

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the author of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, a provocative, controversial and critically acclaimed work published simultaneously by Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Britain on the eve of the centenary of Karl Marx's death, for which the publishers also reprinted her two major earlier works, *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution*, each with a new introduction by the author.

Her latest work, exhaustively researched, at one and the same time reveals a startling feminist dimension of the revolutionary theoretician Rosa Luxemburg and discloses new moments in the last decade of Karl Marx's life. Disputing those who characterize Marx's last decade as a "slow death," Ms. Dunayevskaya contends that he developed some of his most profoundly original ideas in that period, including his analyses of the roles of women and of the peasantry as seen in his recently transcribed *Ethnological Notebooks*. Also rejecting those who view Marx and Engels as "one," Ms. Dunayevskaya reveals sharp differences between them and presents a new interpretation of all post-Marx Marxists — beginning with Engels.

Ms. Dunayevskaya's writings have been extensively published at home and abroad:

• The Yugoslav dissident journal *Praxis* published her chapter on "The Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin" prior to its publication in *Philosophy and Revolution*, as did *Telos* in the U.S. and *Aut Aut* in Italy.

• Her pamphlet, *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, was published in both Japan and Great Britain. Other articles written by her have appeared in *Presence Africaine* and *Africa Today*.

• Her essay on "Marx's Humanism Today" was included in the International Symposium *Socialist Humanism*, edited by Erich Fromm, while the Newsletter of the International Society for the Sociology of Knowledge, edited by Kurt Wolff, included her "In Memoriam" to Herbert Marcuse in a special issue dedicated to his memory. Her speech "Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning", presented to the Hegel Society of America, of which she is a charter member, is included in the Humanities Press 1980 edition of *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy*.

EVER SINCE her break with Trotsky, whom she had served as Russian Secretary in 1937-38 during his exile in Mexico, her analysis of Russia as a state-capitalist society has attracted worldwide attention. Her articles in *The American Economic Review* (September 1944) sparked an international theoretical debate that continued for over a year and reached the front page of the *New York Times*. In 1977 *Studies in Comparative Communism* printed her latest critical study of "Leon Trotsky as Man and as Theoretician."

Her activity as teacher ranges from a series of six seminars she presented on "Women as Thinkers and Revolutionaries," which she prepared for International Women's Year in 1975 for the University of Michigan-Wayne State University Courses in Adult Education; to her work as Visiting Scholar at Washington University in St. Louis; to her inclusion in Bertell Ollman's recent *Studies in Socialist Pedagogy*.

Her long participation in the Black freedom movement ranges from the Civil Rights struggles and the writing of *American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard* on the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, to her recent introduction to Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*.

ALTHOUGH HER insistence on freedom for women long predates the beginnings of today's Women's Liberation Movement, Ms.

Dunayevskaya considers the latter to have made unique contributions. She has been the featured speaker at a multitude of special women's programs — from Women's Week at UCLA to the Women's Festival of San Diego's Center for Women's Studies; from the International Women's Day Celebration at Wayne State University to the Berkeley Women's Center; as well as at women's groups at Hunter College, N.Y., Oberlin in Ohio, University of Illinois at Urbana and Frostburg, Md.

Ms. Dunayevskaya is the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. The first to develop the theory of state-capitalism based on original Russian sources, which marked her break from Trotsky at the outset of World War II, she then worked out the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism as rooted both in the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic and in the actual movement from practice over the last three decades. The documents, covering a 40-year period, that embody her development of the inseparability of philosophy and revolution as the dialectics of liberation are on deposit and recorded on microfilm in the Wayne State University Labor History Archives under the title: "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection — Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1940 to Today."

THE MAJOR WORKS of Ms. Dunayevskaya have been translated into German, French, Italian, Japanese and Spanish, and chapters have been circulated underground in Chinese, Polish, Russian and Farsi. So great was the interest in her latest work when it was first projected, that Herbert Marcuse, who had written the Preface to her first major theoretical work, *Marxism and Freedom*, urged her, in their last conversation before his death, to curtail her many activities in order to complete the manuscript of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.



analyst
women's
liberationist

revolutionary dialectic... [She] sees the truly innovative dialectic at work in the revolts against the communist regimes of East Germany, Hungary and Poland."

— Louis Dupre, Journal of the History of Ideas
"It is Dunayevskaya's thesis that since the death of Lenin there has been a theoretical void at the center of the left wing liberation movements. Where theories have been propounded people have been lured by the seductive but deadly siren voices of Maoism and Existentialism. This theoretical void may be overcome, Dunayevskaya argues, by a reappropriation of the Hegelian dimensions of Marxism."

— Raymond Plant, The Owl of Minerva

- The Anti-Nuclear Movement and Marxist-Humanism
- State Capitalism and East European Revolts
- Frantz Fanon and the Black Revolutions in Africa and the U.S.
- Unfinished Latin American Revolutions
- Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning

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| Sun | M | Tu | W | Th | Fr | Sat |
|--|--|---|---|---|--|---------------------------------|
| | | 1 | 2 WEST VA. U. 8 PM | 3 OVERNIGHT leave 12N arrive Sat 3PM | 4 | 5 |
| 6 | 7 | 8 IWD UNIV. OF WINDSOR 8 PM | 9 OAKLAND O. 1 PM | 10 U. of M-AA 7 PM | 11 | 12 Fly 12N arrive Sat 3PM |
| 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 HUNTER COLLEGE 1:30 PM | 17 | 18 CUNY 7 PM | 19 |
| 20 UNION'S CIRCLE (NY UH) 7 PM | 21 UNIV. of PA. -PHILA. 4 PM | 22 CUNY | 23 | 24 NEW SCHOOL 8 PM | 25 | 26 |
| 27 leave 11 PM arrive Sat at 10:30 PM | 28 | 29 | 30 U. of M-AA (BLACK DIV) | 31 Fly 10:30 AM arrive Sat 10:30 AM | APRIL 2 CIRA WASH, DC 8 PM | 3 |
| 4 leave DC 8:30 AM arrive Sat 7:30 PM | 5 CIRCLE -CHI. 8 PM | 6 | 7 UNIV. OF IOWA/city 7 PM | 8 OVERNIGHT leave Sat 10:30 AM arrive Sun 10:30 PM | 9 CHICAGO 3 PM | 10 |
| 11 CIRCLE -CHI. 8 PM | 12 CHI. LOCAL SUM-UP 7 PM | 13 UNIV. of ILL. MADISON 7:00 PM | 14 leave Sat 3:35 PM arrive Sun 5:15 PM | 15 UNIV. of UTAH SALT LAKE 2 PM | 16 leave Sat 10:30 AM arrive Sun 1:30 PM | 17 NOTE |
| 18 UNIV. of WASH. SEATTLE 7 PM | 19 leave Sat 12:30 PM arrive Sun 2:30 PM | 20 UNIV. of CAL. BERKELEY 4 PM | 21 STANFORD 8 PM | 22 leave Sat 11:30 AM arrive Sun 12:30 PM | 23 | 24 |
| 25 SANTA BARBARA 7 PM | 26 CAL. STATE NOON | 27 UCLA NOON | 28 SAN DIEGO 7 PM | 29 leave Sat 11:30 AM arrive Sun 12:30 PM | 30 | 31 |
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Sat

March 7, 1983

Dear Friends:

The tour, which has been the focus of our work beginning right at the Convention itself, is now the Ongoing Tour. It began in West Virginia last week, where Marxist-Humanism 1983 made new links with where it was "born" -- in the sense that it was during 1949-50, when Raya was active with the General Miners Strike at the same time that she was engaging in the most profound philosophic correspondence around Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, that "State-Capitalism and Marxism" became transformed into Marxism and Freedom. Andy's report accompanies this letter and the REB minutes, where this first lecture of the whole tour was discussed in terms of the New Relations that we are looking for as we prepare, with the tour, for the actual Constitutional Convention over Labor Day.

Tomorrow, International Women's Day, will take the tour to Canada -- and then back to Michigan. By the end of the week Raya will be headed for NY and the East Coast tour, where the N.Y. comrades are working hard at publicity and we have just heard from Kevin that Anne's article on Raya's works has been printed in Womanews (circ. 20,000) together with listings of all four NY lectures. It is just reaching newsstands and subscribers now.

Just as it was the Black dimension that is proving to be so important in the criss-crossing of the various stops on the lecture tour, as you will see from the REB minutes, and just as it will be a most important focus in the Lead-Editorial on Youth -- for just as it was from the beginnings of any public education in this land during Reconstruction, so now it is the Black dimension that puts its finger on precisely what Reagan's retrogressionism means; so, even in the recent many new references we have found to Raya's work in all sorts of journals and books (from "Marx's Das Kapital for Beginners" to Maruice Meissner's recent Marxism, Maoism and Utopianism) it is the one that comes from Harlem that is the most exciting. Kevin has just found that Raya's Two Worlds on Malcolm X written in 1964 is included in the selected bibliography of a special issue on Malcolm X of a new Black cultural journal called Stepping-stones: A Literary Anthology Toward Liberation.

Now we here at the Center are off to the Michigan part of the Tour! You will get a full report of that next week.

Yours, Olga

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March 7, 1983

Dear Friends:

Raya's first lecture of her tour, held March 2 at West Virginia University, can be called an unqualified success. Some 150 people attended, including a mix of students and townspeople, Black and white, and about evenly divided among men and women. Raya's presentation, titled "Civil Rights and the Philosophy of Freedom", was followed by sustained applause, clearly an indication of the appreciation felt for the thought-provoking and challenging ideas presented. Raya's lecture wove together an exciting historic tapestry highlighting the origins of the state itself in the pre-Civil War period; Marx, Lincoln, John Brown and the Black dimension; Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass and the Seneca Falls conference; Rosa Luxemburg and the women's dimension then and now; and our own origins in the 1949-50 miners' strike, especially there in the Morgantown area, especially in relation to miners, their wives and children, and especially in the impact of that experience on the transformation of Marxism and the Theory of State-Capitalism into Marxism and Freedom, i.e., the founding of Marxist-Humanism. It was a view of history in the making, not as a review of things past, but of a perspective of the future in the present, the first on this tour.

Another, and perhaps more important, indication of her impact (even beyond the sustained applause), was evidenced by the 30 people who attended the reception held for Raya following her speech. There she both inscribed books that were bought and talked with many students who eagerly lined up to have a few words with her, including several Iranians and a South African woman student. At the reception both Raya and Andy got the names and addresses of several students and workers who were anxious to carry on a dialogue on Marxist-Humanism on a continuing basis.

Sponsors of Raya's lecture, the Student Festival Forum, said that Raya's reception by far attracted more people than any other speaker they had invited this semester. Despite several important missed assignments due to a complete change in Forum staffing and responsibilities which occurred during the week of Raya's lecture, much had been done to publicize the speech: sending out press releases, placing about 25 radio spots on three area stations; putting up dozens of large posters on all campus bulletin boards; centrally positioning Raya's program in an attractive activities display case in the student center building; notifying a number of professors they felt would want to announce Raya's lecture to their students; scheduling a radio interview and a press conference; and arranging for publicity in the student paper before and after the event.

A total of \$145 in literature was sold, including 12 books, two subs to N&L and \$20 in other literature sales. As a result of Raya's lecture, the University bookstore ordered ten books from Humanities Press-- 5 RLWLKM, 3 P&R, 2 M&F-- and put up an attractive display featuring the works in the bookstore. Several of these were sold, because all of "our" books sold at a table in the lecture hall were imprinted with the N&L office address, and Raya noticed that several books she autographed did not have this imprint.

An unexpected development occurred when I first went to W.Va. to help with lecture publicity arrangements and was asked by the Forum students to introduce Raya. They said there were three professors under consideration to give the introduction, but felt that both because of my WVU alumnus status and the fact of my long association with Raya, I could give a better introduction than anyone else. The opportunity was rewarding on two levels: 1) the privilege of introducing Raya to the audience, and 2) being on a public platform at the university where I had been informed in no uncertain terms when I went to school there that my presence was not at all appreciated on campus-- in any capacity!

But perhaps the most important development occurred with the re-establishing of relations with a former miner who had been active with us

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during the 1949-50 strike and later during the 1954 seniority strike. He attended Raya's lecture; brought along a well-worn copy of P&R for Raya to autograph; purchased all the literature we had; contributed \$100 and said he'd give more regularly; indicated he would write for N&L; and is anxious for his daughter, specializing in philosophy and attending another university, to contact Raya; and expressed eagerness in pursuing further communications.

This same kind of eagerness, though on a different level, had been expressed by all of those whose names and addresses were obtained. It is clear that the W.VA. lecture surpassed all expectations, in both re-establishing old contacts and creating new beginnings for the development of new relations with others.

Comradely,

Andy

FESTIVAL

sents

TROTSKY AIDE

RAYA

EVSKAYA

ist-Humanism in U.S.

Trotsky to Mexico

MARCH 2 — 8:00 p.m.

BALLROOM

Forum
Festival

NON-STUDENTS



Student Organization Wing
Mountainlair
West Virginia University
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506

Press Contact:
Lura Burton 293-3813
291-2021

IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 22, 1983

Morgantown, W.Va. -- Raya Dunayevskaya will be speaking at West Virginia University on March 2 at 8:00 p.m. in the Gold Ballroom of the Mountainlair. The University's Forum Festival Committee is sponsoring Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the United States, is probably best known as a philosopher, political analyst and women's liberationist.

Born in Russia but brought to the U.S. as a child, in 1937 she became Russian secretary to Leon Trotsky in exile in Mexico. This time marked the turbulent period of the Moscow Trials and the Dewey Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against Trotsky.

After her break with Trotsky at the outbreak of World War II, she became the first to develop the theory of state-capitalism based on her original Russian sources.

During the historic 1949-50 miners' strike, Dunayevskaya spent some time with miners and their wives in the Morgantown area. She considers this to be among the most important experiences in her philosophical development.

The author of many books and essays, Dunayevskaya's writings have been extensively published at home and abroad. Her most recent work, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and

-more-

sent to
DA
Dominion Post
WVU-FM
WVJR/WVWQ
WCLG

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Dunayevskaya

2-2-2-

Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, reveals the unique but unfinished contributions of today's Women's Liberation Movement.

Tickets for Dunayevskaya's presentation will be available at the Mountainlair ticket office. Admission is free for students, non-students, \$1.50.

