

THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION

Marxist-Humanism: Its Origins and
Development in America
1941 - 1969

2 1/2 linear feet

Accession Number 363
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The papers of Raya Dunayevskaya were placed in the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs in July of 1969 by Raya Dunayevskaya and were opened for research in May 1970.

Raya Dunayevskaya has devoted her life to the Marxist movement, and has developed a revolutionary body of ideas: the theory of state-capitalism; and the continuity and dis-continuity of the Hegelian dialectic in Marx's global concept of philosophy and revolution.

Born in Russia, she was Secretary to Leon Trotsky in exile in Mexico in 1937-38, during the period of the Moscow Trials and the Dewey Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against Trotsky in those Trials. She broke politically with Trotsky in 1939, at the outset of World War II, in opposition to his defense of the Russian state, and began a comprehensive study of the initial three Five-Year Plans, which led to her analysis that Russia is a state-capitalist society.

She was co-founder of the political "State-Capitalist" Tendency within the Trotskyist movement in the 1940's, which was known as Johnson-Forest. Her translation into English of "Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union" from Pod Znamenem Marxizma, together with her commentary, "A New Revision of Marxian Economics", appeared in the American Economic Review in 1944, and touched off an international debate among theoreticians.

The break with Trotskyism in 1951 was followed in 1955 by the split between the two founders of the "State-Capitalist" Tendency. The majority of the group established News & Letters Committees, of which Raya Dunayevskaya is Chairwoman, and began the publication of a Marxist-Humanist newspaper. At its founding, this group assigned her to complete her work, Marxism and Freedom, which re-established the American and the Humanist roots of Marxism.

She translated and published both the Humanist Essays of Marx and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks for the English-speaking audience; they appeared as a special Appendix to Marxism and Freedom when it was published in 1958 in New York. The work was subsequently translated and published in the following foreign editions: Italian, 1962; Japanese, 1964; French, 1971; British, 1971.

Among the groups in which she holds membership are the Hegel Society of America; the American Economic Association; the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Her works have been published both in this country and abroad, including

articles in Telos, Africa Today, Praxis (Yugoslavia), and Arguments (Paris). She was one of three American contributors in 1965 to the International Symposium, Socialist Humanism, edited by Erich Fromm.

She has studied at the Universities Research Center in Hong Kong, and has lectured extensively at universities across this country, in Britain, Japan, Europe, and Africa.

MARXIST - HUMANISM
1941 to 1969

Introductory note to the Ten (10) Volumes of Archives entitled MARXIST- HUMANISM, 1941-1969, plus separately-bound volumes of newspapers (1) Correspondence (October 1954 to December 1954), and (2) News & Letters (1955-1969), supplemented by another volume (Vol. XII) containing the Two Worlds column and Weekly Political Letters as well as the theoretical work which embody this body of ideas, MARXISM AND FREEDOM...from 1776 until Today, and the following series of printed pamphlets:

Indignant Heart
People of Kenya Speak for Themselves
Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian
Revolutions
Workers Battle Automation
Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution
Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves
American Civilization on Trial, Negro as Touchstone of
American History
The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution
State-Capitalism and Marxist Humanism, or Philosophy and
Revolution

plus these mimeographed pamphlets:

The Young Marxist-Humanist
The Arab-Israeli Conflict
Black Mass Revolt
Mao's China and the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution"
France, Spring 1968
A Critical Re-Examination of Herbert Marcuse's Works
Notes on a Series of Lectures for "The Materialist Friends
of the Hegelian Dialectic"
The Maryland Freedom Union, Workers Doing and Thinking
U.S. and Russia Enter Middle East Cockpit, Anti-Semitism,
Anti-Revolution, Anti-Philosophy
Black/Red Conference

MARXIST-HUMANISM is the overall title of the body of ideas expressed in these works that extend over a 28 year period. Although this political-philosophic Tendency was, at birth, called "State-Capitalist," that designation was, naturally, intended for the Russian economy, not for the Tendency that made the analysis. Clearly, the role of labor was pivotal from the start. In the published part of the very first series of articles that analysed the Five Year Plans (here to be found in Volume I), the degradation of labor in the state, in society, at the point of production is the proof of the transformation of a workers' state into its opposite, a state-capitalist society. In the unpublished part of the analysis, the section entitled "Labor and Society" makes direct reference to Marx's Humanist Essays (Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844), then totally unknown in the U.S. The overall title is for purposes of showing the continuity of both the group and the body of ideas expressed in Marxism and Freedom thusly: "This book aims to re-establish Marxism in its original form, which Marx called 'a thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism.'"

The 1955 split between the two founders of the "State-Capitalist" Tendency did not break the continuity of ideas. On the contrary. Between the death of Stalin in March, 1953, and the spontaneous outburst of the first mass revolt under state-capitalist totalitarianism in East Berlin on June 17, 1953, came the philosophic breakthrough which sighted in Hegel's "Absolute idea" a movement from practice to theory (see the Letters on the Absolute Idea, in Volume VI here) which is first now being fully developed in the book-in-progress, Philosophy and Revolution. In a word, the split allowed some fresh air to come in, not only because the majority of the group, especially the workers, followed the one founder that worked with them to establish News & Letters under the motto taken from Marx's Humanist Essays, "The Root of Mankind is Man," but because they (workers and youth) are becoming the co-authors of the new book. Finally, the American roots of Marxism were not left only an historic framework, but were further concretized in the election of a black production worker as editor of News & Letters when it was founded in 1955 and who is still its editor.

