

SUPPLEMENT TO THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION

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

10640

VOLUME XIII: RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S LAST WRITINGS, 1986-1987 --  
TOWARD THE DIALECTICS OF ORGANIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The sudden death of Raya Dunayevskaya on June 9, 1987 halted in mid-course 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 which 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 points 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

Note to readers of the microfilm edition:

Bound Volumes of News & Letters, the newspaper of the Marxist-Humanist organization, News and Letters Committees, are now available for the period June, 1984 through July, 1987. These may be ordered from News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren Street, Chicago, IL 60605. Issues from January 1970 to the present are also available on microfilm. They may be ordered from University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Lectures by Raya Dunayevskaya are available on videotape at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, MI 48202.

\* The Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund was established in July, 1987. Its trustees are Olga Sufritz and Michael Flug. The Fund can be reached at 59 East Van Buren St., Chicago, IL 60605.

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

- 10664 A. Presentations on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" to News and Letters Committees
- 10665 1. "In Lieu of Minutes of REB Meeting of August 5, 1986 on Executive Session". 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.
- 10677 2. "Dear Friends" letter by Dunayevskaya on "the point of collectivity as the whole organization becomes central to the book-to-be". Excerpts from letter of Sept. 16, 1986.
- 10678 3. Presentation by Dunayevskaya to the REB on Dec. 1, 1986. 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.
- 10690 4. "The Year of Only 8 Months". 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.
- 10727 5. Presentation by Dunayevskaya to the REB on March 23, 1987. 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.
- 10734 6. Presentation by Dunayevskaya to the REB on April 20, 1987. On "Why a Special Supplement on 'Why Phenomenology? Why Now?'" Also includes excerpts from "Dear Friends" letter of April 21, 1987 on the presentation.
- 10737 7. Presentation by Dunayevskaya written for REB meeting of June 1, 1987, 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, nor were they checked by Dunayevskaya for publication in any written form.

- 10769 1. "Random Thoughts #1". Written in this form June 26, 1986. 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.
- 10770 2. "Random Thoughts While Working on Dialectics of Organization". Written Sept. 24, 1986. On Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind, and commentary on it by Gustav Emil Mueller.
- 10772 3. "Talking to Myself on the first (12/12/60) Notes on Phenomenology of Mind..." Written about Sept. 25, 1986. A critique of Dunayevskaya's own 1960 study of Hegel's Phenomenology, and comments on a 1982 symposium at L'Universite d'Ottawa (Canada) on the meaning of Hegel's "Absolute Spirit".
- 10779 4. Notes on Louis Dupre's article "Hegel's Absolute Spirit: A Religious Justification of Secular Culture" in Revue de l'Universite d'Ottawa (Vol. 52, No. 4), 1982. Written about Sept. 26, 1986.
- 10781 5. "Notes on Dialectics of Liberation pamphlet". 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.
- 10785 6. "Postscript to Random Thoughts". Written Sept. 30, 1986. On "the long, tortuous road of the two decades between 1953 and 1973".
- 10788 7. No title. Written Oct. 6, 1986. Notes on organization and religion in Hegel.

- 10790 8. "Talking to Myself" on mathematics and science in Hegel, in Marx, in Russia of the 1930s and today. 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".
- 10798 9. "Notes after Talking to Myself that was Random Thoughts #4. Written Nov. 7, 1986. On Marx and the First International in the period 1871 to 1874.
- 10800 10. "Talking to Myself in relationship to all the people (who have done research for Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy)". Written Nov. 14, 1986. On studies on Marx by Johnston, Cunliffe and Rossanda; on studies on Lenin by Service; on Lassalle and Mehring; on Pannekoek and Mattick.
- 10811 11. "On Third Attitude to Objectivity". 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.
- 10813 12. No title. Written Nov. 15, 1986. Notes on the development of Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy.
- 10814 13. "Very Rough First Look at what I might develop for Dec. 1 REB". 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.
- 10816 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. 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".
- 10821 15. "Re: Reproduction of Summary on Phenomenology Made in 1960, with New (11/18) Introduction". Written Nov. 18, 1986.
- 10825 16. "Key to CLRJ's Notes on the Dialectic". Written Nov. 18, 1986. A sharp critique of CLR James' 1948 work. Includes also a "P.S." written Nov. 25, 1986.
- 10830 17. "Substitutionism, or Theory/Philosophy". 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.
- 10837 18. "Very rough sudden decision to include Phenomenology pretty much at the beginning (of presentation for Jan. 3, 1987 Expanded REB Meeting)". Notes written Dec. 22, 1986.