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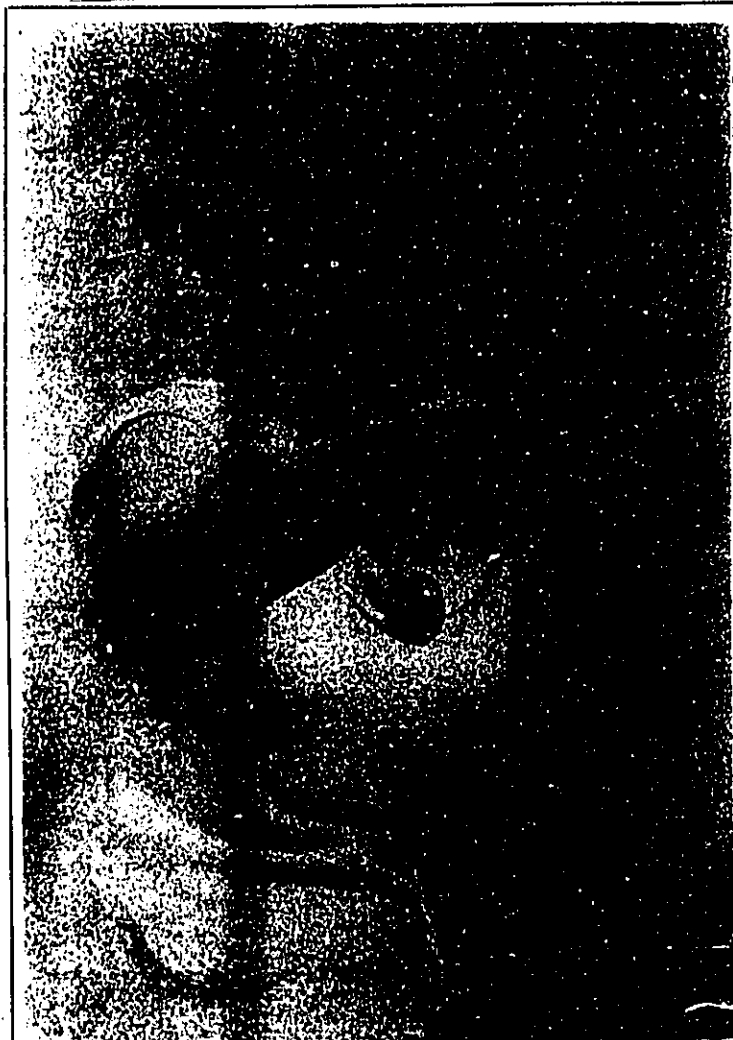
The Daily Athenaeum

VOL. 97, NO. 104

"Little good is accomplished without controversy, and no civic evil is ever defeated without publicity."

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY, Morgantown, W. Va.

WEDNESDAY, March 2, 1983



TROTSKY AIDE MAKES POINT — Raya Dunayevskaya will be speaking today at 8 p.m. in the Lair Gold Ballroom. Dunayevskaya was a secretary to Leon Trotsky while he was in exile in Mexico. She is also a political analyst, author and women's liberationist. Tickets for the presentation are available at the Lair Ticket Office. Admission is free for students and \$1.50 for non-students. The speech is being sponsored by Student Administration's Forum Festival Committee.

Campus

Trotsky's former secretary speaks on Marxism

By LARRY MALONE
Athleticism Staff Writer

Marxism is a new humanism, not a new communism, in the world in which society finally frees itself of its fragmentation, alienation and oppression, said Raya Dunayevskaya.

Dunayevskaya, a revolutionary activist, philosopher and author, was the Forum Festival speaker Wednesday evening in the Mountainlair.

She bases her philosophy on writings by Marx and defines this new philosophy that she has expounded upon for more than 40

years as Marxist Humanism. "Communism throughout the world today is just a 'totalitarian, capitalistic society," she stressed.

She said, like Marx, she is opposed to capitalism, "which exploits its workers, and vulgar communism, which just transforms private property under capitalism into the hands of the state."

She supports a true new humanism in which human life is "transformed to a new human level. Marxism is the breakdown of all the fragmentations (classes, races and sexes) in the world.

There must be a new concept of thought and revolution. "We are all world-bound on a great journey," she said, referring to the ever present movements by peoples throughout the world trying to gain freedom and a better life for themselves.

These movements include workers unionizing in an attempt to protect themselves and their jobs, the women's liberation movement, the struggle of blacks for less discrimination and the youth movement.

Dunayevskaya has been involved in all these movements for the past 40 years.

She was in West Virginia in 1949 and 1950 when the coal miners held a strike to protest new automation, in Montgomery, Ala. in 1955, for the bus boycott and at the 1963 University of California at Berkeley Free Press Movement, which was the beginning of the youth movement.

She said these movements are all linked because they are all part

of the new humanism in the world today and are all forces in this revolution.

Dunayevskaya commented on two of the movements in which she has been involved.

She said that the women's movement today has made some successes, but it is still unfinished. "Don't act as if you have solved anything," she said, "it has basically been a careerist movement."

And with respect to the youth movement, she said that students today are not as apathetic as most say they are.

"They are not just out to drink and have a good time," she said. "Students today are involved in environmental and anti-nuclear movements. They are worried and are taking a different form of protest."

"There is a great dissatisfaction among the students and no one can tell when it will break out. They just have to find out what they want from life and what is

important enough to them." Dunayevskaya said she was born during a time of protest because she was born in Russia, at the time of the Russian Revolution. She later went on to become the personal secretary of Leon Trotsky while he was exiled in Mexico from 1937 to 1938.

She said she broke her political ties with Trotsky "when he still supported the Soviet Union after Stalin made his secret Non-Aggression Pact with Hitler."

Since that time she has travelled the world over in search of movements and causes and places to profess her philosophy.

March 15, 1983

Dear Friends:

International Women's Day and the Marx centenary coincided for us this year in the most revolutionary way with Raya's lecture tour in Michigan and Ontario. For three consecutive days, and in front of three very different audiences, we had the opportunity to hear RLWLKM presented not only as a new book, but as a new view of history in which the future vision of a new society illuminates both past and present. The three lectures each drew large and appreciative audiences, with good literature sales and serious discussion. Over the course of the tour, some \$190 was sold, much of it in copies of RLWLKM, M&F and P&R. But let me describe the tour by taking up each of the meetings individually, so that you at least have something of the flavor of this most exciting of beginnings.

On International Women's Day we journeyed across the border to Windsor for Raya's lecture at the U. of Windsor, sponsored by the Social Science students and the History and Political Science departments. An intensive period of work by the women's liberation committee, and by Eugene and I, was needed to offset a lack of publicity that included the story on Raya being cut from the campus paper by the editor. Despite the fact that nearly all came from our literature table or word-of-mouth, 80 students and faculty attended (a number which stunned the organizers). Nor did the internationalism come only from being in Canada; the audience included several East Asian students, two anthropology professors from India, and eight Black students from the West Indies, Africa and North America, with women in the majority.

Raya's presentation began by jamming up the fact that thousands of women's liberationists had been marching for a week across Canada, without asking the question of why; then, it had taken the whole of the 20th century to get this one single day recognized for women, when women's struggles cover millennia? We were then taken on a voyage of discovery, from the moment in 1843 when Flora Tristan was calling for a "Union Ouyriere" and Karl Marx was establishing a new Humanism on the basis both of finding a new Subject in Labor, and of finding a new concept of Man/Woman as the test of all society. There is no way this letter can follow the path of that lecture, but even to one who has read the book and heard it presented before, much was new. The Black Dimension in revolution, in women's liberation, from Sojourner Truth as philosopher through Luxemburg and Namibia to today's movement, came out most sharply, as did the way Raya presented RL's sudden recollection of Pantheism, in the context of Hegel's declaration for an "Individualism that lets nothing interfere with its universalism". We never were allowed to forget either the world scope of the WLM, from Ding Ling to Iranian women, or the unfinished nature of the movement as long as Marx's new continent of thought and revolution remains separate from it.

Some \$90 in lit. sold there, as well as the discussions with several students gave us the idea to invite them to the next meeting of the Detroit local, where Olga will be contrasting Reagan's retrogression in education with Marx's revolutionary concept of education. We will also be working with an anthropology professor interested in Marx's view of the Third World, with an eye toward a review of RLWLKM for a Canadian journal.

The very next day we went out to Oakland University in suburban Rochester, for the lecture on "Marx and the liberation of women". It was striking to see how so much of the content of the lecture was similar to what had been given in Windsor, and yet how differently it was presented. Here we began with Hegel's "birthtime of history", yet immediately saw how it could be so long separated from women's liberation, when 1831 was not only the year of Hegel's death, but the year of the emergence of the Black Dimension. Yet 150 years later only RLWLKM sees it as both Nat. Turner and Maria Stewart. Here again we trace Black women in the revolutionary movement, including Sojourner Truth's "discussions with God", but never outside the constant return to Marx and women's liberation in the 1840s and 1880s. For the 85 who attended, the presentation was a world entirely new to them, and

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they got a chance to discuss it further at the reception following the talk. There, we really saw the African presence at such a white campus, when you had one of the sponsors of the lecture, a Kenyan professor, students from Ethiopia and Eritrea, and Ugokwe who came in from Chicago to hear Raya on tour. There were new openings in women's liberation as well, both in the sponsorship by Women's studies and the sales of literature which totalled some \$40.

The final lecture was held at the University of Michigan's "alternative" undergraduate school, Residential College. There the class of 35 grew beyond all expectations to a turnout of some 120 students for Raya's speech on "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade". They had the chance to hear Raya present those years in the context of the totality of Marx, beginning with his first moments. Thus the 1841 thesis with its attack on the "tyranny of the gods" and the emergence of the question of "interstices" is exactly what Marx is still returning to in the last decade on Capital when the subject is the fetishism of commodities. Throughout the lecture, Raya was tracing Marx's path to the creation and re-working of Capital--from the 1857 Grundrisse through the 1861-63 mss. to 1867 edition and to the 1875 French edition. The question was always: how to begin anew?

I felt that the question was being posed not only for Marx after the Paris Commune, but for Marxist-Humanism after the publication of RLWLKM when Raya's concentration in this lecture on Marx's view of non-capitalist lands included strikingly new formulations on the section of Capital Marx entitled "So-called Primitive Accumulation". In stressing the divergence between Engels, who saw in the "new data" of the 1880s a reason to break that section off as a Part 8, Marx had refused to separate it from the General Law of Capitalist Accumulation. We have suffered from post-Marx Marxism, seeing primitive accumulation as only at the beginning of capitalism, rather than ongoing every day. (Can't you also hear echoes of what Engels did with the footnote to the 1888 edition of the Manifesto here, when the new stage of knowledge about the Third World meant such different things to Marx and to Engels?) There was so much new in Raya's speech on the French edition of Capital in the context of the whole last decade, that we are clearly just beginning to see all that is involved in the challenge to post-Marx Marxists.

The very young audience, some of whom are now involved in such activism as a committee to halt military research on campus, engaged in an exciting discussion period with Raya, with very few leaving before the end. We sold \$50 in lit, including four subs to N&L, and are hopeful that we will have a new correspondent for the Youth page. Everyone will be invited to Raya's lecture March 30 on "Marx and the Black World", sponsored by the Center for African and Afroamerican studies at U. of Michigan.

While this letter has limited itself to a few points from Raya's tour, I did want to mention two other important developments we learned of by phone. From NY, where Raya is now, we heard that she will be interviewed on the Casper Citron show, an important radio program. And Dave Park, called from Iowa City, where he is doing advance work for RD's trip there, to report that he had sold no less than 13 copies of RLWLKM his first day on the campus.

DON'T FORGET THE DEADLINE FOR THE APRIL ISSUE IS MARCH 17. Copy should be in the mail.

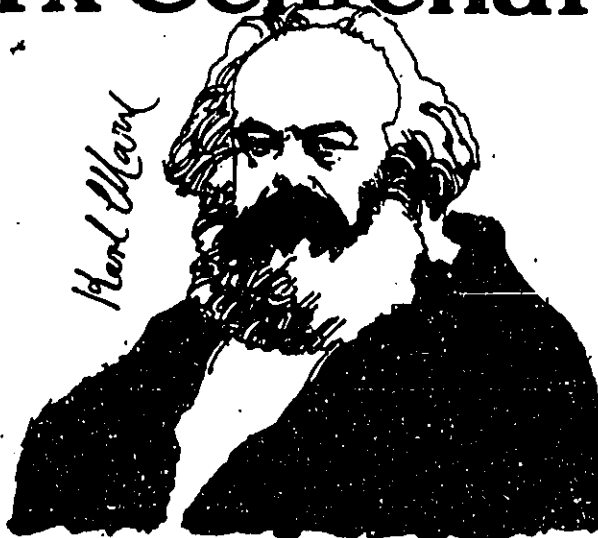
Yours, Mike

P.S. Neda just reported on her trip to LA, "which resulted in five public meetings for IWD, in which she discussed the relationship of Marxism and feminism in both West and Middle East. More than 250 people attended, and six copies of the new book were included in \$90 lit sold. Several new contacts were made, including two women from India who had first heard of us through the Manushi ad. The E6A public meeting had 15 friends attending, included several Kurdish friends and a lively discussion around Marx and the underdeveloped world. Preparations for the CIRA conference in Washington are well on their way. Sheila and Neda as well as Cyrus and Azadkar will be presenting two joint papers." -- Neda

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ON THE OCCASION OF

The Marx Centenary, 1983



THREE TALKS BY

Raya Dunayevskaya

Marxist-Humanist philosopher and author of
ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND
MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION



Tuesday
March 8
3 p.m.

**Women as Revolutionary Force and Reason:
from Rosa Luxemburg to Today's Women's
Liberation Movement**

INTERNATIONAL
WOMEN'S
DAY !

UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR

University Center, Assumption Lounge

Sponsored by the Social Sciences Society and the
Departments of Political Science and Sociology

Wednesday
March 9
1 p.m.

Marx and the liberation of women

OAKLAND UNIVERSITY - ROCHESTER

Oakland Center, Lounge 2

Sponsored by the Departments of History and Political Science

Thursday
March 10
7 p.m.

New Moments in Marx's Last Decade

THE FRENCH EDITION OF CAPITAL
THE ETHNOLOGICAL NOTEBOOKS
CRITIQUE OF THE GOtha PROGRAM
LETTERS TO VERA ZASULICH

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN - ANN ARBOR

Residential College, East Quad, Room 126

Sponsored by Social Science Concentration Program and Guild House

ALSO COMING IN MARCH -- "Marx and the Black World," a talk by Raya Dunayevskaya at the
University of Michigan, sponsored by the Center of African and Afro-American Studies.

For more information about all events -- and for transportation arrangements --
call (313) 873 - 5969.

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NEWS & LETTERS

2832 East Grand Boulevard • Detroit, Michigan 48211 • Phone: 873-8969

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Detroit author Raya Dunayevskaya is undertaking a national lecture tour in conjunction with the Karl Marx Centenary, the anniversary of his death in 1883. Far from being a commemoration of his death, the tour will be an affirmation of the life and vitality of Marx's humanism today.

Ms. Dunayevskaya, whose latest work, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, has been published in this centenary year by Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Great Britain, will speak in two dozen cities. The topics range from Marx and the Black world, to post-Marx Marxists such as Rosa Luxemburg, to Marx and the liberation of women.

In the Detroit area Ms. Dunayevskaya will speak three times: at the University of Windsor, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and at Oakland University, Rochester.

On Tuesday, March 8, in celebration of International Women's Day, she will speak on "Women as Revolutionary Force and Reason: from Rosa Luxemburg to Today's Women's Liberation Movement." The lecture will be at the University of Windsor at 3 p.m. in the Assumption Lounge of the University Center. The talk is sponsored by the Social Sciences Society and the Departments of Political Science and Sociology.

On Wednesday, March 9, Ms. Dunayevskaya will speak on "Marx and the Liberation of Women." The lecture will be at Oakland University, Rochester, in the Crockery Alcove in the Oakland Center at 1 p.m. and sponsored by the departments of History and Political Science.

