

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 struggles 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 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 Renaissance 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 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, signalled 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, 1928-39, I was translating for myself philosophic works of Marx, those that were listed by Ryazanov as "Preparatory Works for The Holy Family" and which we

now know as the famous Humanist Essays, 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 Coolidge (Ernest Rice McKinney), # 9008. The Schomburg Collection 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 (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 break-up of the state-capitalist tendency known as "Johnson-Forest", and the critique of all post-Marx Marxists. I called for a re-organization 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 "thorough-going 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 multi-linearism 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 con-

tinuous 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); Munis, a Spanish exile; Chaulieu and Vega, 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 Presence Africain 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 Alisdair MacIntyre, with Erich Fromm or Peter Bergmann, Jean Malaquais or Paul Piccone; Dixon Colley or John O'Neill, or even C.L.R. James and Grace Chin Lee, or whether it was with Leon Trotsky or Yoshimasa Yukiyama. 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 Retreat from Eleusis (1978). I answered Kelly in the introduction to my 1987 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 multi-linearism 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 Rene 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

Section I From the Impact of the Russian Revolution to the
Outbreak of World War II

A. Early Years, 1924-28

- 8470 (1) New words to the "Pledge of Allegiance". 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.
- 8471 (2) Cregier Public School strike, 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.
- 8473 (3) Harvester Worker. 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.
- 8481 (4) The Fourth National Convention, Workers (Communist) Party of America. 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.
- 8494 (5) Negro Champion. 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.
- 8511 (6) Eric Walrond letter to Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya), 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.
- 8512 (7) William Pickens letter to Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya), 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".
- 8514 (8) Associated Negro Press letter to Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya), 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".
- 8515 (9) Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) letter to Chauncey Townsend, 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.

- 8518 (10) Review of E.B. Reuter's The American Race Problem, 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.
- 8520 (11) Medallion with bust of V.I. Lenin. 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
- 8521 (1) Photographs of Dunayevskaya in New York. Taken September, 1928. Photographs held by the WSU Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs.
- 8523 (2) Leninbund, Germany. Memo to Max Shachtman, June 14, 1929. Early document of the German Left Opposition. Typescript in German. Also included is a 1929 Russian document from the Leninbund.
- 8527 (3) Sketch on Maxim Gorki's life and work, 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.
- 8529 (4) Max Sterling letter to Dunayevskaya, 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.
- 8535 (5) "Chicago branch in Militant drive". Article by Dunayevskaya in Militant, June 3, 1933.
- 8536 (6) National "Free Tom Mooney" conference. 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.
- 8537 (7) "Just Received! October Russian Bulletin". 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.
- 8538 (8) Russian Bulletin of the Opposition. Issues Nos. 5, 6, 7, 11, 12-13, 17-18, 19. October 1929-March 1931.
- 8771 (9) Special issue of the Militant, 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.
- 8772 (10) "On the Resolution of the National Youth Committee". 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.