The whole is divided into two major subdivisions: MARXIST-HUMANISM (A) - in its origins as State-Capitalist theory - is covered in Volumes I-V; and (B) - in its development as a Marxist-Humanist group - is covered in Volumes VI-X. Also included, as a sort of "Appendix" to Volume II, which contains the unpublished writings, are: (1) Leon Trotsky's letters to Raya that accept her as his secretary and then acknowledge her work on behalf of the Russian Bulletin of the Left Opposition as well as some research work regarding Stalin; and (2) a very rare copy of the Bulletin in the form in which it was published for underground transmission to Russia. Although this predates the birth of a political-philosophic tendency independent of Trotskyism, and contributes nothing to the uniqueness of the restatement of Marx's Humanism for our epoch.

Detroit, Michigan
July, 1969

Raya Dunayevskaya

MARXIST-HUMANISM: (A) in its origins in the State-Capitalist Theory – in the Workers Party, Socialist Workers Party, as Johnson-Forest Tendency 1941 – 1951, and as Correspondence Committees 1954-1955.

BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF STATE CAPITALIST THEORY

Volume I. Birth of State Capitalist Theory, 1941-1947 (in the Workers Party)

Sec. I. - 1941

- 1 Russia is a State Capitalist Society, (1941), by Freddie James, Washington, D.C. (Missing).
- 2 Russia is a State Capitalist Society (1941), by J.R. Johnson, New York, New York (as reprinted in "Basic Documents", No. I, 1944)

Sec. II. - 1942-1943

- 1 Production for Production's Sake, by J.R. Johnson
- 2 Analysis of Russian Economy, Part I, by F. Forest (articles in New International, Dec. 1942, Jan. 1943, and Feb. 1943) (This was the first study anywhere based on original Russian documents; it was widely quoted in the world press as well as in books, such as The Yogi and the Commissar by Arthur Koestler, (1945) p. 1958.)
- 3 Unpublished documents but submitted to the WP:
 - (a) Labor and Society (1942-1943), first statement based on Marxist-Humanist Essays, which was to serve as Introduction to Part II of Nature of the Russian Economy and which was reproduced in 1947 in the Johnson-Forest interim period Bulletin No. 5 (see corresponding volume here)
 - (b) The original typescripts of Part II, including "Stalinist Russia: A Bureaucratic Collectivist or State Capitalist Society?" (separately bound with unpublished manuscripts) [Missing]
- 4 Nature of Russian Economy, Part II, by F. Forest (two articles in New International, Dec. 1946 and Jan. 1947, as reprinted by the J-F T 1947; it also includes Johnson's review of Leon Trotsky's Revolution Betrayed, After Ten Years)
- 5 First English translation of Lenin's Capitalism in Russia, by F. Forest, Oct. 1943 (New International, Nov. 1943 and Dec. 1943, by F. Forest)
- 6 Socialism & The National Question, by J.R. Johnson (New International, Oct. 1943)
- 7 On Quoting Trotsky, By F. Forest (Nov. 1943)
- 8 The Socialist United States of Europe, by J.R. Johnson

Sec. III - 1944-1945

- 1 Resolution of the Minority On the Negro Question, by J.R. Johnson (New International, Nov. 1944)
- 2 Negro Intellectuals in a Dilemma, by F. Forest (1944 review of An American Dilemma, by Gunnar Myrdal, as reprinted in Feb. 1961 in News & Letters) [see Volume XII, folder 7]
- 3 Negro in Revolution, by F. Forest (New International, May 1945) [Missing]
- 4 The Negro Question (debate with Coolidge at WP convention) (Missing)
- 5 Education, Propaganda, Agitation, by J.R. Johnson (postwar America and Bolshevism)
- 6 A Restatement of some Fundamentals of Marxism, by F. Forest, March 1944, (against Carter's Vulgarization)

Sec. IV. - 1945-1947

- 1 Naming of the State Capitalist Theory group as Johnson-Forest Tendency - document of Dec. 18, 1945 [Missing]
- 2 Historical Retrogression or Socialist Revolution, by J.R. Johnson (New International, Jan. 1946 and Feb. 1946) (a discussion article on the Thesis of the IKD)
- 3 New Developments in Stalinist Russia, by F. Forest (Oct. 1946) (five articles in Labor Action)
- 4 Outline of Marx's Capital, Volume I, by F. Forest (54 page study prepared for classes by Educational Department of WP)
- 5 Resolutions by J.R. Johnson on: American Question
Task of Building the Bolshevik
Party
International Question
- 6 Luxemburg's Theory of Accumulation, by F. Forest (New International I, April and May 1946) Correspondence on it by W.H. Emmett of Australia and answer by F. Forest, Feb. and Apr. 1947)
- 7 Final Split Documents: Feb. 1947, April 1947, and July 5, 1947

Volume II. Unpublished Writings (including Miscellany) (See Volume M1 for Marx's Archives, unpublished in English)

Sec. I. - 1942-1948

- I Typescript of Part 11, The Nature of the Russian Economy, as written in 1942 when first submitted (for 1946 publication)

see Volume I of this collection). The 1942 Mss. begins on p. 60 as *Introductory, Labor and Society*, based on Marx's *Humanist Essays*; was given for mimeography by Tendency in "Interim Period" (see Volume IV). Pages 90-111 are on "Bureaucratic Collectivism."

