, 1984, and draft statement with marginalia by Dunayevskaya, and revised statement.

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin A. Barry, written May 23, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16876.pdf>

On "a new sense of objectivity" in the Middle East and "the very, very needed subjectivity of Marxist-Humanism."

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Roy.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16878.pdf>

Includes letters written between July 15, 1984 and Dec. 30, 1985, four from Dunayevskaya and three from Roy, with marginalia on three letters, and marginalia on one page of Roy letter to Lou Turner. On Dunayevskaya's critical relationship to Marcuse and the Iranian Revolution; Lenin and national self-determination; Hegel's Absolutes and Marxist-Humanism; Roy's article, "The human being and organization." Dunayevskaya's Sept. 11, 1985 letter also discusses her next book on "the Dialectic of 'the Party'."

Dunayevskaya letter to Neda Azad, written Oct. 7, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16892.pdf>

On using Hegel's methodology of "points of division" to study Ahmad Sultan-Zadeh. Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to Azad, written August 1984; Azad cover letter to Dunayevskaya, written Aug. 23, 1984, and prospectus for a study of "The Writings of Ahmad Sultan-Zadeh," both with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Wermuth, written Jan. 29, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16906.pdf>

On Lebanon's "75-76 Civil War as the determining question" in the Middle East; sources on India.

Dunayevskaya letter to Hanna Batatu, written Jan. 18, 1986.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16908.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16910.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16913.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16937.pdf>

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."

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16942.pdf>

Typed copy of essay by Dunayevskaya for "The Unknown Fromm," edited by Lutz von Werder. Included also are Dunayevskaya cover letter, written April 17, 1984; von Werder letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 21, 1984, in German; translation of von Werder letter with marginalia by Dunayevskaya; German translation of Dunayevskaya's essay, published as "Erich Fromm als sozialistischer Humanist" in *Der unbekannte Fromm: Biographische Studien*, L. von Werder, ed. (Frankfurt: Haag and Herchen, 1987); Dunayevskaya letter to Simon Silverman, written Aug. 9, 1984. For the English translation of Fromm's unpublished Preface to the German edition of *Philosophy and Revolution*, see 10051.

### Antonio Gramsci-Rosa Luxemburg conference

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Ulrich Schreiber and Bernd Röttger, organizers of the Antonio Gramsci-Rosa Luxemburg conference in Hamburg, Germany, Sept. 3-5, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16956.pdf>

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.

#### "Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts and the Fetish of High Tech"

Dunayevskaya letter to Franklin Dmitryev, written Jan. 27, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16974.pdf>

On the anti-nuke movement and "the relationship of science to Marxism in general and revolution in particular."

Dunayevskaya letter to Franklin Dmitryev, written Oct. 5, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16976.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Oct. 31, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16986.pdf>

On "Bukharin's 1931 paper presented at the London world 'Science' conference."

Dunayevskaya letter to Ted Rosmer, written Nov. 2, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16987.pdf>

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.

Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written Feb. 23, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16988.pdf>

On those who have avoided publishing Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts.

Dunayevskaya letter to Ted Rosmer, written April 1, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16989.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/16990.pdf>

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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17020.pdf>

Commentaries and reviews

1 Commentary on Nikolai Bukharin and the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism by Michael Haynes

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17047.pdf>

"Reader Raya Dunayevskaya's Commentary on Nikolai Bukharin and the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism by Michael Haynes." Critique of manuscript. Included also are Dunayevskaya cover letter to Simon Silverman, written Dec. 18, 1983, on analysts of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution; draft of commentary, with revisions dictated by Dunayevskaya; Silverman letter to Dunayevskaya, written Nov. 15, 1983; Dunayevskaya letter to Silverman, written Nov. 17, 1983.