- 10846 19. "Random Thoughts on 2 Responses to my Letter on the Idea of Cognition by Dupre and G.A. Kelly." Written Jan. 5, 1987. On letters received by Dunayevskaya from Hegel scholars Louis Dupre and George Armstrong Kelly.
- 10848 20. "Talking to Myself". Written Jan. 21, 1987. 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.
- 10852 21. No title. Written Feb. 7, 1987. Review of "Random Thoughts" on Phenomenology since Sept. 1986. Includes within text a fragment from "Talking to Myself" written Oct. 6, 1986.
- 10856 22. No title. Notes on research by Eugene Walker on Marx and the First International, given to Dunayevskaya in Dec. 1986. Written Feb. 20, 1987. Singles out Marx on women's liberation and on the trade unions.
- 10860 23. No title. Notes by Dunayevskaya for her secretaries. Written March 2, 1987. On REB meetings since Jan. 12, 1987 and on the dialectic of organization in the period of the bi-weekly News & Letters.
- 10863 24. "What is Marxist-Humanism? Prolegomena as introductory stimulant to reconsideration of '1, not 2' in 1951". Written March 8, 1987. Fragment only.
- 10865 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...?" Written March 9, 1987. Quotation from Hegel on "artificer" has been removed, and now appears in April 3 document.
- 10867 26. "Re: Chapter 12, RLWLKM". 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.
- 10869 27. "What is Marxist-Humanism? How to Project it at Momentous Historic Moments?" 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.
- 10877 28. "Off the top of my head". Written March 30, 1987. Notes on the relation of the book-in-progress to the whole Marxist-Humanist body of ideas.
- 10880 29. "First Rough Summary View of Phenomenology Writings, 1953-1987". Written April 3, 1987. On Dunayevskaya's view of Hegel's Phenomenology in 1953 and 1986-87.

- 10900 30. "(From 5/16/87) Why Phenomenology? Why Now? What is the Relationship either to Organization, or to Philosophy, not Party, 1984-87?". 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.
- 10901 31. No title. Notes on Pannekoek, especially letter from Pannekoek to Chaulieu (Castoriadis), dated Nov. 8, 1953. Written April 4, 1987. Includes discussion of research by Peter Wermuth on Pannekoek and Mattick.
- 10905 32. "On Organization". 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 1930s.
- 10917 33. "The Organization, the Paper, the Book -- All Equal Philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. All were grounded in May, 1953". Written May 11, 1987. Notes for presentation by Dunayevskaya to her secretaries.
- 10922 34. "One possible outline for Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy". Dictated by Dunayevskaya May 11, 1987. Marked "keep for pre-Plenum".
- 10923 35. "Talking to Myself: Crucial on Book, yet 1953 as concept vs. experience". 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.
- 10942 36. "Another Talking to Myself, this time on what has happened since 'Not by Practice Alone', 1984-87". 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.
- 10956 37. "New Beginnings, Historic Turning Points, Great Divides". Handwritten May 24, 1987, but not dictated until May 28. Includes a first outline of "parts" for Dunayevskaya's presentation for the June 1, 1987 REB meeting, and a review of research by colleagues on Marx and organization.
- 10959 38. "Notes on the relationship of the Philosophic Moment to Organization in Marx". Written May 25, 1987. Parts of this document were used in the writing of Dunayevskaya's June 1, 1987 presentation.
- 10967 39. No title. On the "residue of the intellectual sloth that followed the death of Lenin", and on "Organization and becoming practicing dialecticians". Fragment of a larger document, written May 25, 1987.