- 8774 (11) "Organizing the Home Relief Workers". 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.
- 8776 (12) "Strike Struggles Continue Militant Traditions". Article by Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) in Young Spartacus, June, 1934. On the 1934 strike wave, which reached high points in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco, and its roots in the 1877 strikes, especially the St. Louis general strike. During June and July, 1934, Dunayevskaya participated in the street demonstrations of the San Francisco general strike.
- 8777 (13) Note on the first public meeting of the Spartacus Youth Club in Los Angeles. Published in Young Spartacus, June, 1934. Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) spoke on "War", May 9, 1934 and later gave classes to the youth. In this period Dunayevskaya participated in the Los Angeles free speech fight, protesting police restrictions on open air speeches.
- 8778 (14) Announcement for "The C.I. Turns Right Again", a forum in Los Angeles sponsored by the Workers Party of the U.S. Speakers are Charles Curtis and Rae Ruskin (Raya Dunayevskaya). Published in New Militant, Feb. 2, 1935.
- 8779 (15) Announcement of class in International Workers School (Los Angeles) on "Fundamental Party Principles for the Youth". Class by Rae Ruskin (Dunayevskaya). Printed in New Militant, March 2, 1935.
- 8780 (16) "Outline for Course in ABC of Marxism, Lesson IV". Class in International Workers School taught by Dunayevskaya, in Los Angeles, 1935. Fragment only.
- 8781 (17) Sara Weber letter to Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya), Sept. 11, 1936. On the security situation for Trotsky in Norway. Dunayevskaya was then living in Washington, D.C. and helped raise money for Trotsky's defense from sympathizers. During this period she was also involved in support work for striking Arkansas sharecroppers.
- 8783 (18) Albert Goldman letter to Leon Trotsky, June 11, 1937. Recommends Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) for job as secretary to Trotsky and describes some of her work from 1931-37.
- 8784 (19) Letters to and from Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) in Mexico with Leon Trotsky. Correspondents are James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman. September-November 1937. See # 2305 for other letters by Dunayevskaya as Trotsky's secretary. Also see # 2241 for Dunayevskaya's translation of Trotsky's "Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto", referred to in letter of Nov. 17, 1937.
- 8792 (20) Articles on the Spanish Revolution by Leon Trotsky in original typescript as transcribed/translated by Dunayevskaya. Articles include: 1) "The Insurrection in Barcelona", May 12, 1937; 2) "The Test of Ideas and of Individuals through the experience of the Spanish Revolution", Aug. 24, 1937; 3) "Answers to

- Questions Concerning the Spanish Situation", Sept. 14, 1937. See # 2241 for letter by Trotsky mentioning Dunayevskaya's translation of Trotsky's Civil War speeches on the Red Army, which were sent to Spain in December, 1938.
- 8809 (21) Photographs from Dunayevskaya's period in Mexico with Trotsky, 1937-38. Some signed by Trotsky. Includes signed photograph of Leon Trotsky, presented to Dunayevskaya when she left Mexico in 1938. The inscription reads: "To my dear Rae, who came at a difficult moment, as a true collaborator, in appreciation and with love, L. Trotsky". Photographs held by the WSU Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs.
- 8822 (22) "From Exile Trotsky Mocks His Foe". Article in New York Times by Arthur Pincus, March 27, 1938. Includes reference to Dunayevskaya.
- 8825 (23) "Trotsky, with Pistol at Hand Against Foes, Combats Invalidism to Spread His Doctrine". Article in New York World Telegram, May 14, 1938. Includes reference to Dunayevskaya.
- 8826 (24) Letters to and from Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) after her return to the U.S. Correspondents are Sara Weber and Lillian Curtis, on the Trotsky staff in Mexico. August-December, 1938.
- 8832 (25) Charles Malamuth letter to Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya), Nov. 2, 1938. On Dunayevskaya's search for a publisher for her article "The Man Trotsky". Malamuth translated Trotsky's book, Stalin, into English.
- 8835 (26) Articles by John F. Dwyer on his expulsion from the Socialist Party, and on left-wing activity in the party. 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.
- 8838 (27) Articles and ads by Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) in Socialist Appeal, 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.
- 8842 (28) Rae Spiegel (Dunayevskaya) to Max Shachtman, April 29, 1940. Summary of Dunayevskaya's translation of an article by Trotsky in Russian Bulletin of the Opposition.
- 8844 (29) Max Shachtman letter to "Freddie" (Raya Dunayevskaya), 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