Review of The Communist Ideal in Hegel and Marx by David MacGregor for Insurgent Sociologist

Dunayevskaya letter to Mahomad, written Sept. 30, 1984.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17056.pdf>

On the final chapter of The Communist Ideal in Hegel and Marx, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Chris Huxley.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17058.pdf>

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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17082.pdf>

Included are letters and notes written between Jan. 7 and Dec. 14, 1983. Dunayevskaya's May 30, 1983 letter is typed copy of handwritten note, and Sept. 13, 1983 note was not delivered. On Gornick's view of Margaret Fuller and on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Dunayevskaya letter to Maria Isabel Barreno, written June 21, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17092.pdf>

On Marx and women's liberation. Included also is Barreno inscription to Dunayevskaya in La disparition de la mère.

Dunayevskaya letter to Blanche Cook, written Nov. 15, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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

Frigga Haug, "Soziale Bewegungen und Politik. Frauen-Politik." Das Argument-Beiheft '83 (Berlin).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17103.pdf>

Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Charlotte MacKenzie, "Rosa." May 6-12, 1983, City Limits (London).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17104.pdf>

Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Neda Azad, "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution." Autumn 1984, Debacle (Calcutta).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17105.pdf>

Review.

Michelle Landau, "Review Essay: Woman as Revolutionary Reason."

Women's Studies International Forum (Oxford), Vol. 7, No. 5, 1984 (special issue featuring Hypatia).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17117.pdf>

Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Durica Segota, El universal (Mexico), Aug. 3, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17118.pdf>

Review of Rosa Luxemburg, la liberación femenina y la filosofía marxista de la revolución, in Spanish.

Maria Elvira Bermudez, Revista mexicana de cultura (Mexico), Aug. 18, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17120.pdf>

Review of Rosa Luxemburg, la liberación femenina y la filosofía marxista de la revolución, in Spanish.

Reviewer unknown. La Jornada (Mexico), Aug. 25, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17121.pdf>

Review of Rosa Luxemburg, la liberación femenina y la filosofía marxista de la revolución, in Spanish.

Non-Marxist Hegel scholars

George Armstrong Kelly

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and George Armstrong Kelly.

Included are three letters from Dunayevskaya and seven from Kelly written between Jan. 6, 1983 and December 1984, and notes.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17122.pdf>

Dunayevskaya discusses Hegel's "attack on Catholicism as the attack on the elitist monolithic party" and Rosa Luxemburg; Kelly's analysis of the final paragraph of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind; critiques of and relations with Anna Louise Strong and Tracy B. Strong. Marginalia on letters from Kelly written Feb. 2 and April 12, 1984 are by Dunayevskaya; December 1984 card contains marginalia not by Dunayevskaya and is signed also by Joanne Kelly. Second copy of Jan. 24, 1984 letter from Dunayevskaya includes corrections dictated by her. Dunayevskaya letters to Kelly written May 3, 1983, November 1983, and May

1, 1984 are missing. For Kelly's review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, see 10171.

Louis Dupré

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Louis Dupré.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17137.pdf>

Included are one letter from Dunayevskaya and four from Dupré written between April 20, 1984 and December 1985, two with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. On Dunayevskaya's review of Dupré's Marx's Social Critique of Culture and Dupré's review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Dunayevskaya's letter, written Dec. 13, 1984, is typed copy. Dunayevskaya letter to Dupré, written April 28, 1984, is missing. For Dunayevskaya's review, see 8267. For Dupré's review, see 11310.

Warren and Barbara Steinkraus

Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Warren and Barbara Steinkraus.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17143.pdf>

Included are one letter from Dunayevskaya and two from Warren and Barbara Steinkraus, written between Sept. 9, 1985 and Oct. 20, 1985, on review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Bat-Ami Bar On. For review, see 10197.

## ***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

Dunayevskaya letter to Michael Connolly, written Nov. 13, 1982.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17147.pdf>

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>

On her 1980s View as "the combination of the challenge to Post-Marx Marxism and...ourselves" and "philosophy as ground for organization" as it relates to Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program, autonomy, and the designation "Marxist-Humanism."

Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written July 25, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17150.pdf>

On "1) What the Marx Centenary and the National Tour taught us about ourselves, especially re Marx vs. Engels; 1875 vs. 1891. 2) The philosophic ground of the trilogy of revolution and what philosophic ground meant to Lenin, Luxemburg and Gramsci. 3) The specificity of Marxist-Humanism, as well as the ground of the 1983-84 Perspectives, with great emphasis on Organization."