- 2 Letters on Trotskyism (from Raya to J. while still in SWP, Sept. 14 and Oct. 14, 1943)

Sec. II. - 1950-1951

- 1 Letter to miner, and Raya's new presentation of "book" for the first time rooted in "American Question" and Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, (Missing: minutes of actual discussion with miners and others on General Strike in 1949-50, still then in progress.)
- 2 Our Organization: American Roots and World Concepts, by Raya (1951) (rough draft; never published)

Special "Appendix" (see Introductory Notes to the entire Archives)

- 1 Photostatic copies of letters from Leon Trotsky (as translation of those in Russian only appended), 1937, 1938, 1939
- 2 Rare and special: 1932 Bulletin of the Left Opposition in form intended for transmittal to underground in Russia

Miscellany

- 1 Letter from E.H. Carr (12/21/56) who was then at Brandeis (where Herbert Marcuse was when he wrote the Preface to Marxism and Freedom) and who read transcript, commenting on his speciality: "I shall not venture an opinion on the most contentious part of your theses, i.e., that Lenin modified his Marxism in the light of his re-reading of Hegel in the autumn of 1914; but you have raised enough to cause anyone concerned to look at this question again."
- 2 Correspondence to and from the quarterly World Politics (July 1958) and Professor Daniel Bell regarding my critique of his "Ten Theories in Search of Reality."

Volume III. MARX'S ARCHIVES, and preparatory writings for MARXISM AND FREEDOM, then called State Capitalism and Marxism, by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1944-1947.

Sec. I. The Archives include:

- 1 the original ending of Marx's *Capital* (the famous "Chapter 6," actually Part VI, from Arkhivy Marksa-Engelsa, Vol. II (VII), Adoratsky, ed., Moscow, 1933)
- 2 table of contents of the first edition of *Capital* as well as the appendix to Chapter I, sec. I, the Form of Value; also from first edition

- 3 Theories of Surplus Value by Karl Marx, excerpted from Volumes II and I I I
- 4 Arkhiy Marksa-Engelsa, Book No. V, edited by Riazanov, Moscow, 1930. The last writing of Marx, found in his 1881 Notebook: "On A. Wagner"
- 5 excerpts from the Protokoly S'esdov Y Konferentsii VKP (B) (Resolutions of the Bolsheviks from 1898 through 1932) Moscow, 1933
- 6 One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, by Lenin, from his Russian Collected Works, Volume 30 (1932)

Sec. II Stalin's Revision of the Marxian Law of Value [Missing]

- 1 Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union, translated from Russian by Raya Dunayevskaya (American Economic Review, Sept. 1944) [Missing]
- 2 A new revision of Marxism Economics, by Raya Dunayevskaya (American Economic Review, Sept. 1944) [Missing]
- 3 Revision or Reaffirmation of Marxism? A Rejoinder, by Raya Dunayevskaya (American Economic Review, Sept. 1945) [Missing]

(These commentaries were widely reproduced abroad, as in La Revue Internationale (Oct. 1946), and hit the New York Times front pages insofar as the charge of revisionism was concerned.)

Sec. III. Outline of State Capitalism and Marxism (first draft of what became Marxism and Freedom), first submitted to the Oxford University Press in 1947, and then to Professor Joan Robinson at Cambridge University, England. The handwritten critique is hers.

Volume IV. "THE INTERIM PERIOD," I.e. its weeks of independent existence, July 17, 1947 to September, 1947

Sec. I. F. Forest's Speeches to Fourth International Conference in Paris, July 1947. (Missing)

Sec. II. Separate publications

- 1 Balance Sheet (The Workers Party and the Johnson-Forest Tendency) Contains an appendix on Trotsky's conversation on the Transitional Program.
- 2 World Revolutionary Perspectives and the Russian Question (contains a new article on Dialectic Materialism, by J.R. Johnson, which now introduces reprints of articles by Johnson and Forest on Russia)
- 3 The Early Essays by Marx (in its first English translation, by Ria Stone)
- 4 The Invading Socialist Society, by J.R. Johnson, F. Forest, and Ria Stone

- 5 The American Worker, by Phil Romano and Ria Stone (published after entry into the SWP, but printed in mimeo form in the Internal Bulletins listed below. See bulletin #8 in Sec. III)

Sec. III. Twelve Internal Bulletins, the highlights of which are:

- 1 Bulletin No. 3 contains "The Worker in Modern Industry" by Phil Romano which will later appear as Part I of a pamphlet, The American Worker, by Phil Romano and Ria Stone
- 2 Bulletin No. 4 contains an introduction to the 1844 Economic Philosophic Manuscripts which will appear as a separate mimeographed publication of the first English translation of Marx on Alienated Labor, Private Property and Communism and Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic
- 3 Bulletin No. 5 includes Labor and Society by F. Forest, which was actually written in 1942. It was one of the many parts of the study of the Russian economy not published by the WP. It contained the philosophic pre-suppositions of that study and was based on the 1844 manuscripts that were then untranslated.