On Thursday, March 10, she will speak on "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade-- from the French edition of Capital to his Ethnological Notebooks." The lecture is at 7 p.m. at Residential College, East Quad, Room 126, and is sponsored by Social Science Concentration Program and Guild House.

For more information call 873 - 8969.

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social science society
Department of History
Department of Sociology

presents;

**WOMEN AS REVOLUTIONARY FORCE AND REASON:
FROM ROSA LUXEBURG TO TODAY'S WOMEN'S LIBERA-
TION MOVEMENT**

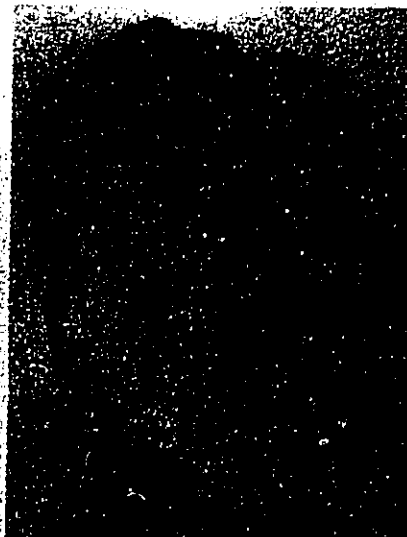
a talk by

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

**Marxist – feminist
author of**

**Rose Luxemburg,
Women's Liberation and Marx's
Philosophy of Revolution**

Trotsky's Political Secretary 1937 – 38



**Tuesday, March 8, 3:00 PM
LAMBTON DINING LOUNGE
UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR**

This International Women's Day, March 8 as well marks the 100th anniversary of Marx's death, March 1883. Raya Dunayevskaya a Marxist-Humanist philosopher and women's liberation activist will speak on the global nature of feminism and Marxism, historically and today--- including Ding Ling, the Chinese feminist; Rosa Luxemburg, the Polish-German revolutionary; the Iranian women's movement, and the unfinished tasks of today's women's movement.

Former Trotsky Secretary

Philosopher-Feminist on campus this week

by Marina Primorac

Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the United States, and a women's liberation activist, spoke at the University of Windsor on Tuesday, March 8th. The talk was entitled "Woman as Revolutionary Force and Reason: From Rosa Luxemburg to Today's Liberation Movement".

Ms. Dunayevskaya discussed the global nature of feminism and revolution, with reference to Ding Ling, the Chinese Feminist; Flora Kuster, the first woman to call for a worker's revolution; and Rosa Luxemburg, the Polish-German revolutionary theoretician.

Ms. Dunayevskaya served as Trotsky's Russian Secretary in 1937-38 during his exile in Mexico. However, she broke with him soon afterwards, arguing that the Soviet Union was not a "worker's state, though degenerate", but rather, a state-capitalist society. She explained, in response to a question from the audience, that the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 was to her more than a mere technicality; it was a sign that the Soviet Union was not a workers' state.

In her writings, Ms. Dunayevskaya compares the nationalization of Soviet institutions to the act of prostitution. Marriage is a form of exclusive private property, while prostitution is universal property. The woman remains unfree either way. Like-

wise, nationalization in the Soviet Union has not according to Dunayevskaya, made its citizens freer, because it has not fundamentally changed the relationships between ruler and ruled.

Ms. Dunayevskaya has combined her dual interest in revolutionary philosophy and feminism by saying that the women's liberation movement can be regarded as a potential revolutionary element. This theory is based on the research she has done on the last decade of Marx's life, in which his essays explored male-female relationships with respect to socialism.

She said that Marx was opposed to the so-called "vulgar communism" which assumes that abolishing private property, without altering fundamental social relationships, can change society. When Marx wrote of the "new passions and new forces that arise in the bosom of society", he was referring not only to the proletariat, but also to blacks, women, and youth, each of whom are potential revolutionary elements.

These elements of Marx's theory of humanism as well as the feminist dimensions of the revolutionary theoretician Rosa Luxemburg, are the subjects of Ms. Dunayevskaya's latest book — Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Ms. Dunayevskaya explained that she wanted the audience to "meet" Rosa Luxemburg "not only because I wrote the only good book on her." In her passion to transform the society we live in, Luxemburg made it clear that to be a revolutionary it is "not enough to understand Marxism; one must demand being considered as a human being."

In reference to the black movement, Dunayevskaya told the audience that they, as Canadians, should be proud of "that glorious part of your history when Freedom Road, the Underground Railroad for slaves, ended in Canada." As an afterthought she added "I don't know what you've done with your blacks since then, because there aren't many around."

Ms. Dunayevskaya concluded her remarks by saying that the greatest achievement today's woman's liberation movement has had is its ever-persistence for its cause in the face of that which discourages protest.

March marks the 100th anniversary of Karl Marx's death, and International Women's Day fell on March 8th, so this talk was very well-timed. In attendance were close to 100 people, primarily women. This event was co-sponsored by the Social Science Society, the Political Science Department and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.



Raya Dunayevskaya: to be a revolutionary it is "not enough to understand Marxism; one must demand being considered as a human being."

Glenn Warner/LANCE

IN HONOR OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY
AND TO COMMEMORATE THE MARX CENTENNIAL

OAKLAND UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS OF
AREA STUDIES
HISTORY
HONORS COLLEGE
POLITICAL SCIENCE
AND THE OFFICE OF THE DEAN, COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCES

PRESENT

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
MARXIST-HUMANIST PHILOSOPHER AND
AUTHOR OF ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S
LIBERATION AND MARX'S PHILOSOPHY
OF REVOLUTION

"MARX AND THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN"

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9, 1983

1:00 - 2:30 P.M.

CROCKERY ALCOVE, OAKLAND CENTER

RECEPTION TO FOLLOW AT 2:30 P.M.

LOUNGE II

A publication of Oakland
University's News Service
377-3180



FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1963

OU NEWS

Lecture on Marx, Women

Five OU units are combining to offer a March 9 lecture by author Raya Dunayevskaya on "Marx and the Liberation of Women", presented in honor of International Women's Day and to commemorate the Marx centennial.

The lecture is at 1 p.m. in the Oakland Center Crockerly with all interested persons invited at no charge. A reception will follow.

The program is presented by area studies, history, political science, the Honors College and the Office of the Dean, College of Arts and Sciences.

Dunayevskaya is a Marxist-Humanist philosopher and the author of "Rosa Luxemburg," "Women's Liberation," and "Marx's Philosophy of Revolution."

15577

For Immediate Release

Raya Dunayevskaya, internationally known Marxist-Humanist philosopher and author of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, will be speaking on "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade" at the University of Michigan on Thursday, March 9. Her talk which is being sponsored by the Social Science Concentration Program and the Guild House will be held in Room 127 of Residential College, East Quad at 7 a.m.

The talk will coincide with the Marx Centenary, 1983, and is part of a nationwide lecture tour being undertaken by Ms. Dunayevskaya on the occasion of the Centenary. Far from being a commemoration of his death, Ms. Dunayevskaya views her tour as part of an affirmation of the life and vitality of Marx's humanism today, which she views as having nothing in common with the state capitalist regimes of Russia and China.

She views Marx's last decade as one of his most intellectually creative periods. Her talk will take up such topics as Marx's editing of the French edition of Capital after the Paris Commune (1872-75), his critique of would-be socialist organizations of his day in Critique of the Gotha Program (1875); his view of non-capitalist lands' relation to revolution in the letters to the Russian revolutionary Vera Zasulich (1881), and finally his writings on so-called primitive societies in his Ethnological Notebooks (1880-1882).

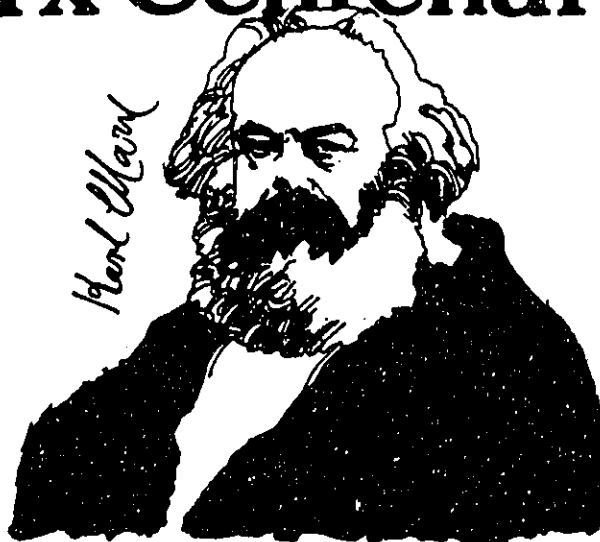
Ms. Dunayevskaya is the translator into English of Marx's famous Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 which appeared as appendix to the first edition of her Marxism and Freedom. She served as Russian Secretary to Leon Trotsky in exile in Mexico, breaking with him at the outbreak of World War II when she no longer felt Russia could be defended as a worker's state. She is the founder and leading exponent on Marxist-Humanism in the United States.

For more information: 1-873-8969

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15578

ON THE OCCASION OF
The Marx Centenary, 1983



**Raya
Dunayevskaya**

MARXIST-HUMANIST PHILOSOPHER AND AUTHOR OF

ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND
MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

**New Moments in Marx's Last
Decade**

- THE FRENCH EDITION OF CAPITAL
- CRITIQUE OF GOTHA PROGRAM
- LETTERS TO VERA ZASULICH
- THE ETHNOLOGICAL NOTEBOOKS

THURSDAY, MARCH 10 7p.m.

**Residential College, East Quad
Room 126**

Sponsored by Social Science Concentration
Program and Guild House

15579

March 22, 1983

Dear Friends:

We have only the most brief, preliminary news of Raya's lecture tour in the Northeast at the halfway point of her stay there. But we did learn that the media results have been especially good. You already know that RD is scheduled to appear on the Casper Citron show on radio. But you may not know that she has already been interviewed on a Black radio station in New York for a very exciting 15 minute show. It turns out that the interview will be submitted to the Black radio network for release over 105 outlets in April. The woman who did the interview was overwhelmed with how much she felt she had learned in such a short time. Raya also participated in a one hour interview on an "alternative" radio station, being interviewed by Bertell Ollman, this time directly as a review of RLWLKM. The REB will be meeting April 29 to discuss Raya's report of her trip in the Northeast.

So much do we consider Raya's national lecture tour as our response to the crisis on the campuses and in the community that Olga's lead concludes directly with an invitation for all to hear Raya in person in their locality if possible, or if not to open a dialogue with us on the basis of what we present as Marx's Marxism for this centenary year. Jim's youth column actually begins to report on some of the conversations with youth from Raya's three lectures on her Michigan tour earlier this month, on their responses to a new view of Marxism.

In fact, the juxtaposition of an academic Marx centenary conference in Ann Arbor last week with the earlier presentation by Raya at the same school on Marx's last decade, powerfully demonstrated to us what different worlds those two events inhabited. The missing figure in the academic "celebration" was Marx himself, since nearly all speakers rushed to present their own analyses in their subject fields with reference to "the Marxist tradition". We were therefore all the more determined to spread the word far and wide about Raya's second, and very special presentation at U. of Michigan March 30-- on "Marx and the Black World", sponsored by the Center for Afroamerican and African studies.

Yours,

Mike

15580

On the Karl Marx Centenary 1883-1983

FACING THE CHALLENGE OF

MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

TO ALL POST-MARX MARXISTS

- On Women's Liberation and Rosa Luxemburg
- On the Third World
- On 'Revolution in Permanence'



RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the author of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, a provocative, controversial and critically acclaimed work published simultaneously by Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Britain on the eve of the centenary of Karl Marx's death, for which the publishers also reprinted her two major earlier works, Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, each with a new introduction by the author.

SUNDAY MARCH 20 - 7 PM
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE, 369 Eighth Ave (29 St)

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution can be purchased for \$10.95 from News & Letters, Box 196, NY, NY 10153 or call, 212-989-3188.

15581

ALSO:

• WED MAR 16-2 pm

New Moments in Marx's Humanism and Dialectic - Rosa Luxemburg and Women's Liberation
Frantz Fanon and the Third World Revolutions
at Hunter College Playhouse
68 Street & Park Avenue
Sponsor: HC Marxist-Humanists

• FRI MAR 18-1 pm

Marx's Ethnological Notebooks 1880-82: New Formulations on Women and on the Non-European World
at CUNY Graduate Center
33 West 42 Street, Rm 207
Sponsor: Sociology Students Association and Cultural Affairs Committee, Doctoral Students Association

• THU MAR 24-8 pm

"On the Centenary of Marx's Death - His Relevance to Our Day and a Critique of Post-Marx Marxism"
at New School Graduate Faculty, 5th Ave & 14 St. Room 218
Sponsor: Economics Society and Dept of Philosophy

**NEWS
AND
LETTERS**

A Marxist Feminist Looks Forward

by Anne Molly Jackson

What is it like to be perhaps the most original Marxist thinker of your time, and to be a woman and ardent feminist as well?

Raya Dunayevskaya has been a revolutionary activist ever since she arrived here from Russia as a child 60 years ago, and she is the founder of Marxist-humanist philosophy in the U.S. She will speak on her just-published book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* in New York on March 16, 18, 20 and 24 (see calendar for details) as part of a 20-city national tour.

Like Rosa Luxemburg, whose feminist dimension she reveals for the first time in her new work, Dunayevskaya has spent her life fighting sexism and elitism in the Left as well as in the dominant society. Both women carved out original roads for their lives and their thought. Now 72, Dunayevskaya is a passionate speaker who attacks male chauvinism in the same breath as she brings revolutionary philosophy to life.

A life of activism

In high school in Chicago in the 1920s, Dunayevskaya was already leading student demonstrations. She has participated in all the Black freedom movements and labor movements since, hitchhiking all over the country during the Depression to be at every major strike. She worked with Leon Trotsky when he was exiled in Mexico in the late 1930s, and then broke with him when she could no longer accept Russia as a "worker's state." After Trotsky's assassination, she continued her discussions with his wife Natalia Trotsky.

Dunayevskaya's view of revolution is so deep and total that it compels the complete reorganization of all life's activity. The aim of revolution, she says, is to develop new kinds of human relationships and to transform work from drudgery to the creative expression of our minds, bodies and emotions. Her idea of socialism challenges the legitimacy of every government in the world, and also challenges 100 years of post-Marx Marxist thinkers.

Dunayevskaya delved into Marx's philosophy to look for a way out of what she designated a "state-capitalist" world. Back in the 1940s, she singled out women and youth as well as Blacks and workers as the revolutionary forces in this country. She has since published three major theoretical works, and 7,000 pages of her writings are on microfilm at the Wayne State University Labor Archives. For the past 27 years, she has been the only woman to head an American Marxist organization, the News and Letters Committees.

Her new book praises today's women's liberation movement for demanding that "What happens after the revolution?" be addressed now. In doing so, she says, women are changing the very definition of the revolutions erupting around the world,



Raya Dunayevskaya

from the Iranian women who continue to resist Khomeini's counter-revolution, to the Central American women who will never go back to the kitchen.

Marxist-humanism

Dunayevskaya calls her body of ideas Marxist-humanism. Marx's name for his philosophy was "a new Humanism," and his goal was "revolution in permanence."