Dunayevskaya letter to Harry McShane, written Aug. 15, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://rayadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17152.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/17155.pdf>

Critique of proposed amendments to the News and Letters Committees Constitution, with revisions dictated by Dunayevskaya. See also 15538; for proposals, see 7819; and for Constitution as amended, see 7993.

Olga Domanski letter to Bess Gogol, written Aug. 11, 1983.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17160.pdf>

Transmits message from Dunayevskaya to Gogol on "Organizational Growth and the Dialectics of 'Revolution in Permanence'" by Peter Wermuth. Included also is Wermuth's essay as it appeared in "Pre-convention Discussion Bulletin Number Four," August 1983, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

**Philosophy/Organization; Organization/Philosophy: as Path to Revolution.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17167.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17174.pdf>

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Resident Editorial Board, given Oct. 22, 1984, on attitudes to organization in Marxist-Humanism since 1958. The first public discussion on why "a whole new book" is necessary to "concretize organizational responsibility for the philosophy we have founded." Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends," written Oct. 23, 1984; letter to Anne Jaclard and the New York NEB, written Oct. 10, 1984, on Marxist-Humanism in England and Scotland; letters to N., Dick (Richard Bunting), Dave (Black) and Celia, and Lydia, written Oct. 23, 1984.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Neda Azad, written Nov. 20, 1984.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17185.pdf>

On why "Party and Organization are not synonymous"; Marx and the "Organization Question" in Critique of the Gotha Program; organization inseparable from "philosophic roots and vision."

**Dunayevskaya letter to Anne Jaclard, written Dec. 3, 1984.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17187.pdf>

On "subjectivity of the Notion" versus "petty bourgeois subjectivity"; Lenin "never relating dialectics and the Critique of the Gotha Program to organization"; "how historically and philosophically I look at any mistake." Contains marginalia by Dunayevskaya. Included also are Dunayevskaya presentation, with marginalia by her, and letter to the Resident Editorial Board, both dated Dec. 3, 1984.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Jim Mills, written Feb. 26, 1985.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17196.pdf>

On "A Revolutionary Critical Look over the Historic Barrier" by Jim Mills. Included also is essay by Mills. Both contain marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Kevin Anderson, written Feb. 27, 1985**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17208.pdf>

On "What Is Dialectics" by Eduardo Vasquez.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Eugene Walker, written March 14, 1985.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17209.pdf>

On revisions to lecture at Wayne State University, March 21, 1985, and "my next work on the Party, the Party." For typed copy of lecture, see 8394. For letter to Olga Domanski on reverse side, see 16538.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Dick (Richard Bunting), written May 6, 1985.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17210.pdf>

On "membership in a world Marxist-Humanist movement" as it relates to Britain.

**Dunayevskaya letter to David Joravsky, written May 15, 1985.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17213.pdf>

On "Organizational Interlude" in Marxism and Freedom, and submitting "the question of Party" to Absolute Method in a new book. Included also is Joravsky letter to Dunayevskaya, written April 14, 1985, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Andy Phillips, written June 14, 1985.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17215.pdf>

On shop floor activism and discussions. Included also is Dunayevskaya letter to Phillips, written May 7, 1985.

**Dunayevskaya letter to Peter Wermuth, written June 28, 1985.**

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17217.pdf>

On projecting the dialectics of revolution and of thought as they relate to youth. For Wermuth's essay, "A 1980s View of Youth as a Revolutionary Category," published in "Pre-Plenum Discussion Bulletin 4," August 1985, see 10306.

Dunayevskaya letter to Mihailo Markovic, written June 28, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17220.pdf>

On India and "when national revolutions are internationalist"; a new book on "Dialectics of the Party." Included also is Markovic letter to Dunayevskaya, written May 20, 1985.

Dunayevskaya letter to Gabriele Dietrich, written July 12, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17223.pdf>

On "the dialectics of the 'Party'" inseparable from the dialectics of revolution and thought and on Dietrich's review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Included also are Dietrich's review in Marxist Review (Calcutta), September 1985, with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. For Dietrich review in Das Argument-Beiheft, see 17113.