10647



- 10971 40. "1987's relationship to 1953". Notes for June 1, 1987 presentation. Dictated May 28, 1987. First pages dictated to Olga Domanski, then handwriting is by Dunayevskaya.
- 10976 41. No title. Notes on the June 1 presentation. Handwritten by Dunayevskaya, May 28, 1987.
- 10983 42. "July 1984 to June 1987." Notes written May 28, 1987. On new developments within Marxist-Humanism.
- 10986 43. "Parts" for June 1 presentation. Written May 29, 1987. Outline for talk to REB.
- 10988 44. "On Form of Presentation, Talking to Myself". Written May 29, 1987. Notes on the form of the June 1 presentation and the "meaning of the global crisis, and not abstractly, but organizationally, i.e. its philosophic ground."
- 10989 45. "Part I: The Philosophic Moment -- Marx, Lenin, Hegel, Marxist-Humanism-1953. Part II: Organization and Books: Why 1987? Lukacs and Arthur 1986." Notes written May 29, 1987. On the 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes; on "the books and the moment".
- 10994 46. "An Aside". Note written May 29, 1987. On Marx's view of Hegel's Phenomenology in "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic".
- 10997 47. "'Conclusion' for June 1, directly, finally, on the question of 'where to' with the biweekly". 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.
- 11000 48. "1953: The Philosophic Moment re: Organization, and therefore also re: Paper". 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.

11002 Section II "The Changed World": Current Events and the Dialectic Method

A. Reagan's attacks in the Gulf of Sidra and Marxist-Humanist Perspectives

- 11003 1. "Special Special Special. A preliminary Marxist Humanist Statement on the Last 48 Hours". 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.

- 11005 2. "Dear Colleagues" letter. 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 an organizational response to moments of crisis.
- 11008 3. "Pre-pre-Convention Bulletin: Responses to the March 27 'Special/Special/Special' and Raya's April 10 Letter to Colleagues". 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.
- 11020 4. "Official Call for Convention". 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.
- 11026 5. "Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1986-87". Written June 17, 1986, and signed by "Resident Editorial Board". Principal author was Dunayevskaya. Copy included here was printed in News & Letters, July, 1986.
- 11035 6. "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1986-87". 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

- 11057 1. "Lesotho coup, Savimbi and Reagan". 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.
- 11060 2. "Stop Reagan's Acts of War!". An Editorial written by Dunayevskaya and published in N&L, May, 1986.

- 11061 3. "Open letter to Paul Buhle". Written May 1, 1986. An expose 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.
- 11068 4. "In Memoriam for Pat (Eve Strong)". 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.
- 11069 5. "In Memoriam -- Joe Giganti". 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.
- 11072 6. "Ongoing world revolts and economic crises challenge Superpower grip". Lead article in Oct. 1986 N&L written about Sept. 16, 1986. Developed by Dunayevskaya from her "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1986-87".
- 11075 7. "Reagan, Gorbachev in Iceland: all things fall apart". 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.
- 11085 8. "Reagan's imperial presidency: The shocking liaison of US-Iran and the need for a biweekly N&L". 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.
- 11087 9. "Star Wars from the skies: Reagan's Grand Illusion". "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.
- 11088 10. "Whither China?". "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 continu-

ing 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.

11125

11. "Two of a kind: Reagan and Gorbachev and their bi-polar world". "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.

11144

12. "Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?". 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".

11154

13. "Russia's latest play is no freedom road". "Theory/Practice" column written May 5, 1987, and published in N&L May 22, 1987. Sub-titled "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.

11162

14. "Reader's View" sent to News & Letters by Dunayevskaya about May 24, 1987. On "Thurgood Marshall's magnificent attack on the false and hypocritical bicentennial of the Constitution".

11163

15. "On political divides and philosophic new beginnings". "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.)