Volume V. IN THE SWP PERIOD, SPLIT, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CORRESPONDENCE

Sec. I. The State Capitalist Tendency that developed in the SWP as we entered:

- 1 Stalinist Russia, a Capitalist State, by John Fredericks and John Hudson.
- 2 Oil and Labor, by John Fredericks

Sec. II. - 1947-1951

- 1 Stalinists Falsify Marxism Anew, by F. Forest (F.I. Sept. 1948) (published in French in the Fourth International) (Missing: Voznessensky's book and the one by Varga on the Russian economy, reviewed in the June 1949 issue of F.I.)
- 2 General strike of the miners, 1949-1950 [Missing]
- (a) Minutes of Tri-State (West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio) Discussion with F.F. on the strike
- (b) Discussion of J., R., and G. where Raya presented first outline of the two new vantage points around which State Capitalism and Marxism was to evolve - the American proletariat, and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks as symbolic of his break with his own philosophic past. Present also was a worker, especially invited because of the new vantage point.
- (c) The letter of March 14, 1950 was to one of the miners when the question was about an article on coal. This, however, became a series of interviews with miners that was to appear instead in 1957 in Chapter XVI, "Automation and the New Humanism," in Marxism and Freedom
- 3 First draft translation of Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic (separately bound)

Sec. III. Final Documents to SWP and Split from it

- 1 State-Capitalism and World Revolution, by "Johnson-Forest" (Aug. 1950) (this final political document, summarizing the whole decade of the development of the theory, was discussed at the SWP Convention)
- 2 Split from the SWP and Balance Sheet Completed (Aug. 1951) (it was handed in as we left and written by Johnson, through it bears all but his name. In that Bulletin is also included:
 - (a) the Internal Situation of the Fourth International
 - (b) the Revolt of the Workers and the Plan of the Intellectuals, by F. Forest

Sec. IV. A New "Interim Period"

- 1 Report and Discussion on Break from the SWP
- 2 Letter to Harrison: The End of an Epoch
- 3 Draft of Our Organization by Raya (included in Volume of unpublished writing) (See Vol. II, Sec. II, 2)
- 4 Separate Publications: (See Box 5)
 - (a) Indignant Heart, by Matthew Ward (1952) (the autobiography of a black worker in the South and in the North; contains a report of the 1943 Detroit outburst)
 - (b) The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves, by Mbiyu Koinange (1955)

Sec. V. Establishment of a new paper, Correspondence, Oct. 1953 - March 1955 (separately bound)

- 1 Establishment of Correspondence Committees, with R.D. as Chairman
- 2 Issue of No. I of Correspondence appeared in Oct. 1953. The final issue No. 7 (Vol. II) was actually the last issue of this political tendency. However, due to a legal technicality, Correspondence continued publication without revealing that "Johnson" and "Forest" had split, and without revealing that the majority had gone with "Forest." It is easy, however, to trade the division and the change of the workers' paper into News & Letters, since both the editor and Workers Journal on page I and Two Worlds, R.D.'s column on the editorial page, are carried into News & Letters and disappear entirely from Correspondence. Just before the break, the Correspondence Committees issued as a pamphlet selections from the paper, entitling it The Correspondence Booklet (Sept. 1954). The appraisal of Johnsonism and the creation of News & Letters Committees as Marxist-Humanist, and the establishment of the first workers' paper, News & Letters, to be edited by a black production worker, Charles Denby, will all be dealt with in the next Volume. [Only Correspondence booklet and Plekhanov on Hegel]

(Translation of Plekhanov on Hegel in side pocket)

MARXIST-HUMANISM: (B) in its development as Marxist-Humanist grouping called News & Letters Committees, 1955 through 1968.

DEVELOPMENT OF MARXIST-HUMANIST GROUP

Volume VI. Creation of Marxist-Humanist Tendency

Sec. I. Preparatory Stage

- I "Philosophic Notes" The letters between R. and G. on Hegel's Absolute Idea laid the foundation for the extension of State-Capitalist Tendency into Marxist-Humanism as a movement from practice to theory. They were dated May 12 and May 20, 1953, that is to say, some five months in advance of the first issue of Correspondence, but they did not constitute its foundation. They were first published after break with Johnson. They are included in Appendix to Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks which also had not been mimeographed until after the break. They appear here in the two editions published under title Philosophic Notes (November 1955), i.e., a few months after establishment of News & Letters. These Notebooks appeared in published form as Appendix to Marxism and Freedom.

