



revolutionaries. Because this is a most important step in our development, I felt the bulletin I have in mind should include the Essay from the new book by the National Co-Organizer, Olga, which summed up a whole decade of Women's Liberation since it became a Movement.

We thus will have in this special Bulletin a Black production worker-editor and the two National Co-Organizers, as well as the Chairman of the Philosophical-Technical Committee -- all in a single bulletin which will project the integrality of philosophy, revolutionary journalism, pamphlets of the voices from below, as well as both the books and activities of our organization.

I will be proposing this special Bulletin to the REB at our meeting this Monday. You, of course, will get the Jan. 27-Feb. 3: speech, which Olga is now stenciling, as soon as it is ready -- we should be able to mimeo it by the end of next week. But, if the REB agrees with my proposal for the special Bulletin, the pages you will get will not be sent out with a cover. That will wait until it is included in the full bulletin I have described here, which I would wish to present to the Archives on March 21 in Detroit, and offer for sale everywhere so that an overview of our work is contained in a single bulletin. For that lecture on March 21, as well as for the new Volume we will be donating to the Archives to cover the four years from 1981 to 1985, I am proposing the title: DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION: AMERICAN ROOTS AND WORLD HUMANIST CONCEPTS. You will hear from me again after the REB meeting, when we send out the REB Minutes and the Letter of the Week, which will also include the Editorial assignment for March issue, and a preliminary report on the search for a Convention Hall for Labor Day.

Yours, RAY  
The exhibit will include news clippings and photos from what they will call the "Early Years," including one with gun on guard duty for Leon Trotsky during the year 1937-38, when I was Trotsky's Secretary, translator and guard in Mexico. Even though the Marxist-Humanist Archives specify that the documentation of State-Capitalist Theory and Marxist-Humanism begins in 1941, the material actually includes much earlier material such as the correspondence with Trotsky. Indeed, it includes material from the early 1930s -- 1932, to be exact, when I became business manager for Trotsky's Russian Opposition Bulletin (the underground edition was so tiny, one needed a special reading glass). It was that decade when I sold the idea of a Trotsky Archives to Harvard University.

not only are readers not jaded but I wish but it is part of the which is hardly true as both places are long before each + as M-H was created

SO the copy of the book is not yet ready for the REB meeting

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16549

February 6, 1985

Dear Friends,

The 3-21-85 lecture which the WSU Labor Archives is arranging for me, with a whole month of <sup>an exhibit of</sup> a representative portion of <sup>the</sup> body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, <sup>\*</sup> along with pictures <sup>\*</sup>, is a historic first but quite taxing on me. How can I possibly cover the range of a half century of writings and activities in an one hour presentation, one hour of questions and discussion and a third hour for reception?

Take for example the question of the Archives. I seldom have any chance, even in a two hour talk, to do more than simply point to our Archives Guide. I repeat, how can I solve that problem, especially when what I <sup>would like to work out</sup> have in mind is not alone the talk but actually how to project our body of ideas in a single bulletin. <sup>W</sup> Then I remembered that our national co-organizer Mike had covered much of the Archives collection in a ~~more~~ substantial form than I ~~covered~~ in the classes we held in the Spring, I therefore decided that, together with my 1-27-85 talk on the Dialectics of Revolution and Women's Liberation, I can <sup>The Archives Bulletin on Boy I had to include</sup> include that report on Archives <sup>by Mike</sup>. <sup>The Bulletin we want to issue on</sup>

But I felt strongly <sup>of presence of our</sup> the lack in the journalistic organ, News & Letters, <sup>in</sup> of that body of ideas. Not only have we never separated philosophy from practice, but <sup>to assign</sup> truly historic and philosophic first was established by us at our very first conference in 1955 when we decided in the very same motion to have a Black production worker as editor of this Marxist-Humanist organ and me to work out the first of <sup>what became</sup> the trilogy of revolution, Marxism and Freedom from 1776 until today. Therefore I think it is quintessential that my "In Memoriam," <sup>The entire period</sup> which covers from the very first time I met Denby in 1947 to the very last writing he did for the 1983-84 News and Letters Convention, <sup>should be included in this over-</sup> all view of <sup>paper</sup> philosophy and organization. <sup>It also needs to be such a bulletin</sup> <sup>on "N&L's Th/Pu"</sup> <sup>Should include</sup> supplement, the ~~strictly~~ News & Letters convention report ~~as a~~