He meant, according to Dunayevskaya, that the continuous self-development of people and their ideas—the revolutionary dialectic—would constantly release new forms of human creativity. Marx envisioned a day when we would all be "in the absolute movement of becoming."

According to Dunayevskaya, the post-Marx Marxists narrowed Marx's vision, starting with Engels. His *Origin of the Family* both glorifies primitive society and limits women's rebellion since then—whereas Marx saw continuous struggle within all societies. Even such great revolutionaries as Luxemburg and Lenin failed to build on the totality of Marx's philosophy. After 100 years of truncated and failed revolutions, Dunayevskaya says, we have lost the links with Marx's Marxism, which must be re-created to meet the demands of today's mass movements for freedom.

Exploring Marxism

All three of Dunayevskaya's books have attempted to work out Marx's dialectics in relationship to the mass movements of the day. Her first book, *Marxism and Freedom* (1958), highlights Marx's own theoretical development as he watched the slave revolts and the Civil War in the U.S. and the Paris

Commune of 1871 (for which he helped establish a women's section of the First International). The book shows how mass movements have influenced thought for the past 200 years, ending with the Montgomery Bus Boycott which began the self-organization of Blacks in the South, and the East European revolts of workers and students demanding "Bread and Freedom." She demonstrates that the movement from practice to theory is itself the theory we can use as a base as we work out revolutionary philosophy.

In her second book, *Philosophy and Revolution* (1972), precisely because Marx was rooted in the Hegelian dialectic, Dunayevskaya explores "Why Hegel?...Why Now?" as well as taking the measure of the theories of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Sartre

and Mao in light of the recent Black, anti-war and women's movements. Humanities Press has reprinted both books along with her new one to mark this year as the hundredth anniversary of Marx's death. (All of the books are available for \$10.95 in paperback).

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution examines Luxemburg with eyes of 1983 and explores the unique but unfinished contributions of the women's movement. At the same time, it discloses "new moments" in Marx's last decade which lead directly to the problems of transforming the world today. Dunayevskaya shows how, at the end of his life in his *Ethnological Notebooks*, Marx returned to the crucial man/woman relationship that was integral to the new

Humanism he had projected four decades earlier in the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts.

Forms of organization

In Part II, "The Women's Liberation Movement as Revolutionary Force and Reason," she takes up the Black dimensions of the 19th century and current women's movements, as well as highlighting historic turning points when women were in the forefront of revolutions, from 1917 in Russia to 1975 in Portugal. Throughout the book, Dunayevskaya examines the question of forms of organization, from the decentralized women's movement to Luxemburg's insistence on democracy "after the revolution."

Dunayevskaya writes, "The demand for decentralization involves the two pivotal questions of the day; and I might add, questions of tomorrow, because we are not going to have a successful revolution unless we do answer them." The questions are, first, "the totality and the depth of the necessary uprooting of this exploitative, sexist, racist society. Second, the dual rhythm of revolution: not just the overthrow of the old, but the creation of the new; not just the reorganization of objective, material foundations but the release of subjective personal freedom, creativity and talents."

"In a word," she concludes, "there must be such appreciation of the movement from below, from practice, that we never again let theory and practice get separated."

For more information about Dunayevskaya's tour and the Women's Liberation—News and Letters study group, call 989-3188 or write News and Letters, PO Box 196, New York, NY 10163.

Anne Molly Jackson is a member of Women's Liberation—News and Letters and is an activist in the women's movement and the Latin American solidarity movement.

Womanews/March

SUN. _____ 20

Raya Dunayevskaya, "On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge to all Post-Marx Marxists, on Women's Liberation, on the Third World, on Marx's Concept of Revolution in Permanence." 369 8th Ave. (29th St.), 7 p.m. Contribution. For information call News & Letters, 989-3188.

15583

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

here at HUNTER

'NEW MOMENTS IN MARX'S HUMANISM AND DIALECTIC:
ROSA LUXEMBURG AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION; FRANTZ FANON
AND THE THIRD-WORLD REVOLUTIONS'

Wed Mar 16 — 2 pm
HC Playhouse

Raya Dunayevskaya is the author of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, a provocative, controversial and critically acclaimed work published simultaneously by Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Britain on the eve of the centenary of Karl Marx's death, for which the publishers also reprinted her two major earlier works, *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*, each with a new introduction by the author.

Copies of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* are available from HC Marxist-Humanist Club. Call SGS Student Gov't, tel # 570-5599, leaving name & phone #, visit our lit display on Tues & Thurs., across from the Playhouse, or come to the meetings in Rm. HC 734, Wednesdays, 2 PM.

15584

PREVIEW ON MARXIST HUMANIST SPEAKER

by Russell Rockwell

On March 14, the world will mark the day Karl Marx died one hundred years ago. What will a century between us and Marx mean for our view of that thinker? The contemporary interest in Marx's ideas, in light of present economic and social crises, and in places far remote from where he lived, have certainly reserved a place for the Marx legacy in today's world. Yet in the view of Raya Dunayevskaya, a Marxist-humanist philosopher, the links between Marx and the 1980s are much more a challenge to Marxists than a matter for commemoration.

Dunayevskaya combines a lifetime of activity in the Marxist movement with a role of theoretician, that spans some 40 years. She participated in the labor and civil rights struggles of the 1930s. At the end of that decade, she also served Trotsky as secretary in Mexico. She broke with Trotsky over his designation of Russia as a "worker's state," and instead developed an analysis of Russia as a state-capitalist society. Her findings there sparked an extensive international debate and by the 1950s Dunayevskaya occupied a unique place on the American left.

As founder of Marxist-humanism in the U.S., Dunayevskaya is the author of three major works which include *Marxism and Freedom*, *Philosophy and Revolution*, and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Re-*

volution (the last mentioned being published last year). These books present a body of ideas which are without ready comparison in contemporary Marxist thought.

Dunayevskaya is scheduled to speak on March 16 (Playhouse 2-4 pm). Her topic will be, "New Moments in Marx's Humanism and Dialectic—Rosa Luxemburg and Women's Liberation; Franz Fanon and the Third World Revolutions." A look at the new ideas coming out of both the Women's Liberation movement and the emergence of a Third World struggling for liberation—together with a re-evaluation of the last decade of Marx's life—are what underlies Dunayevskaya's concept of the "todayness" of Marx. She stresses the actual and unforeseen revolutionary movements that have helped uncover new aspects of Marx's original philosophy and the way in which he developed it.

Dunayevskaya's most recent book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, focuses on the Polish revolutionary and anti-war leader, Rosa Luxemburg, in the context of theories of revolution which major post-Marx Marxists created for their own day. It also reveals for the first time, the feminist dimension of Luxemburg. Here, Dunayevskaya expands upon her earlier writings on women's libera-

Continued on page 12

his relationship to the revolutionary developments of his time, including the slave revolts and struggle for an eight hour day which took place in the U.S. Dunayevskaya says that not only did Marx originally call his philosophy, "a new Humanism," but that the methodology which he practiced throughout his life gave him such a rootedness in the struggles of his time that he could catch the principles of continuous human development in a philosophy of "revolution in permanence." Dunayevskaya writes, "Marx's legacy is no mere heirloom, but a live body of ideas and perspectives that is in need of concretization."

Continued from page 5

MARX

by looking at the birth of the women's movement and the unique way its standpoint has reshaped the questions of revolution universally with its deep critique of the man/woman relationship and its questioning, "what happens after the revolution?"

The third part of this book, which is a new look at the way Marx developed his philosophy, includes "new moments" from the last decade of his life. Dunayevskaya observes that instead of this period being a "slow death" as some Marxists characterized it, Marx was actively digging deep into the dialectic of liberation in examining the revolutionary possibilities of non-capitalist lands, particularly Russia. This included the recently transcribed *Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx*, which shows a profound analysis of both the man/woman relationship of the peasantry. Dunayevskaya argues that a new appreciation for the comprehensiveness of Marx's world view is compelled by the Third World Revolutions themselves which, she says, have expressed such new levels of philosophy as Franz Fanon, who wrote, "this new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others . . . National Consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension."

Marxist-Humanism, she explains, has delved into the "Marxism of Marx" from the vantage points of his philosophical links to the Hegelian dialectic and

UPCOMING LECTURE

+ Phelan 3/21/
M+R+Ways?
"P. Porel"
+ WQR: Ciba G



RAYA
DUNAYEVSKAYA

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the author of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, a provocative, controversial and critically acclaimed work published simultaneously by Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Britain

*speaking
on*

**"MARX'S ETHNOLOGICAL NOTEBOOKS, 1880-82:
New Formulations on Women & on the Non-European World"**

**FRI MAR 18
CUNY GRADUATE CENTER — 1 PM
33 WEST 42 STREET — Room 207**

SPONSORED BY:

Graduate Student Association in Sociology
Cultural Affairs Committee, Doctoral
Students Council
Feminist Students' Organization

Andropov
Learner

15586

ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY
ON THE KARL MARX CENTENARY 1883 — 1983



**RAYA
DUNAYEVSKAYA**

"Let us realize that we are, at one and the same time, confronted with two seemingly opposite facts --that the individuality of each women's liberationist is a microcosm of the whole, and yet the movement is not a sum of so many individuals, but masses in motion. This does not mean that original characters have not emerged. Rosa Luxemburg was certainly an original...Her multidimensionality...her great revolutionary achievement...remain ground for our age. Such an original character, instead of being simply 'one in a million,' combines yesterday, today and tomorrow in such a manner that the new age suddenly experiences a 'shock of recognition' whether that relates to a new life style or the great need for revolution here and now."

--Raya Dunayevskaya in
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's
Liberation and Marx's
Philosophy of Revolution

author of Marxism and Freedom,
Philosophy and Revolution, and
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Libera-
tion and Marx's Philosophy of
Revolution (Humanities Press)

**SPEAKING ON
FACING THE CHALLENGE OF
MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION
TO ALL POST-MARK MARXISTS**

- *On Women's Liberation and Rosa Luxemburg*
- *On the Third World*
- *On 'Revolution in Permanence'*

**SUNDAY MARCH 20 - 7 PM
369 Eighth Ave (29 St)**

Sponsored by Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committee,
P.O. Box 196, New York, N. Y. 10163, tel. 989-3188. For
copies of Dunayevskaya's books, send \$10.95 each.

15587

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION
ROSA LUXEMBURG
AND THE WAYS OF POLITICAL POWER

The University of Pennsylvania celebrates

Women's History Week

Monday, March 21, 1983, 4:00 P.M.

History Department Lounge - 2nd Floor - College Hall

Thomas Childers, Department of History, Chair of Session

Jane Cooper, "Threads: Rosa Luxemburg from Prison" and
Selected New Poems
Poet in Residence, Sarah Lawrence College
Author of The Weather of Six Mornings
(Lamont Selection of the American Academy
of Poets)

Raya Dunayevskaya, "Women's Liberation and Rosa Luxemburg"
Marxist Feminist Author of:
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and
Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
Marxism and Freedom
Philosophy and Revolution

Round Table comments by:

Frank Trommler, Graduate Chair, German Department

Betsy Erkkila, Assistant Professor, English Department

Co-sponsored by the Women's Studies Program, College of Arts and
Sciences, History Department, Women's Center.

PLEASE ANNOUNCE THIS MEETING TO YOUR CLASSES

15588

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

at

THE NEW SCHOOL

"ON THE CENTENARY OF MARX'S DEATH--
HIS RELEVANCE TO OUR DAY AND A
CRITIQUE OF POST--MARX MARXISTS"

Sponsored by the Philosophy Dept.
and Economics Society

Raya Dunayevskaya is the author of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, a provocative, controversial and critically acclaimed work published simultaneously by Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Britain on the eve of the centenary of Karl Marx's death, for which the publishers also reprinted her two major earlier works, *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*, each with a new introduction by the author.

THU MAR 24-8 pm
Graduate Faculty, 5th Ave and 14 st
Room 218

15589

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MARCH 28, 1983

Radio

11:05-11:35, WQXR: Casper Ch-
ron. Raya Dunayevskaya,

15590

NEWS AND LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end" - Marx

May 9, 1983

Dear Friends:

Raya Dunayevskaya, Marxist-Humanist philosopher, will be heard on WBAI, 99.5 FM Radio, Tuesday, June 7, 7:30 to 8:30 P.M.

Bertell Ollman is the interviewer for his regular program, "Praxis: Visits With Marxist Thinkers."

Ms. Dunayevskaya is the author of, Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 Until Today; Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre, and From Marx to Mao; and the recently published, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Please post this notice where it will remind you of what is sure to be a stimulating hour of discussion on the dialectic of world freedom struggles in thought and action. For more information, contact us at the address below, or come to the weekly meetings of News & Letters Committees, Sundays, 7 P.M., Workmen's Circle, 369 8th Ave (29th St.)

P.O.B. 196, Grand Central Station, NY NY 10163 ^{tel. 212} 989-3188

April 5, 1983

Dear Friends:

All the locals have so much to study from the mailing, only five days ago which included with the new issue of N&L, Raya's report on her trip to New York and Philadelphia, as well as the REB minutes and the new Bulletin Index, that this letter of the week will be an abbreviated one. The latest news is that Eugene called this morning to give a quick view of the activities this past weekend in Washington, DC, where Raya spoke both to a group of graduate students at American University on Friday night and to the Iran conference on Saturday. Eugene will be sending you a full report directly, but he felt that both meetings went very well, with the attendance at the Friday meeting including both a Black Consciousness Movement activist from South Africa and a professor of African Studies that Lou had met at Howard. At the CIRA conference itself, the participation of both American and Iranian Marxist-Humanists was evidently predominant from beginning to end-- in all the panels and presentations. Over \$100 in literature was sold, and quite a few new friends were met, including an important writer on Iraq. In addition, we were able to meet with the new Puerto Rican activist friend and deepen that relationship. You should be receiving Eugene's full report in a few days.

Raya's "non-stop" tour has now carried her to Chicago, where she is to speak at UIC today, before rushing off to Iowa for a Thursday meeting there. But I did want to give a little report on Raya's special meeting March 30 in Ann Arbor on "Marx and the Black World". Though the turnout there was not large, it was most revealing, both on the pervasive racism in this country that makes so many white students less interested when it is a "Black topic", and on the seriousness of those who did turn out. They included Black youth first looking at Marxism as a possible "grounding" for study and activity, a white professor who teaches also at the State Prison, a young Cuban, and several Black intellectuals, Harold Cruse among them.

They heard the newest presentation by Raya-- one that combined elements of Raya on the Black World from all three books and from ACOT. In asking how Marx could have looked at John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry and concluded that it had started a whole new world stage, Raya dug into the origins and development of Marx's "Promethean vision". We were able to follow Marx and the Black World from Wage-Labor and Capital through the Grundrisse to Capital and finally to the Ethnological Notebooks, with Raya never separating Marx's development from the Black movement in the USA, and Black women as philosophers of revolution especially. The lecture also moved to post-Marx Marxists, whether Engels or at the time of the Russian Revolution-- with Raya describing Claude McKay's confrontation with the American Communists, and Lenin's search for a path to revolution "if not through Berlin, then through Peking". The challenge Raya threw out then was to face the fact that the movement hadn't developed since Marx either on the Black Dimension or Women's liberation.