Sec. II. Up to publication of Marxism and Freedom, 1955-1958

- 1 Establishment of News & Letters Committees, Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairman; black production worker Charles Denby, Editor of News & Letters - first Conference Bulletin (April 1955)
- 2 First Convention of News & Letters Committees (July 1956)
Discussion Bulletins:
- (a) Johnsonism - A Political Appraisal
Labor Bureaucracy and Radical Movement
What Form of Organization
Reports on the Paper
Discussion Bulletin - Preliminary Drafts of Constitution & By-Laws, Discussion on Marxism and Freedom (inc. Youth & Book)
The Need for Workers' Paper
Rough Draft of International Memo
- (b) Constitution and By-Laws for News & Letters Committees
- (c) National Chairman's Convention Report: Theoretical and Practical Perspectives, Where to Begin (July 1956)

Sec. III. Marxism and Freedom ... from 1776 until today, by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1958

- 1 First Plenum of News & Letters, Committees - Speeches and Resolutions (Labor Day weekend, 1957)
- 2 [In Box V Bound Volumes]

Marxism and Freedom was published by Bookman Associates, New York (1958), and first publicly established the American and Humanist roots of Marxism. It contained the first English translation of Marx's Humanist Essays and of Lenin on Hegel's Science of Logic. Also Preface by Herbert Marc use.

A British edition was announced by Vision Press, London, but it turned out to be only a British distributor for the American edition. However, it was reviewed in The Times Literary Supplement (August 21, 1959), and the reprint of the review is herein included.

Translated into Italian as Marxismo e Liberta (August 1962), La Nuova Italia, Firenze

Second edition with new introduction and new chapter, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-Tung" (in both hard cover and paperback editions), Twayne Publishers, New York (1964)

Translated into Japanese, published by Gendai Shiso-Sha (Modern Thought), Tokyo (1965)

The new chapter, The Challenge of Mao Tse-Tung, was translated also into Chinese and published by the Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, in their China Monthly, No. 39 (June I, 1967)

- 3 Appendix: Author's Special Intro. To Japanese Edition - Marxism & Freedom

Sec. IV. After Publication of Marxism and Freedom (trips to Europe, Africa, Japan, and Hong Kong followed)

- 1 Bulletins of Second Convention (1958): Draft Resolution - World Outlook; Draft Resolution on the book - Method, Heritage and Principles; National Chairman's Report - Our Organization (Aug. 1958)
 (a) Appendix: correspondence criticizing Johnson's "Facing Reality" (1958)
- 2 1959- Because of an extensive trip to Europe, no plenum was held that year

Sec. V. Separate Publications by News & Letters (1959-1965) [All from here to Vol VII are in Box 5.]

- I Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, by Raya Dunayevskaya, August 1959* Secondly, British edition by the Left Group, Cambridge University Labour Club (May 1961). Translated into Japanese (1965).

*This pamphlet is the only place where I took public issue with J.R. Johnson since the split in 1955. After quoting from his enthusiastic apologia for Nkrumah: "In one of the remarkable episodes in revolutionary history, he (Nkrumah) singlehandedly outlined in a programme based on the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Gandhi..." (J.R. Johnson, Facing Reality, p.77), I said "I admit that combining Marx, Lenin and Gandhi is quite a feat. But for a pamphleteer like J.R. Johnson, who thundered so for the Soviet United States of Europe, Soviet United States of Asia, world revolution, the struggle against bureaucracy 'as such,' the self-mobilization of the masses and for new passions and new forces to reconstruct society on totally new beginnings - to end with Nkrumah as the representative of the new, the new, is rather pathetic. There is nothing to add but to say, with Hamlet, 'Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him.'" (Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, page 9)

- 2 Workers Battle Automation, by Charles Denby, editor of
News & Letters (Nov. 1960) (translated into Japanese, 1965)
- 3 Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves, by Mary Hamilton,
Louis Inghram, and others (Nov. 1961)
- 4 American Civilization on Trial, The Negro as Touchstone of
American History, A Statement by the National Editorial
Board of News & Letters, May 1963. Second edition with
new Preface, July 1963* (translated into Japanese)
- 5 The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution, by Mario
Savio, Eugene Walker, and Raya Dunayevskaya (July 1965)
(translated into Japanese)
- 6 State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism, or Philosophy and
Revolution, by Raya Dunayevskaya (1967)
- 7 Czechoslovakia, Revolution and Counter-Revolution, by X and
Ivan Svitak, Prague; all the pictures are directly from
Prague by the Czechoslovakian freedom fighters. Foreword
by Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman, News & Letters Committees,
Detroit, and Harry McShane, Chairman, The Marxist-Humanist
Group, Glasgow (1968)

Also, "Marx's Humanism Today," by Raya Dunayevskaya, was
included in International Symposium, Socialist Humanism
edited by Erich Fromm, Doubleday & Co"! (1965) [Missing]

(The above pamphlets are in a separate folder)

Volume VII. Weekly Political Letters (this volume does not have a separate
contents page because it consists of the Weekly Political Letters with
their own contents.) The letter In Memoriam of Natalia Sedo a Trotsky
was translated into French and included in a memorial book to Natalia,
published in France Summer, 1962, which carried the same title.

- 1 1961
2 1962

Volume VIII.

- 1 New Series, Political Letters, and Separate Mimeographed
Publications
- 2 The Young Marxist-Humanist (1963)
- 3 The Arab-Israeli Collision, The World Powers, and the Struggle
for the Minds of Man, by Dunayevskaya (June 8, 1967)
- 4 Black Mass Revolt, A Statement by the News & Letters Committees
(Oct. 1967)

*The section "The Two-Way Road to African Revolutions"
(pages 28-30) contains two in-person interviews with African
leaders, President Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, and
Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria.