- 8845 (1) Translations of extracts of Marx's unpublished writings 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.
- 8859 (2) Notes on Marx's letters on Capital not translated into English. A list made up from Russian sources by Dunayevskaya. Early 1940s.
- 8862 (3) Notes on Marx, Civil War in France and on Jellinek, The Paris Commune of 1871, by Dunayevskaya. Early 1940s.
- 8866 (4) Notes on Lenin's State and Revolution and Selected Works, 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.)
- 8873 (5) "Report of the Siberian Delegation, Second Congress of the Russian SDRP", 1903. Report by Trotsky. Resume of report by "FF" (Dunayevskaya). Early 1940s.
- 8879 (6) Notes on "Last Writing of Trotsky". Reference is to article published in Fourth International, December 1940. Notes by Dunayevskaya. Early 1940s.
- 8880 (7) "The Theory of Strumiline: What the Balance Ought to Contain". Unpublished critique by Dunayevskaya of this Russian economist. Undated.
- 8884 (8) Notes on Marxian Economics and Modern Economic Theory by Oscar Lange. Notes by Dunayevskaya. Undated.
- 8886 (9) Notes on An Essay on Marxian Economics by Joan Robinson. 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

- 8888 (1) "Is Russia Part of the Collectivist Epoch of Society?". Unpublished article by Dunayevskaya against views of Trotsky, Shachtman, and Carter. Unpublished typescript. 1942.

- 8895 (2) "The Law of Value and Capitalist Society". 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.
- 8922 (3) Library of Congress and New York Public Library letters to Rae Adams (Raya Dunayevskaya) on her research on Russia and on Marx and Luxemburg. March 1942 and April 1943.
- 8925 (4) Freddie Forest (Dunayevskaya) letters to Max Shachtman, November(?) 1942 and Feb. 24, 1943. On Tukhachevsky and on Russian war propaganda.
- 8927 (5) Dunayevskaya letters to C.L.R. James. Undated (early 1940s). On law of value and "how a commodity arises in the process of production".
- 8931 (6) C.L.R. James letters to Dunayevskaya. Sept. 13, 1943; rest undated (early 1940s). On Dunayevskaya's early work on development of state-capitalist theory. Handwritten.
- 8961 (7) F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) letter to Al Gates, Dec. 1, 1942. Draft of letter submitting "The Nature of the Russian Economy" for publication.
- 8962 (8) Correspondence surrounding the publication of "Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union" and "A New Revision of Marxian Economics" 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.
- 8982 (9) F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) letters to the Political Committee, Workers Party. 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.
- 8987 (10) Dunayevskaya letter to Shachtman. 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.
- 8989 (11) James T. Farrell letters to Dunayevskaya. Oct. 31, 1946 and Nov. 4, 1946. On Farrell's study of Dunayevskaya's articles in New International and in American Economic Review.
- 8997 (12) Lydia Beidel letter to Dunayevskaya, Dec. 1, 1946. On draft of Dunayevskaya's articles in New International.
- 8999 (13) Report of debate between Dunayevskaya and Shachtman, 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"

- 9008 (1) "Major Points in Coolidge's to be answered". 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.
- 9012 (2) "Com. Coolidge, Com. Trotsky and the Negro Question". Unpublished article by Dunayevskaya against David Coolidge. Typescript, 1946.
- 9023 (3) March on Washington movement literature, 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.
- 9032 (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. Published Feb. 14, 1944 and Oct. 8, 1945.
- 9034 (5) Notes on Collapse of Cotton Tenancy by Johnson, Embree and Alexander, and on Farmers in a Changing World (1940 Agricultural Yearbook). Undated.
- 9039 (6) Outline of speech on Black Boy by Richard Wright, given by Dunayevskaya in 1948(?).
- 9043 (7) "Industrialization of the Negro", 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

- 9047 (1) "Brief Resume of Marx's Capital, Vol. I". 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.
- 9068 (2) "Marx's Capital, Vol. I -- Its Aim, Structure and Scope". Typescript by Dunayevskaya is draft of part of her "Outline of Marx's Capital". Written 1945.
- 9078 (3) "Aim, Structure and Scope of Vol. I, Marx's Capital". Typescript of original Introductory lecture by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya), Nov. 16, 1945.
- 9084 (4) "Significance of Marx's Volume II of Capital for our Day". A summary lecture for the Capital class by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya). Given in 1946. For Dunayevskaya's "Outline of Capital, Vol. II", see # 385.
- 9107 (5) "Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx". Mimeographed handouts for Lectures 6, 7, and 8 of new series of classes by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya), given in 1947.