The lengthy and serious discussion that followed indicated all the more the necessity to practice the most creative follow-through in this period. In Ann Arbor we will be holding a meeting April 12 to discuss Marxist-Humanism further with friends who attended Raya's two lectures there. Could we hear from all the locals what follow-through work they have planned?

Yours,
Mike

15592



Karl Marx and the Black World

"...A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on southern nerves...a war of this kind must be conducted in a revolutionary way, whereas the Yankees have been trying so far to conduct it constitutionally."

-- Karl Marx
Aug. 7, 1862



Black cavalrymen bringing in Confederate prisoners.

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

author of American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard; Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions; and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution;

Wednesday
March 30
7 p.m.

Whitney Aud.
School of Ed.
Rm. 1309

sponsors

CENTER FOR AFROAMERICAN
AND AFRICAN STUDIES
WOMEN'S STUDIES AND
GENDER RESEARCH
OFFICE OF ETHICS AND
RELIGION

15593

April 5, 1983

APR 7 1983

Dear Friends,

The Washington D.C. leg of Raya's tour, though held in "our nation's Capital" and primarily at "American" University, was dominated by the international dimension: from the conference on Iran and a meeting with an important Middle East scholar, to the Black Consciousness Movement and our conversations with a Puerto Rican Marxist-Humanist.

Let us begin at the beginning. Upon her arrival in Washington Raya called the Middle East scholar who she had begun a correspondence with. He immediately came over to see her. The conversation ranged over the Middle East and Marxist-Humanism with his appreciation of how Raya could be both so political-revolutionary and deeply philosophical. He accompanied Raya to American University to the evening lecture on Marx's last decade delivered to graduate students from the Sociology Department. The audience of approximately 40-50 was both white and Black, professors and graduate students and included as well three members of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania at least one of whom had met Lou at Howard University and hear about RD coming at that time. As well another Howard professor who had tried to bring Raya to her University journey up to hear the lecture. In the lecture itself the audience had the opportunity to hear Raya's new form of Marx's ~~last~~ moments in his last decade which she had first worked out in her original U. of Mich. lecture. This form ties together Marx's new moments of the 1840s to Marx's last decade, explaining that it is impossible to fully understand Marx's last decade without grasping these new moments of the 1840s and showing how the 1870s and 1880s was in one sense a return to the ideas of the 1840s, only this time on a higher level as in the Hegelian return to origins. Though the question-answer period was brief, some \$50 in literature was sold, including two of the new books.

The next morning the CIRA conference began (Center for Iranian Research and Analysis). There were marked differences from last year's conference. On the one hand the number of people attending was less -- with the audience being 40 to 60 for most of the sessions, almost all Iranians. On the other hand the Marxist-Humanist presence was very integral to this conference, right from the podium. Not only was Raya invited to give the keynote address, to which we will return in a moment, but Middle East comrades gave two major presentations at the panels, and I was invited to be the commentator at a third panel. Thus, Saturday was indeed full of that Marxist-Humanist presence with Middle East Comrades giving a paper on the Peasantry and Sultan-Zadeh at the first session which sparked a great deal of controversy on the role of the peasantry in '79 and in the future. This was followed by a panel on Theoretical Questions in which I was able to give a brief commentary involving Marx's break with theory as only a debate among intellectuals. In the third panel two comrades presented a paper on women theoreticians in the Middle East which again sparked questions and comment in the discussion period. Flowing out of these panels and discussions were a number of informal discussions and new relationships which the Middle East comrades will be following up on including extensive reports in the next issue of their newspaper. All of this set the ground for the keynote address by Raya in the evening. Raya had attended an early morning presentation where another major speaker had begun his presentation in an interesting manner on trying to show the very new aspects of the Iranian Revolution as a Third World Revolution, including the fact that it was an urban revolution. However his presentation had then fallen apart into ~~physiological~~ a psychological explanation of events. It was for this reason that Raya felt compelled to make a keynote address that had two focal points ~~which~~ tied tightly together: Marx's Marxism and post-Marx Marxists who did not fully grasp Marx's Marxism. One of the very new aspects of the post-Marx Marxism which Raya introduced into her talk for the first time was a critique of Luxemburg at her highest moment--the 1905 Revolution. Despite her greatness at this moment, and her tremendous appreciation for spontaneity, Luxemburg failed to make a category out of this new creation of the workers, the

15594

Soviets, that she had of the general or mass strike. Discussion was spirited and followed by informal conversation where a number of women wanted to speak with Raya. Literature sales here too were good with somewhere close to \$100 of literature-- both English and Farsi sold, primarily through the work of the Middle East comrades and through R who had journeyed down from New York to be with us for the Washington part of the tour.

Raya was able to meet the next day with the Middle East comrades and discussion was held on follow through to the conference, on preparations for the West Coast part of the tour with reference to the Middle East friends and with the period leading up to Labor Day.

Yours,

Eugene

15595

NEWS & LETTERS

2832 East Grand Boulevard • Detroit, Michigan 48211 • Phone: 873-8969

March 24, 1983

Dear Friends:

We want to let all the subscribers and friends of News & Letters in the Washington, Maryland and Virginia areas know about two lectures by Raya Dunayevskaya in your area. These will be given as a part of Raya's national lecture tour after the publication by Humanities Press of all three of her major works--her trilogy of revolution. You may have seen the announcement of the lectures in the last issue of NSL (page 4).

Both of the lectures in Washington DC will be held on the campus of American University, on Friday evening April 1 and Saturday evening, April 2. Here are the details on the lectures:

*** Friday, April 1 at 8:00 PM.
American University
First floor conference room, Nebraska Hall
3700 Nebraska Ave, NW

Topic: "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade: the 1875 French edition of Capital; the Man/Woman relationship in the Ethnological Notebooks"

Sponsor: Deptment of Sociology, American University

*** Saturday, April 2 at 8:00 PM
Conference on "Revolution, Counterrevolution and the Islamic Republic"
American University
Ward I and II Buildings
Nebraska and Massachusetts Aves.

Topic: "The Todayness of Marx's Humanism on the Centenary of Marx's Death"

Sponsor: Center for Iranian Research and Analysis

We hope that you will be able to attend the lectures and get a chance to meet and speak with Raya in person. If you have read her latest work, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, this would be a good time to discuss your ideas and questions on it. If not, copies will be available at the lectures.

Yours for freedom,

Michael Connolly
for NSL

15596

March 22, 1983

Yamaka

Ms. Raya Dunayevskaya
c/o Ms. Olga Domanski
News & Letters Office
2832 E. Grand Boulevard, Room 316
Detroit, Michigan 48211

Dear Ms. Dunayevskaya:

On behalf of the faculty and students of the department of sociology at American University (AU), I would like to extend my gratitude and appreciation to you for accepting our invitation to speak at AU. Accordingly, I would like to confirm that the lecture will commence at 8:00 p.m., Friday, April 1, 1983 in the 1st floor conference room of Nebraska Hall located at 3700 Nebraska Ave. NW across from Cassell Center at American University. As you suggested, the title of the lecture will be: "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade: The 1875 French Edition of Capital: Man/Woman Relationship in the Ethnological Notebooks". Dr. Jurg Siegenthaler, professor of sociology at American University will introduce you at the lecture and there will be a reception for you following the lecture. In addition, you will be presented with a check in the amount of \$200.00 the night of the lecture.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me at my office (202) 223-1950 or at home . . . If you are unable to contact me at either of these two numbers, please call the sociology department (202) 686-2414 and leave a message with the department secretary.

After you arrive in Washington, D. C., please call me if you need further directions on how to get to campus from your hotel. I wish you a pleasant tour in Washington, D. C. and I look forward to meeting you at the lecture.

Sincerely,

Walter Taylor
Walter Taylor
Graduate Student Representative
Department of Sociology, American University

*R/S Taper
The topics of the
Humanism in the
KMS Draft*

*April 2 - 8 p.m.
Conf. in Rev. ->
+ Dr. Delanie Rep.
Am U. Wash I & II
Orosen + Man Am Rep*

Emiel Abel Valle

✓ ✓
The Center for Iranian Research and Analysis

announces its second annual conference

REVOLUTION, COUNTERREVOLUTION AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC

April 2-3, 1983

American University, Washington DC

with keynote addresses by

EQBAL AHMAD

and

KAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

Other original presentations on Iran since 1978, includ-

an expert analysis of recent oil market developments.

conference program schedule on the back of this flyer.

The Center for Iranian Research and Analysis is an independent, democratic association of scholars and activists. It does not subscribe to a single ideology or support a political group. Rather, it encourages healthy debate among various viewpoints while providing a vehicle for comparative studies. The Center is dedicated to the progress of transformation of Iran through critical studies of its political economy, history, culture, and art. For further information, or to receive notice of future CIRA forums, write to P.O. Box 53126, Temple Heights Station, Washington DC.

SATURDAY APRIL 2, 1983

8:00-9:45 Registration
Ward Bldg and information
Basement (tea, coffee & doughnuts)

10-11:15 Keynote Address
Ward Bldg by
Basement Arbab Ahmad

Sandwiches available in the
lobby after 11:15

11:30-1:30 Panel on Ideological Formations
Moderator & Discussant:
Ward Bldg Ali Mirsepassi & Janet Afary
Basement

Presentations by:

✓ Bahman Bakhtiar
✓ Turaj Hajmoradi
✓ Mehrdad Mashayekhi

1:45-3:45 Panel on Theoretical Issues
Ward I. Moderator & Discussant:
Building Mohammad Eghtedari
✓ Eugene Walker

Presentations by:

✓ James Petras
✓ Kaveh Afrasiabi
✓ Aljaz Ahmad

4:00-6:00 Panel on Iran's Economy Today
Ward I. Moderator & Discussant:
Building Hassan Zavareh
Lawrence Feiner

Presentations by:

✓ Hossein Razavi
✓ Parydoun Fesharaki
✓ Hushang Amirahmadi

6:15-7:45 DINNER BREAK
(hot meal for \$3.50)

8:00-9:30 Keynote Address
by
Lounge Raya Dunayevskaya

9:45-11:30 Social hour, with music
and exhibits by graphic
S.T.S. artists Ardeshir Mohassess,
Lounge Mikdad Wojoumi and Bizhan
Assadi-Pour

SUNDAY APRIL 3, 1983

9:00-11:00 Panel on Gender Relations
Ward I. Moderator & Discussant:
Building Patricia Higgins
Mehrdad Valbeigi

Presentations by:

✓ Frieda Afary
✓ Simin Bakhtiar
✓ Val Moghadam

Sandwiches available in the
lobby after 11

11:15-12:30 Panel on Foreign Relations
Moderator & Discussant:
Ward I. Thomas Ricks
Building Rostam Pourzal

Presentations by:

✓ Syamak Movahedi
✓ Nahid Mozaffarian

12:30-2:30 Panel on Counterrevolution
and Consolidation
Ward I. Moderator & Discussant:
Building Annette Zavareh
Bizhan Nia

Presentations by:

✓ Mohammad Aref
✓ Morteza Najafi

3:30-6:30 Benefit Theater
Bizhan Mofid and company
will stage the famous play
Shahr-e Qesseh at Thomas
Jefferson Community Theater
at 3501 Second Street, two
blocks from the intersection
of South Glebe Road and Route
50 in Arlington. Tickets
available for \$10 and \$15
(\$7 and \$10 for students).
Repeat performance at 8:00.

An
Alternative Conference
On
Iran Since 1978

sponsored by the
CENTER FOR IRANIAN RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

Washington, DC

April 2-3, 1983

12001

Analysis is an independent, democratic association of scholars and activists. It does not subscribe to a single ideology or support a single political group. Rather, it encourages a healthy debate among various viewpoints, while providing a vehicle for alternative studies.

CIRA is a nonprofit educational organization (incorporated in Virginia). It is dedicated to the progressive transformation of Iranian society through critical studies of political economy, history, culture, and art.

CIRA was founded in August, 1982. Activities leading to the establishment of the Center began earlier with a conference on the processes which led to the change of government in Iran (keynote speaker: Harry Magdoff, co-editor of Monthly Review). The need for these activities resulted from the failure of Iran observers to perceive the magnitude and direction of opposition and the misguided optimism of Iran's democratic forces in 1977-78.

Membership in CIRA is open to all individuals who accept CIRA's Statement of Purpose and who support neither monarchy nor the Islamic Republic regime. You are invited to support and utilize the Center. For further information, write P.O. Box 53126, Washington, DC 20009 USA.

II. Bases of Revolution and Counterrevolution

- Oil Production and Capital Accumulation
- Agriculture Industry
- Deindustrialization and the Working Class
- Organization of Daily Life
- Class Structure and Internal Conflicts
- Foreign Relations and Trade
- Women's Organizations

III. Challenges to the Islamic Republic

- Internal Opposition
- Women's Struggles
- National Minorities
- Workers' Councils
- The Opposition Abroad
- Exile Communities
- Superpower Competition
- The Gulf War and the Region

12600

CONFERENCE
REGISTRATION

All conference participants will be charged a registration fee of \$10 (\$7 for members). This can be paid in advance or at the start of the conference.

Efforts are under way to make some accommodations and day care available by prior arrangement. Information on local transportation, low cost lodging, and carpooling will also be provided upon request.

Please complete and return this section at your earliest convenience to P.O.Box 53126, Washington DC 20009.

I wish to be a panelist. I will send an abstract by March 15.

I believe _____ should be asked to present his/her research.

I would like CIRA to arrange accommodations _____ carpool _____ day care _____ for me.

I wish to receive your Newsletter.

12900

CONFERENCE EVENTS
COUNTRIES

In a rare East Coast appearance, Bahar Noid and the original cast of Shahr-e Qasbi will stage their play on Sunday April 3 at the invitation of the Committee for the Defense of Democratic Rights in Iran. The program has been a sellout in other U.S. cities. For ticket information, call (703) 536-7972.

The Committee to Develop a Democratic Organization of Iranian Women, a nationwide feminist group, has plans for a forum on Sunday April 3. For more information, write them c/o CIRA.

Sunday April 3, coinciding with the 13th of Noruz, will usher Washington's famous weeklong Cherry Blossom Festival.

LECTURE
ADDRESSES

*** Reza Ahmadi will speak on the implications of the Iranian Revolution for the Third World in the 1980s on Saturday April 2 at 10 a.m. Mr. Ahmadi is a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington DC and serves on the editorial committee of Race & Class. He has published widely on First/Third World relations, including the American involvement in Iran.

*** Raya Dunayevskaya will speak on "The Todayness of Marx's Humanism on the Centenary of Marx's Death" on Saturday April 2 at 8

P.M. Ms. Dunayevskaya is the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the United States. Her works on revolution and freedom have been translated into several languages, including Farsi. Her latest book is Revolution and Philosophy (New York: Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation Fund).



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April 12, 1983

Dear Friends:

This morning on the TV news were pictures of long lines of voters in Black Chicago waiting to cast ballots against the virulent racism that has burst into the open throughout the election campaign, ever since Harold Washington became the first Black candidate to win the nomination for Mayor. All eyes are now on that city some have called "Johannesburg on the lake", not because there is anything new about racism, but because new revolutionary forces are on the move there, and no one can yet say where they will end up, as they search for a revolutionary transformation of the American nightmare. Our eyes are of course on Chicago for another reason as well: tonight is the sum-up meeting Raya is having with the Chicago local at the conclusion of her tour there.