~~whole that was~~, given at our 1984-85 Convention by Eugene whom Charles

16550

Denby had asked to come to Detroit to be chairman of the Philosophic-Technical Committee when we decided to become a 12-pager

What we wanted to include in that 3-21 lecture was a presentation of the new book which was to have been published on International Women's Day, 1985. I was especially anxious for this because it is the very first time that I combined Olga's name with mine in a book totally devoted to ourselves, and not just giving a Marxist-Humanist analysis of other revolutionaries. This is a most important step in our development, which brings the National Co-Organizer, Olga, summing up a whole decade of Women's Liberation since it became a Movement. We thus will have in this special Bulletin a Black production worker and the two National Co-Organizers, as well as the chair of the Philosophical-Technical Committee, all in a single bulletin which will project the integrality of philosophy, revolutionary journalism, pamphlets from voices below, as well as both books and activities of the organization. I am proposing as the title of my lecture of 3-21-85, but all the four years, '81-85, we are adding in bring our collection up to date: ~~MIN~~ DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION: AMERICAN ROOTS AND WORLD HUMANIST CONCEPTS."

I will be proposing this ~~new~~ special bulletin to the REB ~~at our~~ meeting this Monday. You, of course, will get ~~the~~ 1/27 speech, which Olga is now stenciling as soon as it is ready ~~at the~~ end of the week. But ~~it~~ will not have a cover since you already have all the material we will be adding to my 1/27 speech, the last section of which I redid for video 2/3/85. That one we will put the cover ~~on~~ ~~and~~ present to the Archives and will offer for sale so that an overview of our work is contained in a single bulletin.

You will hear from me again after the REB meeting when I ~~present~~ ~~we send~~ the REB Minutes and the Letter of the Week, which will also have on its agenda the Editorial assignment, and the first report of looking

for a new convention hall for Labor Day.

Yours,

The exhibit will include photos and <sup>news</sup> ~~news~~ <sup>clippings</sup> ~~clippings~~ <sup>from what they will call the "early years"</sup>, including <sup>one</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>of those pictures</sup> ~~of those pictures~~ with gun on guard duty for Leon Trotsky

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<sup>fact</sup> ~~fact~~ <sup>from the early</sup> ~~from the early 1930s <sup>1932</sup> ~~1932~~ to be exact, when I became business <sup>manager</sup> ~~manager~~~~

for Trotsky's Russian Opposition Bulletin (the underground edition

was so tiny as to need <sup>one</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~of~~ a special reading glass) <sup>and for the first</sup> ~~and for the first~~ <sup>It was that deodorizer</sup>

~~I~~ <sup>we</sup> sold the idea of a Trotsky Archives to Harvard University. <sup>and the</sup> ~~and the~~

~~that~~ <sup>material</sup> ~~of course~~, hardly covers all the new translations I did from

Marx's untranslated works ( and I'm not referring only to the

Humanist Essays, but <sup>much</sup> ~~much~~, much more I did for just the Tendency) as

well as <sup>Lenin's</sup> ~~Lenin's~~ Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic.

February 11, 1985

To: Local Organizers  
Re: Feb. 6, 1985 Dear Friends letter

Dear Colleagues:

The reason you were asked to withhold reading the Feb. 6 letter until this "P.S." could be read directly after completion of the reading of the end of the second paragraph on page 1 was to assure the removal of the loose expression "new conclusion on 'Unchaining the Dialectic'" and thus to correct the historic-philosophic record.

First, there is nothing "new" -- in 1985! -- in the unchaining of the dialectic, which signalled the 1953 birth of Marxist-Humanism.

The word, "new", is a specific, dialectical, Hegelian-Marxian, philosophic category, which signifies a historic first -- in Hegel's concept, that of a "birth-time of history"; Marx unchained it, not to deny its revolutionary-critical nature, but to deepen it by uniting Dialectical Philosophy with Reality. For our age, I caught the link of continuity with Marx, and freed it from the vulgar-materialistic-communist post-Marx Marxists' grip, by unlocking the specificity of the post World War II era as an age that revealed a "movement from practice" as well as from theory. (See the very first bulletin News & Letters issued in 1955, which contained both my Letters on the

Absolute Idea of May 12 and 20 and my translation of Lenin's Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic.)