- 5 Notes on a Series of Lectures: Lenin on Hegel's Science of Logic, For "The Materialist Friends of the Hegelian Dialectic." by Raya Dunayevskaya (Spring, 1968)
- 6 Mao's China and the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution", by Raya Dunayevskaya (Spring, 1968)
- 7 A Critical Re-Examination of Herbert Marcuse's Works, by Richard Greeman (Fall, 1968)
- 8 The Maryland Freedom Union, Workers Doing and Thinking, by Mike Flug (Spring, 1969)
- 9 U.S. and Russia Enter Middle East Cockpit, Anti-Semitism, Anti-Revolution, Anti-Philosophy, by Raya Dunayevskaya (Feb., 1969)
- 10 In both the French and English editions of *Presence Africaine*,* Vol. 20, No. 48 (1963) there appeared "Marxist-Humanism," by Raya Dunayevskaya, (pp. 58-70)
- Other non-News & Letters articles, (I) in Arguments, Paris, No. 17 (1960), "Bureaucratization et Capitalisme d'Etat," by Raya Dunayevskaya [Missing] ; (2) in Prometeo, No. I (March 1960), "Leon Trotsky come teorico," by Raya Dunayevskaya; (3) in *Africa Today*, "In the Gambia during elections ... It's a long, hard road to independence," by Raya Dunayevskaya (July, 1962); and "Ghana: Out of Colonization, into the Fire," by Raya Dunayevskaya (Dec. 1962)

Volume IX. Resolutions and Discussions. The following are in folders by year.

- 1 1960
- (a) Resolution on Workers Battle Automation
- (b) Draft Thesis on War and Peace
- (c) Convention Reports:
1. From Organizational Consciousness to Organization Building
2. International Report (Sept. 1960)
3. National Chairman's Report on War and Peace
- 2 1961
- (a) Draft Resolution, Ideas and Organization (July) [Missing pages 8-10]
- (b) National Chairman's Report, Perspectives: Ideas, Organization, and World Development
- 3 1962
- (a) Draft Resolution on Perspectives, The State of the World Economy and Capitalist Politics (July)

*Presence Africaine is included in Volume X

- (b) Excerpts from Convention Discussion (September)
 - (c) National Chairman's Report, The Time is Now: Organizational Perspectives in Light of the World Situation and our Unique Theoretical Contributions
- 4 1963
- (a) Draft Resolution, Facing the Challenge: Nationally and Internationally (July)
 - (b) National Chairman's Report, The Need to Transform Reality (Sept.)
- 5 1964
- (a) Draft Thesis, The Turning Point (July)
 - (b) Welcome to the Convention; National Chairman's Report, Theory and Practice at the Turning Point; Excerpts from Convention Discussion (September)
- 6 1965-1966
- (a) Theory is a Hard Taskmaster in Ever-Changing Practice (Aug. 1965)
 - (b) National Chairman's Report, Toward a Unity of Thought and Action (Sept. 1965)
 - (c) Discussion Articles from Japan (Aug. 1966) (The Vietnam War and the World Today)
 - (d) Draft Thesis, News & Letters - as Paper - as Organization (July. 1966)
 - (e) National Chairman's Report, The World Today - Race and Class (Sept. 1966)

Volume X Resolutions and Miscellany

- 7 1967
- (a) Draft Thesis, New Stage of Negro Revolt and the Disarray in the Black and Radical Organizations (June)
 - (b) National Chairman's Report, It Remains to be Done (September)
- 8 1968
- (a) Pre-Convention Bulletin -- Letters from Raya (June) (A special issue of the Marxist-Humanist, Glasgow, Scotland, reproduced "Raya Dunayevskaya on Racialism")
 - (b) Draft Thesis, Philosophy and Revolution: The Point of Transition (July)
 - (c) National Chairman's Report, The Missing Link (September)
- 9 1969
- The Black/Red Conference (January 12): Welcome by Charles Denby; Introduction by Ray; Presentation by Raya Dunayevskaya; Excerpts from the six-hour discussion; Motions

(Presence Africaine is included in this volume. See p. 13) [Missing]

Two Worlds Columns
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	XII, 6	8-9-67	Law and Order from Barrel of Gun (Editorial) & Victor Serge, Revolution's Author (TW)
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	XIV, 6	6-7-69	75 Communist Parties Meet

List of Items
Box 5

BOOKS:

Dunayevskaya, Raya. Marxism and Freedom New York: Bookman Associates, 1958.
(Hard cover)

. Marxism & Freedom. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964.
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Ward, Matthew. Indignant Heart. New York: New Books, 1952. (paperback)

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PAMPHLETS:

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The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution.

American Civilization on Trial: The Negro as Touchstone of History. 2 copies
one 1st ed 1963 - one 3rd. ed. 1970.

Workers Battle Automation. (One copy in English & one in Japanese)

Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves

State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism or Philosophy & Revolution

Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism, and the Afro-Asian Revolutions,
one copy - American, one copy - English - Intros. & Forward Differ

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Black, Brown and Red: The Movement for Freedom among Black, Chicano and Indian
Culture, Science and State-Capitalism

Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices.