We just have the most preliminary reports about the first two meetings of that tour, as Raya's schedule has been so jammed that there has been no time for more. The first meeting at UIC in Chicago evidently had a fine turnout of some 90 students and professors, with substantial Black participation, both African and American, as well as international in all respects. Both the literature sales and the discussion were very good. You may remember that Dave P. and Terry have been conducting a study group in RLWLKM on that campus for the last month. Raya had no sooner finished that meeting when she had to leave for Iowa, where her lecture there had been arranged by several months of trips and hard work especially by Dave P. The turnout at U. of Iowa was even greater than UIC, with over 150 in attendance. Not only were the sales of literature excellent, but a group of activists there wants to begin a study of Marxist-Humanist ideas. Chicago will be sending you a full report on the Midwest tour as a whole, including the meetings at Urbana (the Third World Women's Conference), Wisconsin, and the local meetings.

Raya is going to be in Salt Lake City by the end of the week, where Ted's work on media interviews has been such that we have had to be selective about which of the offers to take. And this morning's mail brought us a beautiful poster that they have up for the tour at U. of Utah. Meanwhile Peter has already left LA to go up to Seattle for advance work on the tour there, where Raya will be arriving five hectic days from now.

Yours, Mike

15602

. April 17, 1983

Dear Friends,

Counting interviews, talks to classes, panels, receptions and lectures, Raya gave 10 speeches plus a sum up meeting for the Chicago local. This activity brought us over \$460 in lit sales including 20 copies sold of RLWL&MPR, 12 P&R and 7 M&F. We have well over 60 people who signed our mailing lists and want to know more about Marxist-Humanism.

Raya gave 2 lectures in Chicago, one at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) and one for the local; she spoke at the University of Iowa; at a special women's conference in Champaign/ Urbana, Illinois called "Common Differences;" and at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. In each lecture, Raya covered many of the same points and yet for each one the form was different. Thus, for example, where at UIC, Raya began with Marx and the δ/φ relationship, at Madison she began with meeting Rosa Luxemburg, her entrance on the German scene.

In each lecture Raya brought out Marx's break with bourgeois society, his opposition to both capitalism and vulgar communism as well as what he was for, a new humanism, and an end to the division of mental and manual labor. What struck us as new was that along with δ/φ relations and a new humanism, was Marx's sensitivity to words and racism and the category of time. Thus, Raya showed how Marx objected to the words "negro" and "slave" being used as if they meant the same thing. Unseparated from this, Raya would introduce Marx's most "economic" category--socially necessary labor time--and show that each economic category is indeed a human one by showing what time meant to Marx: "Time is the space for human self-development."

Marx's Marxism was traced in each lecture from his beginning, through Grundrisse, where he saw something positive in the Asiatic mode of production and learned that he needed to change his concept of theory; through his last decade where the δ/φ relationship and the question of race is again brought forward through a discussion of the Iroquois women, the Irish, and the "intelligent Black" Aborigine.

It is the dialectics of revolution that was the basis of all Raya's lectures. Thus she traced the relationship between individuals and masses in motion for freedom and demonstrated the universality of freedom--that it could not be confined to one dimension or one geographic locality. So we see 1831 was not only Nat Turner but also Maria Stewart, and not only Turner and Stewart but the slaves following the North star to freedom bringing on the Civil War. We see that 1848 is not only the revolutions in Europe but also Seneca Falls in the U.S. and Sojourner Truth as well as Margaret Fuller who, through revolution, became a whole human being. Raya shows us that John Brown is related to the founding of the First Workingman's International with Harriet Law in the leadership; and that the 1871 Paris Commune has a relationship to women's liberation as well as the question of agriculture and revolution in so-called backward lands. Where on the one hand we witness the greatness of today's WLM on the question of challenging male chauvinism within the Left, on the other hand we see its incompleteness on both race and revolution in the WLM's disregard of Rosa Luxemburg.

15603

Each lecture ended with the new paragraph that Raya wrote for RLWL&MFR which brings together what Raya calls "this dialectical circle of circles." Indeed, that is the best description of the experience of this part of the lecture tour because each element was intertwined in such a creative way and throughout the 5 lectures in such a different way, that what emerged was the unchained dialectic.

Raya's first lecture was at UIC. Eighty people attended and bot \$54 in literature, including 3 books. In the audience were the members of the study group we have organized on that campus; a South African who teaches at UIC and with whom we had made deeper contact at the Third World Conference just prior to Raya's arrival; several Black students, Iranians, and a number of women from Women's Studies. The level of discussion was very high including questions on, "what does it mean to make philosophy concrete?"; "on what basis do you say that Engels, Luxemburg, and Lenin all fell short?"; "why do you say that Marx's revolution in permanence differs from Trotsky's?"

The following day a member of our study group who teaches history (19th Century Radicalism) invited Raya to talk to his class of freshmen and sophomores. Her topic was, "Dialectics and Education --from Marx to the Free Speech Movement in the 1960s." The most exciting part of that session was a Black student who asked Raya if Kennedy wasn't so much better than Reagan. She replied yes, but then read the first 2 paragraphs of the original introduction to ACOT. The student's eyes lit up as she read and he came to Raya after the class asking where he could get that pamphlet.

At the University of Iowa, a reception was held prior to the lecture at the Women's Resource and Action Center. Twenty women attended, some of them lesbian-feminists and nearly all had a very positive response to Raya's talk on the feminist dimension of Rosa Luxemburg. There was considerable interest in Luxemburg's life and politics and \$45 in lit was sold. At the evening lecture, 150 attended, including some of the women from the afternoon meeting. It was Raya's development of the integrality of women's liberation to Marx's philosophy that caused the most comment including applause when she said emancipation of women must come before, during and after the revolution. While women were the dominant force in the audience, there were also many men and Blacks and Latinos. Representatives of a number of academic disciplines were present including history, planning, anthropology, economics and women's studies. At the end of the lecture, an additional \$75 in lit was sold accounting for 10 books total. Many people talked with Raya after the lecture expressing the desire to continue the discussion. The following day, the paper carried a report on the lecture with Raya's picture on the front page (enclosed).

At our second lecture in Chicago, sponsored by our local, only 31 people attended. We did sell \$42 in lit, including all three books. Two workers came, one of whom had a well read and worn copy of M&F and who had been present at a lecture by Raya four years ago. Four Iranians who we had originally met at UIC came to this lecture.

In Champaign/Urbana, Raya appeared ^(with an audience of 400) on a panel, "Women in Revolutionary Movements" that met just before her lecture. She was the last to speak after a Salvadoran, Iranian, Moroccan, and Native American. She was not only able to give an over-view of all those talks, but to critique them as well as she stressed how total the

15604

uprooting of society must be and that is not only description, but demands philosophy and revolution be united. She brought in Rosa Luxemburg, Rosa Muki Bonaparte, Isobel do Carmo and "apartidarismo," Miriam Gafoor, Sojourner Truth; and when they told her that her 15 short minutes were up: "Time is the space for human self-development." It was those 15 minutes that helped bring 60 to her lecture, a lecture that had to compete with 6 other workshops. The questions after the lecture focused on Marx's last decade. An Iranian raised the question about the continuity between Marx's materialism and his concerns during the last decade. An Indian asked if revolution is possible in a country that is both feudal and capitalist.

Raya's trip to Madison began with an appearance on a radio talk show that has the largest audience in the area. The interviewer had actually read part of RLWL&MPR and New Essays and asked questions about Marxist-Humanism, state capitalism, why did Raya say that Rosa Luxemburg was an original character, how does the general strike relate to Martin Luther King Jr. and Ghandi, is it possible to have a revolution in the U.S.? The first caller was a close friend who asked about Solidarnosc. Others asked about the relationship of the economic crisis and education and what the "American Lenin" would be like. In answering that, Raya began with today's WLM.

The lecture that evening was the highpoint of the Midwest tour with 175 attending (some of whom had heard the talk show) and over \$200 in lit sold with over 35 signing our mailing list. The audience was quite attentive and serious about theory--the discussion was lively. Questions raised reflected the fact that there are several faculty teaching "Marxism" from structuralist, social democrat and Stalinist points of view. Among these were the relationship of Marxist-Humanism to materialism; and why we call Russia state capitalist. Raya has truly shaken up the campus and these professors will undoubtedly be called to account. People actually stood in line to buy literature and expressed a desire to continue the discussion.

In both Iowa and Madison, the challenge is to make this lecture tour not an end, but an ongoing relationship to Marxist-Humanism. What also is a challenge is our own work right within Chicago. The local's meeting was the least exciting be that lit sales, audience size and, more importantly, the discussion itself. At our sum up meeting, Raya pointed to some direction for us as we look from the tour just ending to our Constitutional Convention. She discussed the new kind of member we are looking for and how that should guide our activity. It was at that meeting too, that Raya gave us a new look at the roots of Marxist-Humanism as she brought together in a different way the miners general strike of 1949-1950 and the transformation of what was to have been Marxism and State Capitalism into Marxism and Freedom as she invited workers to participate in the discussion of the new book and decided that Marx's American roots as well as his Humanist Essays and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks should be included.

Our next Local meeting will take up the challenges posed by this tour. Among the questions we will take up as we discuss this letter are how can lessons learned from the tour help us to focus our activity so that there is a continuity between the tour, our local meetings between now and the Convention and the Convention itself.

Yours,

David Fark and Terry Moon

15605

DRAFT

1983 Midwest Lecture Tour by Raya Dunayevskaya

TUESDAY APRIL 5

University of Illinois-Chicago Campus
3PM - Room 605 Chicago Circle Center

Topic:

"On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists
- On the Women's Liberation Movement
- On the Black Dimension
- On Marx's Theory of Revolution in Permanence"

Co-Sponsors: Women's Studies, Black Studies, Political Science, Anthropology, School of Urban Planning and Policies, Center for Urban and Economic Development, Marxist-Humanists at UIC, Student Activities Funding Committee, and University Lectures Committee

THURSDAY APRIL 7

University of Iowa at Iowa City
7PM - Shambaugh Auditorium

Topic:

"On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists
- On the Women's Liberation Movement
- On the Black Dimension
- On Marx's Theory of Revolution in Permanence"

Co-Sponsors: Women's Studies, University Lectures Program, Plaines Women's Bookstore, HERA, Iowa Socialist Party, and Iowa Planners' Network

SATURDAY
APRIL 9

News and Letters Committee - Chicago
Midland Hotel, Holabird Room - 2nd Floor
Adams at LaSalle

Topic:

"The Dialectics of Revolution: Confrontations with Marx-- from Engels through Rosa Luxemburg to Our Age--Reveal Pathways to Freedom for Today

including

- Rank and File Labor
- Women's Liberation
- Third World
- Black Dimension"

Sponsor: Chicago News and Letters Committee

15606

SUNDAY APRIL 10

Champaign/Urbana

Ms. Dunayevskaya will be both a panelist and a guest lecturer at the Third World Women's and Feminist Perspectives: Common Differences conference

1:30 PM Panel: "Women in Revolutionary Movements"

3:30 PM Lecture:

"The Trail from Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to Today's Women's Liberation Movements

- From the Paris Commune 1871 to Iran 1979;
- From China 1937/1949 to Portugal 1974;
- From the Aba Women's War 1929 to Poland 1980; and
- From Russia 1905/1917 to El Salvador's On-Going Revolution Today"

Sponsor: The entire conference is sponsored by the Office of Women's Resources and Services, University of Illinois at Champaign/Urbana

WEDNESDAY
APRIL 13

University of Wisconsin at Madison
7:30 PM - Wisconsin Center Auditorium

Topic:

"Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution"

Co-Sponsors: Women's Studies, German, History, and Sociology, and the off-campus Committee to Stop Militarism

I would like to order the following works by Raya Dunayevskaya:

- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (Published by Humanities Press, November 1982; \$10.95 paperback, \$19.95 hard-bound)
- Marxism and Freedom (Reprinted by Humanities Press, 1982; \$10.95 paperback)
- Philosophy and Revolution (Reprinted by Humanities Press, 1982; \$10.95 paperback)
- Woman as Force and as Reason (Published by News and Letters Committees; \$1.00; also available in Farsi)
- American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard (To be reprinted by News and Letters Committees in June, 1983; please let me know when it is available)

Name _____ Address _____
 City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Send to: News and Letters Committees, 220 South State, Room 1326, Chicago, IL 60604 along with check made out to same.

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2 READER -- Section 3

April 1, 1983 1

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA — author, activist and former secretary to Leon Trotsky — will be speaking in Chicago twice in the month of April: Tuesday, April 5, 3pm, at UIC campus, Chicago Circle Center, Rm. 605, topic "On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists — On the Women's Liberation Movement, On the Black Dimension, On Marx's Theory of Revolution in Permanence"; Saturday, April 9, 3pm, at the Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams, Holabird Room (2nd fl.), topic "Dialectics of Revolution: Confrontations with Marx — from Engels through Rosa Luxemburg to our age — reveal pathways to freedom for today." Free and open.

x

15608

Volume 25
Number 22
April 4, 1983
12 Pages

On the occasion of
THE MARX CENTENARY - 1983



A talk by

Raya Dunayevskaya

Marxist-Humanist philosopher
and author of

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's
Liberation and Marx's
Philosophy of Revolution
(Humanities Press, Nov. 1982)

as well as

Marxism and Freedom and
Philosophy and Revolution
(Both reprinted in 1982 by
Humanities Press)

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS - CHICAGO CAMPUS
ROOM 605 CHICAGO CIRCLE CENTER

Tuesday
April 5
3 pm.

"On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge
to All Post-Marx Marxists
- On the Women's Liberation Movement
- On the Black Dimension
- On Marx's Theory of Revolution in Permanence"

Co-sponsored by: Women's Studies Program, Black Studies Program, Political
Science Department, Anthropology Department, School of
Urban Planning and Policies, Center for Urban and Economic
Development, Marxist-Humanists at UIC, Student Activities
Funding Committee, and the University Lectures Committee



For more information about Ms. Dunayevskaya's midwest lecture tour, contact News and
Letters Committees, 220 South State, Room 1326, Chicago, Illinois 60604 (312/663-0839).

April 6, 1983
Chicago ILLINI

Chicago ILLINI
The Student Newspaper

15609

Reviews



Raya Dunayevskaya, a Marxist-Humanist philosopher, spoke last week in CCC on the Women's Liberation Movement, the Black Dimension, and Marx's Theory of Revolution in Permanance. Photo by Keith Alsberg.

Chicago ILLINI

April 11, 1963

15610

On the occasion of

THE MARX CENTENARY - 1983



A talk by

Raya Dunayevskaya

Marxist-Humanist philosopher
and author of

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's
Liberation and Marx's
Philosophy of Revolution
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as well as

Marxism and Freedom and
Philosophy and Revolution
(Both reprinted in 1982 by
Humanities Press)

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA - IOWA CITY
SHAMBAUGH AUDITORIUM

Thursday
April 7
7 p.m.