- 9111 (6) Ads for Dunayevskaya's classes in Capital as printed in Labor Action, 1945-47, and in brochure for Labor Action School.
- 9119 (7) "The Inevitability of Socialism and the Laws of Motion of Capitalist Society: A Reply to Comrade Gates". 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

- 9126 (1) Campaign against the "No-strike pledge". 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.
- 9157 (2) "Russian Secret Police, CHEKA-OGPU-NKVD-MVD". Article by Dunayevskaya written for Ten Eventful Years, an Encyclopedia Britannica volume edited by Walter Yust. January, 1947.
- 9166 (3) "Speech of F. Forest" (Dunayevskaya), March 2, 1947. On WP/SWP unity discussion. Published in Workers Party Internal Bulletin, May 27, 1947.
- 9171 (4) Dunayevskaya's trip to Europe, 1947, as representative of the state-capitalist tendency. 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.)
- 9184 (5) Grace Lee letter to "Rae" (Dunayevskaya), 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.
- 9186 (6) "The 31st Anniversary of the Russian Revolution". Outline of a speech by F. Forest (Dunayevskaya) to a meeting of the Pittsburgh branch of the Socialist Workers Party, Nov. 14, 1948.
- 9194 (7) Journalism by F. Forest in the Militant, 1948-51. 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.

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- (8) Natalia Trotsky letters to Dunayevskaya. 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.

A. Letters on the eve of Dunayevskaya's translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks

9209

- (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.

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

9224

- (1) RD to CLRJ. Oct. 5, 1949. On categories in Marx.
- (2) "Notes on Ch. 1 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.

C. The Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Road to the Break-Up of the State-Capitalist Tendency

- 9234 (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".
- 9250 (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.
- 9291 (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".
- 9328 (20) "Two Worlds: Notes from a Diary". 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. Debbs.

Section IV Marxist-Humanist Archives and International Relations

9357 A. First Draft of the Marxist-Humanist Archives, July, 1958

Earliest draft of what would become the "Raya Dunayevskaya Collection". Six-page outline of documents 1941-58, with a cover letter signed by the "REE", 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.

B. European Trip of 1959

- 9364 (1) "Della sinistra Internazionale: Memorandum Internazionale". Article by Dunayevskaya published in Italian in Prometeo, Milan, Italy, March 1957. An earlier article by Dunayevskaya had been published in Prometeo, Spring 1956.
- 9378 (2) Report on 1958 International meeting in Milan, Italy. 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.
- 9396 (3) Dunayevskaya letters to Bess, while Bess was in Europe as representative of News and Letters Committees. June 27, 1958 and July 15, 1958. On C.L.P. James' Facing Reality.
- 9403 (4) Dunayevskaya letter to Bess. March 20, 1959. 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.
- 9407 (5) Dunayevskaya letter to Bess. July 29, 1959. On preparation for trip to West Europe.
- 9410 (6) Dunayevskaya letters to Onorato Damen, Battaglia Comunista, Milan, Italy. 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.
- 9419 (7) Dunayevskaya letters to and from Jean Malaquais, Paris. May 28, 1958 through June 6, 1958. On their differing views of DeGaulle's rise to power and on the maturity of the proletariat.
- 9426 (8) Dunayevskaya letters to and from Maximilien Rubel. July 17, 1959 and Aug. 28, 1959. On Marxism and Freedom.
- 9429 (9) Dunayevskaya letters to Grandizio Munis. Sept. 14, 1958 and Oct. 20, 1958. On the break-up of the Johnson-Forest tendency and the publication of Marxism and Freedom.