Dunayevskaya remarks to the Resident Editorial Board, made July 29, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17238.pdf>

On revolutionary finances and on projecting Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution to youth and women's liberationists.

Dialectics of Marxist-Humanism as Leadership at Turning Points in the History of Our Organization.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17240.pdf>

Presentation by Dunayevskaya, given Aug. 3, 1985, to the Resident Editorial Board, summarized in "In Lieu of R.E.B. minutes," written Aug. 6, 1985, by Michael Connolly and checked by Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya remarks at the News and Letters Committees plenum, made Aug. 31, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17243.pdf>

On recognizing new projections of Marxist-Humanism; C.L.R. James and the Caribbean; "building of the Marxist-Humanist organization."

The Self-Thinking Idea in a New Concept of and Relationship to the Dialectics of Leadership, as Well as the Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17246.pdf>

Dunayevskaya presentation to the Executive Session of News and Letters Committees plenum, given Sept. 1, 1985. Typed copy. For presentation excerpts as published in "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1985-86," Aug. 31–Sept. 1, 1985, see 10348.

Dunayevskaya letter to Ron Brokmeyer, written Sept. 12, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17259.pdf>

On Sartre, science, and Engels's Dialectics of Nature.

Dunayevskaya remarks at Resident Editorial Board, made Sept. 13, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.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://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17270.pdf>

On her New York lecture tour, "interest in the 5th book on the Dialectic of the Party," and selling Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution "as founders." Included also are Dunayevskaya letter to Ted, Suzanne, Jim, and Laurie, written Nov. 29, 1985, on projecting Marxist-Humanism in New York. For Dunayevskaya letter on New York tour, see 16807.

New Beginnings That Determine the End.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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"

Notes on Eric J. Hobsbawm, ed., The History of Marxism (1982).

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17310.pdf>

Dunayevskaya letter to Cyrus Noveen, written Nov. 20, 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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

Marxist-Humanism's View of Hegel's Absolutes: Draft of a Critical Essay by Lou Turner, written August 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17320.pdf>

Included are only pages with marginalia by Dunayevskaya. For complete essay, see 10318.

Eugene Walker letters and commentaries on writings by Monty Johnstone, John Cunliffe, Rossana Rossanda, and Robert Service, written September and December 1985.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.org/ArchivePDFs/17330.pdf>

For Dunayevskaya notes on Johnstone, Cunliffe, Rossanda, and Service see 10800.

The Newness of Our Philosophic-Historic Contribution.

**link to PDF file:** <http://ravadunayevskaya.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.

# THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA AUDIO-VIDEO TAPE COLLECTION

[The audio and video tapes are not yet available online.]

## 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.

April 1, 1997

[Audio Tapes](#)

[Video Tapes](#)

## **AUDIO TAPES**

### **I Presentation: Notes on Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks**

Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's 'Science of Logic' and Dunayevskaya's May 1953 Letters on Hegel's

Absolutes Jan. 1956

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

Hegel's "Spirit in Self-Estrangement," Marx's Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic and Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes. (Milligan translated Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic

Manuscripts into English.) March 6 [1959?]

[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 Philosophic 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

Self-activity of Black freedom struggle in the U.S. and impact of African revolutions on America [February] 1961

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

"Organizational principles," and critique of new books on Marx's Humanism  
Jan. 7, 1962

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

1 hour/13 minutes

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

1 hour/30 minutes

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

1 hour/39 minutes

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

59 minutes

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

"New Passions and New Forces," Subjectivity and the Party July 20, 1969

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/16 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)

1 hour/36 minutes

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

1 hour/33 minutes

Lecture Series on "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries," sponsored by University Center for Adult Education (Wayne State University College of Lifelong Learning and University of Michigan Extension Service), Detroit (Tapes 61-69):

64. Lecture 1: Russia 1917; Germany 1919; Portugal 1975

Sept. 22, 1975

7" reel

1 hour/4 minutes

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

1 hour/20 minutes

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

Lecture sponsored by Michigan-Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights. From Crispus Attucks and the Boston Massacre, to Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution Feb. 8, 1976