**"On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge
to All Post-Marx Marxists**
- On the Women's Liberation Movement
- On the Black Dimension
- On Marx's Theory of Revolution in Permanence"

Co-sponsored by: Women's Studies Program, University Lectures Program,
Plaines Women's Bookstore, HERA, Iowa Socialist Party,
& the Iowa Planners' Network

For more information about Ms. Dunayevskaya's midwest lecture tour, contact News and
Letters Committees, 220 South State, Room 1326, Chicago, Illinois 60604 (312/663-0839).

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Wednesday, April 6, 1983—Iowa City Press-Citizen

A talk by

Raya Dunayevskaya

Marxist - Humanist Philosopher

Thursday, April 7, 7 p.m.

Univ. of Ia. Shambaugh Auditorium

"On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists

— On the Women's Liberation Movement

— On the Black Dimension

— On Marx's Theory of Revolution in Permanence"

15612

Revolution orients speaker's life

By Mary Tabor
Staff Writer

From her childhood amidst the Russian Revolution to her presence at the birth of the free speech movement in Berkeley, Calif., during the 1960s, Raya Dunayevskaya has experienced revolution.

The subtle wrinkles around her eyes and faintness of her voice belie the potency of the Marxist humanism she espoused before a crowd of about 150 people on the UI campus Thursday night.

Her lecture in Iowa City is part of a national tour honoring the Karl Marx Centenary, the anniversary of his death in 1883.

"The Marxist legacy is not a mere heirloom," she said, "but a live body of perspectives."

Dunayevskaya, described as a philosopher, political analyst and women's liberationist, served as secretary for Leon Trotsky during his exile in Mexico and has written several influential books on Marxism.

Marx rejected not only the profit motive, but also what he called "vulgar communism," an equally detestable form of property ownership,

a fire in Dunayevskaya. She said she insisted on the emancipation of women "before, during and after" the social revolution. Her commitment to equality long predates today's women's movement.

For too long, she says, revolutionists have promoted their own cause and promised women that they come next.

"This is wrong because you deprive yourself of the wisdom we women have," Dunayevskaya jokes.

But, she pointed out, "Marx showed there was never a revolution that was not also a women's revolution."

As an example, she noted that beside the anti-slavery movement of the American 1860s arose the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls.

Women met there who were tired of making sandwiches for the underground railroads. They asked why they couldn't participate in their own revolution. "They were asking questions and getting answers way, way above what we are doing now," Dunayevskaya told the crowd.

One of these women, Sojourner Truth, "who was not exactly popular, especially with white men," once told a group of priests because Jesus was

the son of God and Mary, man had nothing to do with it, Dunayevskaya said.

WHAT MARX OPENED UP in feminist freedom expanded everywhere, she said. "It was a new world."

Dunayevskaya noted that intelligent women like Sojourner Truth were said to have "a masculine mind." She commented, "You guys really did something to put your sex organs in your brain."

Another female revolutionist Dunayevskaya has featured in her writing is Rosa Luxemburg, who helped lead the left-wing Socialist Party in Poland during the 1905 Russian Revolution.

Luxemburg rejected the idea that this was the last of the great revolutions, maintaining it was the first of the 20th century revolutions, her biographer said.

But Luxemburg came to recognize male chauvinism in the Socialist Party and made this the new thrust of her revolution. According to Dunayevskaya, "the greatness of today's women's movement can't compare to her revolutionary zeal."

The Daily Iowan — Iowa City, Iowa — Friday, April 8, 1983

Page One

15613

ON THE MARX CENTENARY, NEWS AND LETTERS INVITES YOU TO HEAR:

Raya Dunayevskaya



Marxist-Humanist philosopher
and author of

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's
Liberation and Marx's
Philosophy of Revolution
(Humanities Press, Nov. 1982)

as well as

Marxism and Freedom and
Philosophy and Revolution
(Both reprinted in 1982 by
Humanities Press)

Dialectics of Revolution:

**Confrontations with Marx—
from Engels through Rosa Luxemburg to our age—
reveal pathways to freedom for today**

The presentation will include

- * Rank and file Labor
- * Women's Liberation
- * The Black dimension
- * The Third World

3 p.m. Saturday, April 9

**Holabird Room
Midland Hotel, Second Floor
172 W. Adams (at LaSalle St.)**

Sponsored by News and Letters Committees -- free and open

15614

COMMON DIFFERENCES

THIRD WORLD WOMEN AND FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES



UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

APRIL 9-13, 1983

Office for Women's Resources and Services
346 Fred H. Turner Student Services Building
110 East John Street
Champaign, IL 61820

Common Differences: Third World Women and Feminist Perspectives

Multicultural, interdisciplinary and international in scope, the "Common Differences" conference intends to explore the complexity of similarities and differences among women across diverse groups and cultures. In using the term "third world" we include both women of certain minority communities in the U.S., such as Black, Chicana, Latina, Asian and Native American; and women from third world countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

The objectives of the conference are to reach across cultural, disciplinary and national boundaries towards the following goals:

- (1) to encourage dialogue and criticisms among "third world" and "first world" women;
- (2) to examine the research and analyses which posit a relationship between feminist and third world studies;
- (3) to assess the "absences" both in women's studies and third world scholarship; and
- (4) to bring together scholars, writers, artists, activists, community workers and the general public for a mutual sharing of ideas and experience.

This conference is free and open to the public. Exhibits will include materials from bookstores and publishers in areas of women's literature and third world women including the visual arts and music.

Sponsors

Office for Women's Resources and Services — UIUC
YWCA of the University of Illinois
Illinois Humanities Council
African Studies Program
Afr-American Studies and Research Program
Center for Asian Studies
Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies
Illini Symposia for Women
La Casa Cultural Latina
Native American Support Group
Organization Fund Advisory Board
Office of Women in International Development
Office of Women's Studies
Student Organization Resource Fee
Unit for Criticism, School of Humanities

Contributors

Church Women United
McKinley Foundation
National Organization for Women
United Church Foundation
Wesley Foundation
Women in English
Women Students' Union
Women's Studies Student Organization
Other University of Illinois departments and community organizations

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

SATURDAY, April 9

Morning:
Pre-conference events co-sponsored with the
African Literature Association Annual
Conference, April 6-9, 1983

1:00 - 5:00 p.m.:

Registration
Film and Discussion: Sarah Maldoror
(Guadeloupe), Director, "Leningrad's
Hospital" (in French)

6:00 p.m.:

Dinner

7:00 p.m.:

Welcome Addresses
Keynote Address
Teshel Letelier, Chile

SUNDAY, April 10

8:30 - 10:00 a.m.:

Primary Session
Feminism: Cross-Cultural Perspectives
Afolajepa Chabaku, South Africa
Gloria Joseph, United States
Inne Mack, United States/Menominee
Bernice Carroll, United States
Gloria Anzaldua, United States,
Moderator/Discussant

10:30 - 12:00 noon:

- Roundtables and Workshops
(1) Cross-Cultural Feminist Perspectives:
Responses to Primary Session ("Madhu Sen,
India; Leith Mullings, United States; Rosa
Camarra-Thompson, Peru, Moderator)
Moderator/Discussant
Levigar, United States)
(2) White Women Confronting Racism (Julia
Levigar, United States)
(3) Black Women and Feminism (Evelyn
Brown, United States)
(4) Invisibility of Native American Women in
the Women's Movement (Beth Brant,
United States/Mohawk)
(5) Crossing Cultural Boundaries: Research
and Education ("Janet Bauer, United States)

THEME:

1:30 - 3:00 p.m.:

- COLONIZATION AND RESISTANCE
Panels:
Women in Revolutionary Movements
*Patricia Seppas, El Salvador
Navreh Tohidli, Iran
Diamila Oliveira, Morocco
*Winona Laduke, United States/Anishinabe
Raya Dunayevskaya, United States
Marta Silva, Ecuador, Moderator/Discussant
*Women as the World's Poor
*Rounaq Jahan, Bangladesh
*Mary Hollinsfeiner, Philippines
*Neuma Aguiar, Brazil
*Faye Harrison, United States
*Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, India,
Moderator/Discussant

3:30 - 5:00 p.m.:

- Roundtables and Workshops
(1) Refugees and Exiles (Judith Santos, Chile)
(2) Women Migrants and Refugees (Roz
Dickson, United States)
(3) Women's Work: Domestic and Agricultural
(Neuma Aguiar, Brazil)
(4) Land Issues for Native Americans ("Winona
Laduke, United States/Anishinabe)
(5) Women in Crime: Punishing the Victim
(Juanita Ramos, United States)
(6) Prostitution and Slave Trade (Sucheta
Mazumdar, India)
(7) The Trail from Marx's Philosophy of
Revolution to Today's Women's Liberation
Movements (Raya Dunayevskaya, United
States)

8:00 p.m.:

Keynote Address
Nawal el Saadawi, Egypt

MONDAY, April 11

8:30 - 10:00 a.m.

Panel:
Politics of Women's Health, Fertility and Reproduction
Margaret Frazee, Tanzania
Katsuhisa Cook, United States/Mexico
Lesh Muller, United States
Nawal el Saadawi, Egypt
Paula Treichler, United States,
Moderator/Discussant

Religion, Politics and Women
*Madhu Sen, India
*Madelga Chabou, South Africa
Zohreh Sullivan, Israel/Lebanon
*Tarek Bauser, United States,
Moderator/Discussant

10:30 - 12:00 noon

Roundtables and Workshops
(1) Religious and Cultural Practices Affecting Women (*Madhu Sen, India; Soraya Palmaraz, Iran; Evelynne Accad, Lebanon)
(2) Violence Against Women (*Suzanne Smothers, United States; Nayereh Toobi, Iran)
(3) Latina Lesbians and the Immigrant Experience (Isabella Ramos, United States; Mirtha Quintanales, United States)
(4) Control of Reproduction: Strategies for Survival (Katsuhisa Cook, United States/Mexico)
(5) Confronting Racism: Anti-Semitism in the Women's Movement

THEME:

1:30 - 3:00 p.m.

IMAGES AND REALITIES
Panel:
Representation of Women in Literature and Popular Culture
Maryann Oshana, United States
Rosa Dudovitz, United States
Fluanel Egrayan, Nigeria
Irene Loufing, Lebanon
Maame Montgomery, United States,
Moderator/Discussant
Third World Women and Chicanos
Discussions
Christine Choy, United States
Sarah Maldoror, Guadeloupe (Ruth Honnell, United States, Translator)
Djamila Olivezi, Morocco
Zahra Doukatabadi, Iran,
Moderator/Discussant

3:30 - 5:00 p.m.

Roundtables and Workshops
(1) Racism and Sexism in Popular Culture (Brenda Verner, United States)
(2) Cinema and Imperialism (Julia Lesage, United States)
(3) Politics of Sexuality (Beth Brant, United States/Mexico)
(4) Setting the Language (Paula Treichler and Chris Krauss, United States)
(5) Images of Third World Women in Literature (Patrick Belgarde-Smith, Haiti; Michael Brookshaw, *Darryl Dance and Rosemary Stevenson, United States)
(6) Area Studies Programs and Third World Women's Studies
Multimedia Presentation by Chiapa

6:00 p.m.

8:30 p.m.

Keynote Address:
*Nuzaleh Shamsi, United States

TUESDAY, April 12

8:30 - 10:00 a.m.

Panel:
Literary, Educational and Ideology
Violet Malone, United States
Shirley Chant, Argentina
Pat Boudjian, Argentina/Canada
Beatrice Medicine, United States/Lakota
Barbara Yarek, United States,
Moderator/Discussant

In Our Words: Women and Language
Gloria Anzaldúa, United States
Nellie Wong, United States
Chris Krauss, United States
Evelynne Accad, Lebanon,
Moderator/Discussant

10:30 - 12:00 noon

Roundtables and Workshops
(1) Third World Women's Studies: Pedagogical Issues (Cheryl Johnson, United States)
(2) History of Racism in the Women's Movement (Mary Lee Sargent, United States)
(3) Women's Publishing (Ines Rieder, Austria; Cherré Moraga, United States; Mirtha Quintanales, United States)
(4) Library Resources (Rosemary Stevenson and Beth Stafford, United States)
(5) Women and Technology (Martha Trescott, United States)

1:30 - 5:00 p.m.

Media and Music Presentation
To Love, Honor and Obey, Christine Choy, 1980
One Way or Another, Sara Gomez, 1977
You Have Struck a Rock, Deborah May, 1981
South Africa Belongs to Us, Chris Austin, 1980
My Village Women, Laila Abou-Saif, 1975
Ramparts of Clay, Jean-Louise Benicelli

Poetry Readings:
Carmen Pursifull, United States
Ana Castillo, United States
Gloria Anzaldúa, United States
Nellie Wong, United States
Beulah Brown, Jamaica

8:00 p.m.

Keynote Address
Cherré Moraga, United States

WEDNESDAY, April 13

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Panel:
Politics and Strategies: Imperatives for Action
*Dessima Williams, Grenada
Angela Gilliam, United States
Nellie Wong, United States
Patricia Cramer, United States,
Moderator/Discussant

10:30 - 12:00 noon

Roundtables and Workshops
(1) Black Women and Feminism (Cheryl Johnson, United States)
(2) Arab-Israeli Dialogue
(3) Arts and Cultural Policy (Beulah Brown, Jamaica)
(4) Union Organizing (Maria Silva, Ecuador; Susan Parenti, United States)
(5) Multinational Corporations in the Third World (Marianne Brun, Germany/United States)

(6) Pride and Prejudice: Major Factors in Dealing with Differences (Gloria Joseph, United States)

12:15 p.m.

Lunch

Keynote Address: To Be Announced

1:30 - 3:00 p.m.

Panel:
Is There Ground for an International Feminist Perspective?
*Ines Rieder, Austria
Cheryl Johnson, United States
Chandra Talpade Mohanty, India
Ann Russo, United States
*Heleith Saffioti, Brazil

3:15 - 5:00 p.m.

Closing Session
Evaluations, Speak Out, Dialogue (Violet Malone and Betty Gabehart, United States, Facilitators)

Conference headquarters will be located on the campus of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the Illini Union, 1401 W. Green St., Urbana, IL 61801. For further information about the conference write the Office for Women's Resources and Services at 346 Fred H. Turner Student Services Building, 610 E. John St., Champaign, IL 61820 or call 217-333-3137 or 217-344-0721.

*Tentative

Conference Registration and Request for Information

Name _____

Address _____

(street and number)

(city, state, zip code)

Plan to attend the conference, April 9 - 13

yes no

Dates attending _____

There is no registration fee but pre-registration would help us in planning. Meals below must be reserved and prepaid by April 1.

Am making reservations for these conference meals:

_____ (number) \$8.35 per person, Saturday, April 9,
Dinner, 6 p.m.

_____ (number) \$6.25 per person, Wednesday, April 13,
Lunch, 12:15 p.m.

_____ Total amount enclosed (Make checks payable to:
Conference Committee on Third World Women)

Need further information on:

area housing and child care (enclose \$1.00 for postage and handling; make checks payable to: Conference Committee on Third World Women)

Exhibitor information (bookstores and publishers in areas of women's literature and third world women including visual arts and music)

MAIL TO: Common Differences Conference, % Office for Women's Resources and Services, 346 Student Services, 610 East John St., Champaign, IL 61820.