10651

C. Writings to Colleagues and Friends on Revolutionary Forces, the Black Dimension, Workers, Women, Youth -- and the Force of Philosophy Within Each

- 11165 1. Presentation to the REB on New Edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, 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.)
- 11171 2. Dunayevskaya letter to John Alan, 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.
- 11173 3. Dunayevskaya letter "to all organizers", written Jan. 22, 1986. On publication by Criticas de Economia 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.
- 11175 4. Dunayevskaya letter to Cyrus Noveen, written Feb. 8, 1986. On organization and philosophy in the Iranian Revolutions of 1905 and 1979.
- 11178 5. Dunayevskaya letter to Middle East scholar Hanna Batatu, written March 4, 1986. On Batatu's book-in-progress on Syria.
- 11179 6. Dunayevskaya letter to Saikou (a Gambian correspondent), written April 1, 1986. On the Third World and the super-powers since World War II.
- 11182 7. Dunayevskaya letter to Neda Azad, 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.
- 11185 8. Remarks by Dunayevskaya at REB meetings of July 1 and July 28, 1986. On the Black Dimension in Marxist-Humanism. Includes discussion of Dunayevskaya's experiences in Black freedom struggles in the 1920s and 1940s.

- 11187 9. "Suggestions for Terry's report". 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.
- 11190 10. Dunayevskaya letter to Franklin Dmitryev written Oct. 25, 1986. On dialectics and mathematics in a nuclear world.
- 11193 11. "Youth of the '80s, Youth of the '60s, in a Changed World". 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.)
- 11204 12. Dunayevskaya letter to Terry Moon, written Nov. 4, 1986. On Women's Liberation and the Myriad Global Crises pamphlet by Dunayevskaya.
- 11206 13. Dunayevskaya letter to Neda Azad, written Nov. 14, 1986. On Cosroe Chaqueri's study of the Iranian revolutionary Soltanzadeh.
- 11207 14. Dunayevskaya letter to Ron Brokmeyer, written Dec. 25, 1986. On "absolute contradiction in science as in everything"; on Dunayevskaya's discussions on cybernetics and unified field theory, 1950-53.
- 11208 15. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues", 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.
- 11210 16. Dunayevskaya letter to Lou Turner, 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.
- 11211 17. Notes on William Blake 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.
- 11213 18. Dunayevskaya letter to Lou Turner, written April 24, 1987. On Turner's recent trip to the South and the "ever-developing creativity" of struggles there.

11214 19. Dunayevskaya letter to Katherine Davenport, written June 6, 1987. On Margarethe von Trotta's film, "Rosa Luxemburg". Dunayevskaya dictated this letter while in the hospital.

11215 Section III The Battle of Ideas: Philosophic Correspondence and Reviews

A. Dialogue with "Non-Marxist Hegel scholars"

11216 1. Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and George Armstrong Kelly (1932-1987). 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.

11228 2. Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Louis Dupre. Letters of July 3 and Sept. 15, 1986, Feb. 16 and March 26, 1987. Dunayevskaya's inquiries to Dupre concern the same subjects as those she had raised with G.A. Kelly. Dupre 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.

11239 3. Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Arnold V. Miller. 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).

11248 4. Dunayevskaya letter to Warren Steinkraus, 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

11251 1. Dunayevskaya letter to Olga Domanski 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.

- 11253 2. Dunayevskaya letters to Lou Turner, 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.
- 11257 3. Dunayevskaya letters to Franklin Dmitryev, written Feb. 7 and March 11, 1986. On Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts and Hegel's section on "The Theorem" in the Science of Logic.
- 11260 4. Correspondence between Kevin A. Barry and Dunayevskaya. 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.
- 11262 5. Dunayevskaya letter to John W., written July 13, 1986. On attitudes to Hegel's Absolutes, in Dunayevskaya's own work and in her correspondence with Marcuse.
- 11266 6. Dunayevskaya letter to Michael Connolly written Sept. 26, 1986. On her new work on the dialectic in Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind; on Dunayevskaya's plans to re-print her 1960 Notes on Phenomenology, with a new Preface by her.
- 11267 7. Correspondence between Kevin A. Barry and Dunayevskaya (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.
- 11270 8. Michael Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya written Dec. 10, 1986. On Wallace translation of ¶76 of Hegel's Encyclopedia Logic. Marginalia on letter are by Dunayevskaya.
- 11272 9. Dunayevskaya letter to Wayne Carter, written Jan. 8, 1987. On archives, the Black Dimension and Dunayevskaya's changed perception of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence.
- 11274 10. Eugene Walker letter to Dunayevskaya 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.
- 11276 11. Michael Connolly letter to Dunayevskaya, written March 31, 1987. A comparison of the German original, the Baillie translation and the Miller translation, of the last paragraph of Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind. Marginalia on letter are by Dunayevskaya. Also included here is Dunayevskaya's one-page comparison of the two translations, with her notes.
- 11279 12. "1986-87: New illuminations on the philosophic expression of Marxist-Humanism". A guest "Theory/Practice" column on Dunayevskaya's recent work written by Eugene Walker, and published in N&L, April 24, 1987.