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"Was Marx a Humanist" Detroit News (no date)

"In Memorium: Natalia Sedova Trotsky" - News & Letters, Jan., 1962.

Article (in Japanese) from Japanese Newspaper - Asahi-Shinbun, 12-15-62
(the evening edition)

"The Newness of Our Philosophic-Historic Contribution", Second Discussion
Bulletin on the Draft Manuscript of Philosophy & Revolution. News &
Letters. June, 1969.

"The Needed American Revolution" - Perspectives Report to the National
Editorial Board Meeting of News & Letters 8/30/69. Post-Plenum Bulletin #1.
. News & Letters. 9/1969.

"What is Theory?" of "History and Its Process". Perspectives Report to the
Convention of News & Letters 9/5/70. Post Convention Bulletin #1.
Oct. 1970.

"Nixon and Mao Aim to Throttle Social Revolution." Perspectives Report To
the National Editorial Board Meeting of News & Letters Committees, Sept.
4, 1971. Post-Plenum Bulletin #1, Oct., 1971.

"For the Record - The Johnson-Forest Tendency" of Theory of State-Capitalism,
1941-51; its Vicissitudes & Ramifications, 1972.

VOLUME XIII. RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, C.L.R. JAMES AND GRACE LEE (BOGGS):
PHILOSOPHIC CORRESPONDENCE, 1949-1951.

Introductory Note

This new addition to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection consists of 35 unpublished letters between Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James, and Grace Lee (Boggs), written from February, 1949 through January, 1951. It was during this critical period, marked on the one hand by the outbreak of the Korean War, during which the SWP was, once again, following the Russian line; and on the other hand, the general strike of the West Virginia miners in which Dunayevskaya was very active, that the Johnson-Forest Tendency made a decision to, once and for all, end its stay in the SWP.

Among the final documents handed in to the SWP's 1950 convention was State-Capitalism and World Revolution, written by Dunayevskaya, James and Lee. This document included, for the first time anywhere, even in the existence of the Johnson-Forest Tendency, a section directly on philosophy. That section, however, centered on contradiction, whereas the philosophic letters between Dunayevskaya, James and Lee which preceded it had concentrated on the Absolute Idea.

The correspondence included in this addition to the collection begins with Dunayevskaya's translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks — their first appearance in English — and her accompanying notes on them in February and March 1949. The letters on the Absolute Idea stop by September, 1949, when James says that he will work out its ramifications. He never did, and the subsequently-written section on philosophy in State-Capitalism and World Revolution does not even go as far as the letter.

Dunayevskaya, however, makes two totally new, concrete propositions on the basis of the letters. First, that a worker be invited to participate in the discussions of the work-in-progress then titled "Marxism and State-Capitalism". (These discussions are already included in the Collection. See Vol. VI, Sec. II.) And second, that Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, along with the self-activity of the American workers, represent the ground from which the new book was to develop. Henceforth, any economic analysis, even one which viewed the world as state-capitalist, but which did not see Humanism as its revolutionary opposition, would remain economist.

It was to take three years, and the impact of Stalin's death for Dunayevskaya to return to the study of the Absolute Idea, and finally achieve a breakthrough that established Marxist-Humanism as movement from practice that is itself a form of theory. (See her 1953 letters to Grace Lee (Boggs), Vol. VI, Sec. I.) Only after that philosophic leap, and only after the creation of a Marxist-Humanist tendency, was "Marxism and State-Capitalism" published as Marxism and Freedom in 1957, taking its impulse from the East German workers' revolt against Communist totalitarianism and the American workers' battle against automation. The 1953 events and the publication of Marxism and Freedom did not, however, complete the development of the Absolute Idea for today. Rather, it remained for Philosophy and Revolution, written under the impact of the near-revolutions of 1968, to bring to their culmination the studies on Hegel's Absolute Idea, begun more than twenty years before.

Letters Included in Vol. XIII

1. Feb. 18, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James.
on Lenin's notebooks on Hegel's Science of Logic. (Doctrine of Being.)
2. Feb. 25, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James.
on Lenin's Notebooks on Logic. (Doctrine of Essence.)
3. March 12, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James.
on Lenin's Notebooks on Logic. (Doctrine of Notion.)
4. May 14, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James.
on "circumstances surrounding" Lenin's Notebooks.
5. May 17, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James.
on Lenin and the "actualization of the dialectic proper."
6. May 18, 1949. Dunayevskaya to Lee.
on Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.
7. May 20 (?), 1949. James to Lee.
on Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism and the Philosophic Notebooks.
8. May 27, 1949. Discussion notes: James and Lee.
9. June 8, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James,
on Lenin's Notebooks on Imperialism.
10. June 10, 1949. James to Dunayevskaya.
first response to the correspondence thus far.
11. June 13, 1949. James to Dunayevskaya.
on Lenin's Notebooks and the period 1914-1923.
12. June 19 (?), 1949. James to Lee.
on Lenin's method and the method of this correspondence.
13. June 20, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James.
on the Logic, Marx's Capital and the new stage of capitalism (imperialism).
14. June 24, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James,
on the article for Marcuse--notes.
15. June 28, 1949. James to Dunayevskaya.
on the article for Marcuse--notes (continued).
16. June (?), 1949. James to Dunayevskaya.
on abstractions in Lenin's thought.
17. July 2, 1949. James to Lee.
on abstractions in Lenin's thought.
18. July 5, 1949. Lee to James.
on abstract and concrete in Lenin.