- 9433 (10) Dunayevskaya's letters during her trip to Europe. 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.
- 9470 (11) Dunayevskaya speech to Italian workers meeting in Genoa, Italy. September, 1959. Typescript.
- 9474 (12) Dunayevskaya speech to meeting in Milan, Italy. Sept. 27, 1959. Typescript.
- 9478 (13) "Marx's Debt to Hegel". Speech by Dunayevskaya at University of Leeds, England. Oct. 14, 1959. Typescript.
- 9485 (14) Notes from the International Conference, Milan, Italy. Nov. 8, 1959. Notes for speech by Dunayevskaya and discussion.
- 9488 (15) "State Capitalism and the Bureaucrats". Article written by Dunayevskaya while on tour in England. Printed in Socialist Leader, Glasgow, Scotland, Jan. 2, 1960.
- 9494 (16) Dunayevskaya letter to Chaulieu and Vega. 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.
- 9495 (17) "The World Crisis and the Theoretic Void". 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.
- 9513 (18) "International Report" by Bess. 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.
- 9517 (19) "La teoria dell' accumulazione della Luxemburg" by Dunayevskaya. Article printed in Italian in Prometeo, January 1961.
- 9527 (20) "Premesse per l'analisi della crisi Cubana", by Dunayevskaya. Article printed in Italian in Prometeo, January 1963. On the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.
- 9533 (21) "La Sfida di Mao Tse-tung", 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.

C. Africa Trip of 1962

- 9573 (1) Dunayevskaya letters from Africa during her trip. March 28, 1962 through May 23, 1962. 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.
- 9600 (2) Notes on the Gambia. Taken by Dunayevskaya. On unions, and on the "Independence Manifesto of the Peoples Progressive Party".
- 9605 (3) Horoya, newspaper from Guinea. April 10, 1962 issue obtained by Dunayevskaya contains extract of Frantz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth.
- 9608 (4) Dunayevskaya letter to Leopold Sedar Senghor. May 15, 1960. On Marxism and Freedom and on his report to the Constitutive Congress of the Party of African Federation.
- 9609 (5) Dunayevskaya letter (for the National Editorial Board of News & Letters) to Thomas Kanza, UN Ambassador from the Congo. Feb. 17, 1961. On the murder of Patrice Lumumba. Also includes Kanza's reply, April 7, 1961.
- 9612 (6) Sekou Toure, President of Guinea, letter to Dunayevskaya. A reply to her letter of July 12, 1961.
- 9614 (7) Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends". Sept. 25, 1962. 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.
- 9622 (8) "Marxist-Humanism", 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.
- 9629 (9) "On the difference between a Political Tendency and a Political Movement". 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.
- 9635 (10) "Kofi", Ghana, report on situation in Ghana during Nkrumah period. Letter sent to News & Letters, July 14, 1963. Mailed from Takoradi, Ghana. Excerpts published in News & Letters, August-September 1963.
- 9675 (11) Dunayevskaya letter to "Eme", Nigeria, Dec. 11, 1963. On correspondence between Nigerian revolutionaries and those in the U.S. Also included is schedule of organizational meetings of "The Marxist-Humanist", Nigeria, 1964.

D. Japan and Hong Kong Trip, 1965-66

- 9678 (1) Dunayevskaya letters from Hong Kong and Japan during her trip, Nov. 25, 1965 through Jan. 2, 1966. 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.
- 9697 (2) "Lecture on Hegel in Japan". Typescript of lecture given in Tokyo, Jan. 2, 1966 to a group of activists and writers from Zenshin.
- 9711 (3) Brochure for Dunayevskaya lecture at Nagoya University, Japan. Dec. 13, 1965.
- 9723 (4) Dunayevskaya correspondence with Japanese friends in preparation for, and as follow-through to, the December 1965-January 1966 trip. Letters from Feb. 21, 1959 through May 21, 1966. Correspondents are Iwasaki Shigeo; Tadayuki Tsushima; Kenichi Koyama; Yoshimasa Yukiwama; Takaaki Sawa. For Dunayevskaya's analysis of the Japanese New Left that accompanied this correspondence, see her "Weekly Political Letter" of March 5, 1962.
- 9743 (5) Japanese translations of writings by Dunayevskaya and other Marxist-Humanists. 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.
- 9855 (6) "Discussion articles from Japan". Published as News and Letters Pre-Convention Bulletin #5, August 1966. Includes contributions from Zenshin on the class struggle in Japan and on the Vietnam War.
- 9873 (7) Newspaper and journal accounts of Dunayevskaya trip to Japan. December 1965 through January 1966.
- 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".