Even before the May 1953 Letters, it was the first translation of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks and my commentaries as I sent that translation to CLRJ that alerted him philosophically that I was moving beyond where he left the Dialectic in his "Nevada Document" on

16553

Hegel. That was followed by my activity in an actual Miners' General Strike in 1949-50. Both philosophically and practically my unchaining of the dialectic was climaxed in the specifically most difficult, final section both of Logic and of Mind. It soon was to "coincide," by no accident whatsoever, directly with the McCarthyite and FBI listing of the "Johnson-Forest Tendency." So far as CLRJ was concerned all this laid the philosophic and practical ground for his physical break-up of the Johnson-Forest Tendency, beginning, first, with the legal absconding of our paper, which was then called Correspondence, and was preceded by his recall from California to his side of our "official" philosopher, Grace Lee, who had greeted those May 1953 letters as: "I think that these notes represent our Philosophic Notebooks, comparable to those of VL in 1915."

As the ending of the very first chapter of the very first book, Marxism and Freedom, discloses, when we were free from the Johnsonite restrictions, CLRJ and his "Johnsonites" took the absolute opposite road from that of "Freddie Forest" (Raya Dunayevskaya). Where, for me, the philosophic ground was to meet the challenge of our age's Absolutes, as well as the challenge of Hegel's, CLRJ's direction was to escape -- and I don't mean only to England, but from any need to fight against the McCarthyite-FBI listing of our Tendency.

Secondly, once the 1950s ended with the revolutions both in East Europe and in Africa, and we began to record the new voices of revolt internationally as well as in the U.S., especially Black America, we found that the 1960s had also brought to the newly-named paper, News & Letters, one who could not distinguish the difference between me and

Herbert Marcuse at the very time (1960) when Marcuse revised his concept of the Dialectic in a new Preface to his 1941 work, Reason and Revolution. The 1960s, in a word, made clear to me that the 1950s' breakthrough on the Absolute Idea needed further concretization. I had to plunge much deeper into all of Hegel's major philosophic works than had ever been done before. Whether Melville did or did not think strictly philosophically, he certainly created a philosophic poetry of "thought divers". It took me from 1958 to 1973 before Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao worked out anew "Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning -- the Ceaseless Movement of History and Ideas", as I entitled Chapter 1 of Philosophy and Revolution.

In the 1970s a bourgeois academic Hegelian singled out the precise phrase, "unchaining the dialectic", as the climax of his critique of my work. Here is how George Armstrong Kelly expressed himself: "For the complex linkage of culture, politics and philosophy within the matrix of 'absolute idea', Mme. Dunayevskaya proposes to substitute an unchained dialectic which she baptises 'Absolute Method,' a method that 'becomes irresistible...because our hunger for theory arises from the totality of the present global crisis' (p. 239)."

My reply to Kelly's critique in the new 1982 Introduction to Philosophy and Revolution isn't what marks the second stage of my original contribution. Rather, the persistence of dissatisfaction continued with me until I worked out the 1984-85 Perspectives Thesis for our Convention, the last section of which I called "Not by Practice Alone". All this came to a climax at the special Expanded REB Meeting



on Dec. 30, 1984.

There I began using the expression "Dialectics of Revolution", which I had used for the Syllabus for the series of new classes relating Perspectives to Dialectics. Even that did not seem to satisfy me, so I decided, at that Dec. 30 meeting to concretize further, in a very specific way, what I presented in the Introduction and Overview to the new book: Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future. Where, in the Syllabus, I had reversed the title for the lecture I was to give as the final class, in order to show that it isn't only Women's Liberation but all four forces of revolution, on Dec. 30 I traced six dialectics of revolution through the Introduction and Overview.

When I delivered the talk on Jan. 27, I was so disturbed by the condition of my throat that I decided to retape that final section on the Dialectics of Revolution on Feb. 3. I hope this makes it clear that nothing, absolute nothing "new" reversed what was the apex on Jan. 27.

One final word -- my god, I should have learned never to say that an historic first which took more than three decades to achieve can be summarized in one word, or one sentence, and can be narrowed into a parenthesis -- the word "new" should never have been used in that Feb. 6 letter. It certainly doesn't begin to express what is required of Marxist-Humanists who are serious about the need to grapple with the dialectics of revolution expressed in that phrase, "Unchaining the Dialectic." Indeed, I would like to say that the truth of the Dialectic, contrary to the existential mystification of the "Adventures of the Dialectic", demands the hard "seriousness, the suffering, the patience, and the labor of the negative."

Yours, Raya

16556