11281

13. Correspondence between Kevin A. Barry and Dunayevskaya. 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

11293

1. "Living the Revolution". 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.

11310

2. Review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Louis Dupre, published in Owl of Minerva, (Villanova, Pa.) Vol. 18, No. 1 (Fall 1986).

11313

3. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Diane Lee, 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 DeBeauvoir's The Second Sex.

11320

4. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Michelle Landau, 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.

11326

5. Correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Meridel LeSueur. 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.

- 11334 6. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Anne Jaclard, published in Womanews, (New York), April, 1986.
- 11335 7. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Laurie Casdan, published in The South End, student newspaper at Wayne State University, (Detroit, Michigan), April 22, 1986.
- 11337 8. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution by Susan Van Gelder, published in Women's Studies News (East Lansing, Michigan), Spring, 1986.
- 11340 9. "Feministe et revolutionnaire", 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.
- 11347 10. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, by John F. Welsh, published in Quarterly Journal of Ideology, (Montgomery, Ala.), Vol. 10, No.2, 1986.
- 11350 11. Review of Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, by Flora Crater, 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.
- 11354 12. "Recent Writings of R. Dunayevskaya". Article by Kevin Anderson, published in Hegel-Studien (West Germany), Vol. 21, 1986.
- 11358 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, published in International Labor and Working Class History, (New Haven, Conn.), No. 31, Spring 1987.
- 11372 14. "Marxist-Humanism: Perspectives on Labor". 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.

11449 Section IV Retrospective/Perspective: "Marxist-Humanism emerging out of Marxist-Humanism"

- 11450 1. The Mvriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II, 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. 12 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.
- 11516 2. Dunayevskaya letter "to all organizers", 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".
- 11518 3. Presentation by Dunayevskaya given to the REB Feb. 13, 1986, on "The 30 Years Retrospective/Perspective in the context of the Workshop/Classes as well as the biweekly".
- 11520 4. Remarks by Dunayevskaya at REB Meeting of Feb. 27, 1986. Comments on new material to be donated to the Marxist-Humanist Archives, especially documents on the period 1958-59.
- 11522 5. "The Trail to the 1980s from the 1880s: Marx's New Moments and Those in Our Age", 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.
- 11533 6. Remarks by Dunayevskaya at REB Meeting of May 12, 1986. 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."

- 11534 7. Dunayevskaya letter to Susan van Gelder, written May 19, 1986. On Dunayevskaya's first (1958) outline of her archives, and C.L.R. James' publication of Facing Reality.
- 11535 8. "Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning", 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.
- 11554 9. "The Black-Red Conference". A News and Letters Committee 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.
- 11572 10. Dunayevskaya letter to "G. and J.", written Sept. 21, 1986. On collectivity and the responsibilities of the National Editorial Board of News and Letters Committees.
- 11574 11. Dunayevskaya letter to "Dear Colleagues", 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.
- 11578 12. Dunayevskaya letter to M. Franki, written Nov. 15, 1986. On questions of philosophy in the Johnson-Forest Tendency in the period 1948-53; on attitudes to "Humanism".
- 11580 13. Dunayevskaya letter to "I. and G.", written Nov. 30, 1986. On organizational growth, the biweekly N&L, and the Marxist-Humanist Archives.
- 11582 14. Presentation written for "Humanism and Marxism" session of the Midwest Sociological Society, 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.

11588

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 ML, July 25, 1987. Also included here are two early drafts for the article, written by Dunayevskaya on April 4 and 28, 1987.

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Volume XIII concludes on # 11627.

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