- 9887 (8) Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Friends", Jan. 18, 1966. Written after her return from Japan, on organization in Japan and in U.S. Marxist-Humanism.

Section V The Battle of Ideas

A. Correspondence with Herbert Marcuse, 1954-1978

- 9889 (1) Letters between Raya Dunayevskaya (RD) and Herbert Marcuse (HM) from Dec. 7, 1954 through Oct. 27, 1955. 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).
- 9900 (2) Dunayevskaya-Marcuse letters, Dec. 2, 1955 through Oct. 15, 1957. 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.
- 9923 (3) Dunayevskaya-Marcuse letters, Jan. 28, 1958 through July 15, 1958. 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.
- 9930 (4) Dunayevskaya-Marcuse letters, Aug. 8, 1960 through Jan. 12, 1961. 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.
- 9951 (5) Dunayevskaya-Marcuse letters, March 6, 1961 through Sept. 9, 1965. 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.

- 9966 (6) Dunayevskaya-Marcuse letters, May 16, 1967 through Jan. 31, 1978. 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.

B. Correspondence with Erich Fromm, 1959-1978

- 9976 (1) Letters between Raya Dunayevskaya (RD) and Erich Fromm (EF), June 6, 1959 through Dec. 8, 1961. 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".
- 9982 (2) Dunayevskaya-Fromm letters, Nov. 21, 1963 through Jan. 16, 1965. 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.
- 10005 (3) Dunayevskaya-Fromm letters, May 23, 1965 through Nov. 25, 1966. 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.
- 10012 (4) Dunayevskaya-Fromm letters, July 10, 1967 through Dec. 10, 1968. Seven letters. Includes EF's critique of Marcuse and RD's discussion. Comments also on Czechoslovakia dissidents after the Russian invasion of 1968.
- 10021 (5) Dunayevskaya-Fromm letters, July 25, 1971 through July 28, 1975. 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).
- 10049 (6) Dunayevskaya-Fromm letters, July 8, 1976 through Nov. 27, 1978. 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 1962 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.
- C. Two Letters on Marxism and philosophy
- 10062 (1) "Letter to Editor" by Dunayevskaya. Philosophy of Science, Vol. 23, No.3, July 1956. On Russian revisions of Marxism in economics and in philosophy.
- (2) "Letter to the Editor" by Dunayevskaya. New York Review of Books, 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.
- D. Correspondence with Silvio Frondizi, 1963
- 10064 Six letters between Dunayevskaya and Silvio Frondizi from March 28, 1963 through June 20, 1963. 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.
- E. Articles by Dunayevskaya published in "The Activist", a "student journal of politics and opinion" (Oberlin, Ohio), 1964-1968
- 10069 (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 Milroad 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.
- F. Dialogue with "Telos", (a journal of radical philosophy), 1970-72
- 10084 Six letters between Dunayevskaya and Paul Piccone, editor of Telos, 1970-72, on her articles for Telos and her participation in Telos conferences of 1970 and 1972. Included also are the announcements for both conferences.

G. Two Exchanges of Ideas on Dunayevskaya's Philosophy and Revolution

- 10093 (1) "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.

H. On "educators" and "the educated"

- 10098 A letter by Dunayevskaya in response to an inquiry on "socialist teaching", as published in Studies in Socialist Pedagogy, edited by Theodore Mills Norton and Bertell Ollman, 1978.

I. 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"

- 10103 (1) Reviews of Marxism and Freedom:
- 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.