19. July 5, 1949. James to William G.
on conversations with Novack and articles in progress.
20. July 6, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James.
on Lenin before and after 1914; on monopoly.
21. July 9, 1949. Lee to James.
on Lenin and Bukharin; the Taylor system.
22. July 15, 1949. James to Lee.
reply to letter on Bukharin.
23. July 20, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James,
on Lenin 1914-1917.
24. July 25, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James.
on Lenin as "revolutionary dialectician and thinking Kautskyian".
25. July 29, 1949. Lee to James.
on Lenin's Notebooks on the Logic.
26. August 16, 1949. Lee to James.
on Hegel's categories of Universal, Particular and Individual.
27. August 25, 1949. James to "everybody".
on Lee's letter of August 16, 1949.
28. August 29, 1949. James to Lee.
further comments on Lee's letter of August 16, 1949.
29. August 30, 1949. Dunayevskaya to James.
on Lenin's approach to dialectics: 1900-1902; 1908; 1914-1916.
30. September 4, 1949. Lee to James.
on Hegel's Logic: Doctrine of Essence and "the revolt".
31. January 24, 1950. Dunayevskaya to James.
on the structure of Capital.
32. January 30, 1950. Dunayevskaya to James.
on Marx's plans for Capital.
33. March 14, 1950. Dunayevskaya to James.
on the miners' strike and Marx's writings on coal.
34. June 7, 1950. Dunayevskaya to James.
on the structure of Capital.
35. January 15, 1951. Dunayevskaya to James.
on Vol. III of Capital.

SPECIAL APPENDIX II. LEON TROTSKY: LETTERS, CONVERSATIONS, UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS, 1930-1937.

Introductory Note

Special Appendix II contains letters, conversations and unpublished documents by Leon Trotsky from Ms. Dunayevskaya's files. Included here are such documents as Trotsky's 1930 letter on the execution of Blumkin; extracts from Trotsky's voluminous correspondence with Andres Nin, 1930-1932; "conversations" on the American Question", 1936; and letters on numerous political questions to leading members of the Fourth International in the USA, France and Holland. In a few cases, the letter of reply from Trotsky's correspondent is also included.

For students of the Trotskyist past, there are today many gaps which remain open, and which will not be filled until the Trotsky archives at Harvard University are finally opened in 1980. Only then will the actual documents of the 1937-1938 period when Ms. Dunayevskaya served as Trotsky's secretary in Mexico be revealed. These documents will include:

- 1) translations made by Dunayevskaya of Trotsky's previously unpublished military writings on the defense of Petrograd for the use of the Spanish revolutionary movement;
- 2) translations of Trotsky's 1925 speech to the Mendeleev Conference on Science and Philosophy, and of Plekhanov's famous article on Hegel and Marx written on the 60th anniversary of Hegel's death in 1891;
- 3) a biographical article on Trotsky, written by Dunayevskaya for the Jewish Encyclopedia; and
- 4) the translation of Trotsky's introduction to the first Afrikaans edition of the Communist Manifesto.

Note: Also included with this Special Appendix is a 1937 photograph taken in Mexico of Leon Trotsky, Natalia Trotsky, Raya Dunayevskaya, Jean Van Heijenoort, and Joe Hansen.

Letters, "Conversations" and Documents Included in this Appendix

1. January 5, 1930. Trotsky to "Dear Friends". on the execution of Blumkin. In French.
2. March 26, 1930. Trotsky to the Editorial Board of the Militant. on the situation in the USA. Incomplete
3. September 1, 1931. Trotsky to Andres Nin. on the situation in Catalonia and differences with Rosmer. In French. Incomplete.
4. February 21, 1933. Extracts from the Correspondence of Trotsky and Nin. Preface by Trotsky. From September 1930 - February 1933.
5. March 7, 1933. Trotsky to Arnie Swabeck. on factionalism in the US party. Response by Swabeck included.

6. September 4, 1935. Trotsky to Martin Abern and S. Weber. on the U.S. party and Oehlerism. In German; signed by Trotsky. Previous letter to Trotsky (August 18, 1935) from Abern and Weber included.
7. "End of February, 1936." Conversations between Shachtman and Trotsky on the American question
8. March 9, 1936. Trotsky to James P. Cannon. on the proposed entrance into the US Socialist Party.
9. July 11, 1936. "Crux" (pseudonym for Trotsky) to the Political Bureau, French Section of the Fourth International. on the strikes in France and the response of the French section.
10. July 16, 1936 and July 18, 1936. "Crux" to the Central Committee of the RSAP (Dutch Trotskyist Party). on the events in Spain, France, Holland, and on organizational conflicts.
11. May 25, 1937. "Wolfe" (pseudonym for Trotsky) to James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman. on the response of American Trotskyists to the Spanish Civil War and the Moscow Trials.