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

Events following Chou Enlai's death, and Mao's Thought in three periods:  
1935, 1955-57, and the 1970s

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

Note: Tape 89 on Side 2

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

Note: Tape 88 on Side 1

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

7" reel

1 hour/32 minutes

Note: Tape 97 on Side 2

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

cassette

1 hour/2 minutes

Lecture Series on Philosophy and Revolution, Wayne State University, Detroit (Tapes 104-107):

Lecture 1: Why Hegel? Why Now? And 20th Century New Passions and New Forces

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

Lecture on Karl Marx, 1841-1883, and Marxist-Humanism, 1941-1981, in context of Dunayevskaya's 25-Year History of Marxist-Humanism in the US

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

90 minutes

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

[1982?]

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

cassette

1 hour/22 minutes

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, WLWU

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

143. Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation — History and Its Process Lecture on Women's Liberation and Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future — Marx's

concept of history and the new in today's women's movement Nov. 13, 1985

New York University, New York City

cassette

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**

Lecture recorded at Agape House, University of Illinois, Chicago and in Dunayevskaya's library, Evanston. An overview of Dunayevskaya's three major works: Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution with focus on new book, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, Jan. 27 & Feb. 3, 1985

University of Illinois, Chicago and Evanston, Illinois

VHS, 1 hour/58 minutes

### **V-4. Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts**

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 has circled the word "negativity" in the text, drawn a line to her notation in the bottom margin, and has written:

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.

Hegel's *Logic*. Consequently, none of the Marxists for the past ½ century have understood Marx!!"<sup>1</sup>

And after he concluded his Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, Lenin summed up his new concept of dialectics by hitting out against "the father of Russian Marxism," Plekhanov: "Plekhanov wrote probably nearly 1,000 pages (Belov + against Bogdanov + against Kantjans + basic questions, etc. etc. on philosophy [dialectic]). There is in them nil about the Larger Logic (its thoughts (i.e., dialectic proper), as a philosophic (science) nil!"<sup>2</sup>

The emphasis that Lenin put on "dialectic proper, as a philosophic science" separated him from all other post-Marx Marxists, not only up to the Russian Revolution but also after the conquest of power. When he wrote to the editors of the projected new journal, *Under the Banner of Marxism*, asking them to consider themselves the "Materialist Friends of the Hegelian Dialectic," he stressed that they should let Hegel speak for himself, and should quote his writings extensively. What was most manifest of what he had gained from the 1914-15 Hegel studies was that the Hegelian dialectic needs to be studied "in and for itself." He articulated this most daringly in his 1915 essay "On Dialectics": "... clerical obscurantism (= philosophical idealism), of course, has epistemological roots, it is not groundless; it is a sterile flower undoubtedly, but a sterile flower that grows on the living tree of living, fertile, genuine-powerful, omnipotent, objective, absolute human knowledge."<sup>3</sup>

What stands out in Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic* is the length of time he spent in the Doctrine of Notion, especially as its last chapter reached the turning point of absolute negativity in the Absolute Method. Again, he stopped to quote Hegel: "In the absolute method the Notion preserves itself in its otherness, and the universal in its particularisation, in the judgement and in reality . . ." Then Lenin concluded: "This extract is not at all bad as a kind of summing up of dialectics."<sup>4</sup>

The reason Hegelian dialectics was so alive to Lenin was not due entirely to the profundity of his study. Rather, it was the objective world situation—the capitalist crisis that brought about the simultaneity of World War I and the collapse of established Marxism—which led the revolutionary materialist, Lenin, to single out the Absolute Method of the idealist philosopher, Hegel. With absolute negativity, Lenin worked out a political transformation into opposite: "Turn the imperialist war into civil war."

That Lenin kept his direct encounter with the Hegelian dialectic—his Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic*—to himself, however, shows the depth of the economist mire into which the whole Second International, and not just the German Social Democracy, had sunk; revolutionaries stood on the same ground!

As for Marx's 1844 Manuscripts, they were not published in Lenin's time. They first came to light eight years after Luxemburg's murder.<sup>5</sup> Some of Marx's early works had, however, become known when Mehring published

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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](#).