- 10129 (2) Reviews of Philosophy and Revolution:
- 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)
- 10171 (3) Reviews of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution:
- a. Political Theory, Beverly Hills, California. November 1983. (George A. Kelly)
 - b. Dimensioni, 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 Newslines, New York. March 1985 (Dave Beasley)
 - g. Marxist Review, Calcutta. September 1985 (Gabrielle Dietrich)
- 10216 (4) Philosophers Index Retrospective Bibliography, 1978. 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

- A. From the March, 1985 Marxist-Humanist Archives Exhibit and Lecture to the August, 1985 National Plenum
- 10218 (1) "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts". 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.
- 10228 (2) "Marxist-Humanism, an interview with Raya Dunayevskaya". Interview published in the Chicago Literary Review, March 15, 1985.
- 10234 (3) "Youth and the Dialectics of Revolution Today" by Ida Fuller. A review of Dunayevskaya's Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution. Published in News & Letters, May 1985.
- 10236 (4) "Political-Philosophic Notes on Reagan's Visit to Bitburg". 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.
- 10239 (5) "Garvey Papers, Vol. III", a review-essay by Lou Turner on The Marcus Garvey Papers, edited by Robert Hill, 1984. Published in News & Letters, July 1985.
- 10241 (6) "Dunayevskaya on Rosa Luxemburg, women and revolution: a response to Peter Beilharz" 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 1, Melbourne, Australia, November 1984-March 1985.
- 10244 (7) Rosa Luxemburgo, la liberacion femenina y la filosofia marxista de la revolucion 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."
- (8) Pre-Plenum Discussion 1985: Documents from the News and Letters Committees Bulletins. These include:

- 10266 a. Pre-Plenum Discussion Bulletin #1, July, 1985. 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".
- 10306 b. "A 1980s View of Youth as a Revolutionary Category" by Peter, Los Angeles. Published in Pre-Plenum Discussion Bulletin #4, August, 1985.
- 10318 c. Pre-Plenum Discussion Bulletin #5, August, 1985. 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.
- 10342 d. "Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1985-86" by the Resident Editorial Board. Published in News & Letters, August-September, 1985.
- B. 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"
- 10348 (1) "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1985-86" by Raya Dunayevskaya. A report to the 1985 National Plenum of News and Letters Committees, held in Chicago, Aug. 31-Sept. 1, 1985.
- 10385 (2) "The Undeclared and Ongoing Civil War in South Africa" by Raya Dunayevskaya. A lead article in News & Letters, October 1985, which expands the analysis of South African events and the task of Marxist-Humanists given by Dunayevskaya at the 1985 Plenum.
- 10388 (3) "A View of Forms of Revolutionary Journalism: on the Road to a Bi-Weekly News & Letters" by Eugene Walker, Managing Editor. Published as Post-Plenum Bulletin #1, September 1985. A report to the 1985 Plenum.
- 10400 (4) Post-Plenum Bulletin #3, October 1985, 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.
- 10421 (5) "Still another version of the dialectic?" 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.
- 10422 (6) "Geneva 1985: the summit that wasn't" by Raya Dunayevskaya. An editorial published in News & Letters, December 1985, after the November 1985 meeting of Reagan and Gorbachev in Switzerland.
- 10424 (7) "A Decade in the Methodology of Marxist-Humanist Perspectives--1975-1985", 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 re-printing of the Table of Contents of each of them.
- 10476 (8) First Farsi publication of "Karl Marx: Economic Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844". Published by Anjoman Azadi (Iranian Marxist-Humanists), January 1986. Includes an Introduction to the Farsi edition by Raya Dunayevskaya, and a Preface by Raha, an Iranian revolutionary in exile.
- 10492 (9) "New Beginnings that Determine the End". 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.
- 10513 (10) "News & Letters Workshop Classes on Current Events and the Dialectic Method" by Raya Dunayevskaya. A "Theory/Practice" column published in News & Letters, January-February 1986.
- 10515 (11) "The concrete-Universal: a retrospective/perspective look at thirty years of News & Letters". 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.
- 10528 (12) Expanded 1986 edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, 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.

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Volume XII concludes on # 10637.