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University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

OFFICE FOR WOMEN'S RESOURCES AND SERVICES
346 Fred H. Turner Student Services Building
810 East John Street
Champaign, Illinois 61820
(217) 233-3137

May 2, 1983

Dear Raya:

Thank you so much for your contributions to the Common Differences Conference. It was, as we had hoped, an unusual and significant event which provoked a lot of discussion and debate. More than 800 people from all over the United States, and from over forty different countries registered for the conference. It was truly intercultural and international in terms of audience as well as the speakers.

As you know, we plan to publish the proceedings, and ask that you (if you have not done so already) sign the enclosed form about publication rights, and also send us your paper(s) and summaries of workshops and roundtable discussions. We need at least an abstract or a draft immediately in order to structure the scope and boundaries of the books, and to adequately negotiate with the publishers.

With reference to your honorarium and expenses, if you have turned in your forms you should have received your checks(s), or will do so in the near future. In case you have not sent us the forms, we are enclosing these too.

Once again, thank you for making this conference a memorable event. We are in the process of compiling a list of all the people who attended the conference, and will be happy to mail you a copy if you would like one. Arrangements for transcribing tapes are also under way. It was very exciting to meet and speak with you at the conference. We will keep in touch and hope you too will write or call us.

Sincerely,

Ann Russo

Ann Russo
Conference Coordinator

Chandra Talpade Mohanty

Chandra Talpade Mohanty
Conference Coordinator

AR:CTM/ksc

15617

May 6, 1983

Dear C handra and Ann:

Raya just returned this week from the most exhaustive and rigorous (but exciting) lecture tour she has ever had. She went to a cottage in Canada for a week of absolute rest which was mandatory -- but before she did, she asked me to send off the questionnaire that was waiting for her from the YWCA. I'm enclosing a copy of it, so you can see what she wrote for them.

The transcript of her talk was also waiting for her when she returned, and she has taken it with her to work on the editing just as soon as she can manage it. She asked me to tell you that she will try to meet your May 15 deadline for handing in the papers -- but that she may not be able to meet it, since it gives her only a bare week, along with all the other tasks ^{that} were waiting for her. If it is not in your hands by the 15th, it will surely be there before the 30th.

It was great to hear all the reports of your Conference from those who were there. Sorry I couldn't have been one of them. We may yet meet in person -- but until then,

Best wishes,

CD return

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On the occasion of

THE MARX CENTENARY - 1983



A talk by

Raya Dunayevskaya

Marxist-Humanist philosopher
and author of

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's
Liberation and Marx's
Philosophy of Revolution
(Humanities Press, Nov. 1982)

as well as

Marxism and Freedom and
Philosophy and Revolution
(Both reprinted in 1982 by
Humanities Press)

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN AT MADISON

WISCONSIN CENTER AUDITORIUM

Wednesday
April 13
7:30 p.m.

**"Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation
and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution"**

- * Presents the unknown feminist dimension of Rosa Luxemburg and examines her relevance for today's Women's Liberation Movement as internationalist, as theorist, as revolutionary, as anti-militarist.
- * Issues a challenge to all previous interpretations of Marx and Marxism in her conception of "post-Marx Marxists," beginning with Engels, who do not fully develop Marx's Marxism, his revolution-in-permanence.

Co-sponsored by: Women's Studies Program, German Department, History Department, Sociology Department, and the off-campus Committee to Stop Militarism

For more information about Ms. Dunayevskaya's midwest lecture tour, contact News and Letters Committees, 220 South State, Room 1326, Chicago, Illinois 60604 (312/663-0839).

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APR 20 1983

April 17, 1983

Dear Jim,

You'll be getting a report from Terry and Dave on this part of the tour, but I would like to convey some of the excitement I felt, specifically in Madison. We set up the lit table a half-hour early, and people were already coming in. I think we sold over \$10 in lit before Raya even began speaking. It was exciting to see more and more students keep coming in, and during the lecture, which was structured around RL but naturally took up Marx from 1843 to 1883 & WL today, it was the most responsive audience I've been in for Raya. Most people actually laughed at her jokes, and when she made a certain remark about the contributions of the WIM (I think from chapter 8), a woman yelled out, "Yeah!" Few people left during the discussion period, during which were asked such serious questions as what is the relationship between Marx's Humanism and materialism. The audience in general was very favorably impressed with both the lecture and the responses to audience questions and comments. Almost everyone laughed when she made a fool of a pro-Albanian Stalinist, and the Spartacists, who were there, didn't even dare to say a word. The extended applause was much more than just polite applause.

Just as soon as the discussion was over, lots of people rushed to look at the lit. There were people on

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all sides of the lit table, even behind it with Terry and me. Even those who didn't buy much lit ~~seems~~ were not the unserious types who often come to a lit table to bend your ear. Terry and I were swamped, rushing from one outstretched hand to another for what seemed like more than a half hour. So many people wanted to be on the mailing list they were passing it to each other! We sold 17 books, including two orders after we ran out of RLWIMPR, and if we'd had more of them, we probably would've sold more. Also I'm sure we would've sold a lot of "Martinique"s, but the entire Chicago supply was exhausted. Besides the books, what sold best were things about WL and about revolutions in other countries, as well as some 25-year histories. What didn't sell was lit specifically about the Black dimension (the audience was over 95% white). It was very exciting, and I hope we can make it the beginning of a solid organizational presence in Madison.

Yours for New Beginnings,

Franklin
Franklin

15623

11/11/71
the school
1933/4/11

Tuesday, April 5

3:00 p.m. Lecture at University of Illinois at Chicago on:
"On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists. * On the WLM
* On the Black Dimension
* On Marx's theory of Revolution in Permanence

Terrific mtg
Doris is organizer

5:00 p.m. Reception following speech

15624

Wednesday, April 6

11:00-12:00 Option speak at Ed. B's
Class on Marxism = 40, up one place
students interested in
ACOT

11:00

11:00

15625

March 21

Thursday, April 7

7:55 a.m. Leaving Chicago to arrive
in Cedar Rapids via Mississippi
Valley Airlines # 541

9:15 a.m. Arrive Cedar Rapids

12:00 noon Reception - Women's Resource
and Action Center

the small, most intense ^{the future had} ^{quite unusual} group
interact: good to see

7:00 p.m. Lecture at the University of Iowa,
Shambaugh Auditorium on:

"On the Marx Centenary: Facing
the Challenge to All Post-Marx
Marxists - ^{on the} ^{Blah!} ^{in person}

greatest of all times - 150 attended, 100 left
1st p. working in paper (4/8) possibility of class
like appt. to be: with Dave constantly being
quoted than last time. And so we also had
out for dinner + talk at 9:30p - till 11 -

15626

Friday, April 8

are
or
date 4/8

9:30 a.m. Leave Cedar Rapids via
Mississippi Valley Airlines # 542

10:45 a.m. Arrive Chicago

Tel. Mexico with Utah University 3pm
Student: paper!

1961

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Saturday, April 9

11:30 AM

2:30 PM

3:00 p.m. Lecture for the Chicago Local
 on: The Dialectics of Revolution:
Confrontations With Marx -- From Engels
Through Rosa Luxemburg to Our Age --
Reveal Pathways to Freedom For Today"

Open
to
All

5:00 p.m. Reception following lecture.

15628

Sunday, April 10

8:00 a.m. Leave for Champaign/Urbana via Terry's car.

11:00 a.m. Arrive Champaign/Urbana

1:30-3:00 p.m. Raya on Panel: "Women in Revolutionary Movements"

3:30-5:00 p.m. Workshop: "The Trail From Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to Today's Women's Liberation Movements"

Chadra Indra
Andrew Russo

scribble
circle

Yesterday met with Erica
for dinner & talk after
Promotions!
on with A. Russo

Spend the night at University Inn

(U)

15629

Monday, April 11

Drive back to Chicago via
Terry's car

Leave ~ 5:30 pm
Dinner talk with
Franklin 5:30 pm

11:30

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

6:00

7:00

8:00

15630

roll

Tuesday, April 12

~~afternoon~~ ~~Chicago~~ ~~12~~ ~~8~~

6:30 p.m. Sum up meeting for
the Chicago Local and close
friends

afternoon
Chicago
12
8

15631

Wednesday, April 13

ca. 8:00 Drive to Madison via
Terry's Car.

ca. 10:00 Arrive Madison

~~Arrive at Reception 11:45~~

11:30 or 11:45 Interview call in show c
Jeff Hanson from 12:00 to 1:00 *

(7:30) p.m. Lecture at the University of
Wisconsin on: "Rosa Luxemburg,
Women's Liberation, and Marx's
Philosophy of Revolution" at the
Wisconsin Center Auditorium

Spend the night in Madison

15632

Thursday, April 14

Leave Madison via Terry's
Car

3:05 p.m. Leave Chicago via
Western Airlines # 263 Q

5:15 pm Arrive Salt Lake City

April 19, 1983

Dear Friends,

No longer than an hour after setting foot in Salt Lake City, Raya was being interviewed on the major TV station (KSL)'s "Prime Time Access" program. The interviewer tried to make Raya appear as an advocate of "violent" revolution but Raya, was able, in under three minutes, to take the ground of Marx's Humanism as rooted in the Man/Woman relation. When Raya began to talk about Woman "in" the kitchen, the interviewer, who is deeply connected to the patriarchial Mormon Church hierarchy, signalled that Raya was to wrap up her statement. He was hostile to Raya and refused to hold up RLWLPR.

The next stop was to the KSL radio talk show that is beamed out to thirteen states. The interviewer gave Raya a lot of time to develop her ideas and seemed to prefer not to take call-ins but to take the time to learn for himself. The one call-in question was on the "definition of Humanism and God". Raya was well prepared with a quote from Marx which showed not only why atheism isn't an alternative to capitalism, but also how religion has a dual class expression.


On Friday morning, a woman reporter interviewed Raya for the major paper in town, the Salt Lake Tribune. The article is to appear May 1st with a photo in the "Lifestyle" section. (circulation 130,000). It will contain, we hope, Raya's discussion of the American roots of Marxism and Feminism. I hope the readers will be as impressed as I was at hearing the Iranian Women's Ajumen jammed against today's ERA. The total view of freedom in the Woman's Movement Raya presents contrasts sharply with the truncated vision of the Women's Resource Center Conference which was on campus at the same time. However, we did draw people from the conference to Raya's talk who were serious about women as thinkers.

The talk itself drew an overflow crowd of 125 that did bring people from the community at large as well as from academia. The talk was warmly and enthusiastically applauded and half the audience stayed for 45 minutes of questions. The most dramatic moment was when a Polish Woman sought to confront Raya with the "fact" that "marxism had resulted in the horrible Polish State". Raya was ready to respond on the basis of over forty years of participation. The question I appreciated the most was the simple "What is Permanent Revolution?". Literature sales were \$134.00, mostly in books, and a few pamphlets. (DoL, Polish, N&L, 25yrMH, IranPPL).

Not only most exciting, but organizationally most promising, as we look towards our constitutional convention, are the following consequences for my work in this crucial period for Marxist-Humanist growth. First, 5 people are interested in forming a serious study group on the new book after hearing a summation by Raya after the talk. Second, that combined with the possibility of a translation into Spanish of a Chapter of the new book. Third, the perspective of the possibility of a new local. Raya's trip, far from being an experience in total isolation, was so successful that we did achieve M-H organizational results.

PS: Pot-Luck on Friday (20)
New friends who may help
in Germany. New book on
Native American Women as gift
to Raya.

Yours,

 Ted

15633

University of Utah **NEWS**

University News Service/Department of Public Relations • 308 Park Building • Salt Lake City, Utah 84112 • (801) 581-7931

RELEASE AT WILL

11 April 1983

Karl Marx centenary FOUNDER OF MARXIST-HUMANISM TO GIVE LECTURE ON APRIL 15

Raya Dunayevskaya, founder of the Marxist-Humanism philosophy in the United States, will speak at the University of Utah Friday, April 15 in commemoration of the Karl Marx Centenary.

Marx, founder of communism, died 100 years ago in London believing capitalism was sure to collapse. Dunayevskaya will discuss "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade" at 2 p.m. in 101 Business Lecture Hall. Her lecture, sponsored by the University's Political Economic Research Association, will address Marx's views on men and women, historical accumulation and underdeveloped countries.

Dunayevskaya was born in 1910 in the Ukraine and grew up in a village torn between the White Army and the Bolsheviks. Her family emigrated to the Chicago in 1924. She was so fascinated by the Russian revolution that she made it her goal to understand revolutionary change.

She developed the theory of state capitalism which marked her break from Leon Trotsky at the outset of World War II. She had been Trotsky's secretary during his exile in Mexico from 1937-38.

She worked out the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism both as a global concept and as it is rooted in the United States in labor, the black movement and women's liberation. She is the author of "Marxism and Freedom" and "Rosa-Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution."

(more)

15636

Dunayevskaya - 2

Her lecture is the first of a series to be sponsored by the Political Economic Research Association this spring. Other eminent economists scheduled to speak include Emma Rothschild, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Program in Science, Technology and Society, and Robert Lekeachman, Distinguished Professor of Economics, City University of New York. A conference on Race and Gender is scheduled for Memorial Day weekend.

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POLITICAL ECONOMY RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

PERA

Department of Economics
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah 84112

April 11, 1983

PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT

Raya Dunayevskaya founder of Marxist-Humanism in the United States, and author of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, will deliver a special Centennial lecture for Karl Marx entitled: "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade". Her lecture on the University of Utah campus is scheduled for: Friday, April 15 at 2:00pm in Business Lecture Hall 101. This special Centennial Lecture for Karl Marx is sponsored by the Political Economy Research Association and ASUU. For more information, call the Economics Department at the University of Utah.

15637

Feminist to speak Friday at U

Raya Dunayevskaya, like the feminist Rosa Luxemburg who Dunayevskaya has written about in a recently published book, has thrown her 72 years of existence "on the scales of destiny," fighting against male chauvinism, attacking prejudice undercurrents against blacks, participating in labor movements and

working as Leo Trotsky's Russian Secretary during his exile in Mexico.

Dunayevskaya is on a tour of 30 cities and will speak at the University Friday at 2 p.m. in Bu L 101. Sponsored by the economics department and the Political Economic Research Association, her topic will be "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade."

A Centennial Lecture for Karl Marx New Moments in Marx's Last Decade

- On Man/Woman
- On Historical Accumulation
- On Underdeveloped Countries

Raya Dunayevskaya



Friday
April 15
2:00 p.m.
Business
Lecture
Hall 101

Sponsored by the
Political Economy
Research Assoc.
and ASUU

10 B DESERET NEWS, SUNDAY, APRIL 17, 1983

Marxist says Soviets stray from the path

By Valerie Schulties
Deseret News staff writer

What goes under the name of Marxism in the Soviet Union is the total opposite of real Marxism, says the founder of the philosophy of Marxist humanism.

Raya Dunayevskaya spoke at the University of Utah Friday, in commemoration of the Karl Marx Centenary. Marx, the author of the philosophy on which Lenin based the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, died in London 100 years ago.

Ms. Dunayevskaya said what has developed in the Soviet Union is not what Marx espoused.

"It is what we call state capitalism, what Marx called 'vulgar communism.'"

She said Marx did not believe the working classes could free themselves by exchanging private property for state property, as the Russians did.

Marx called his philosophy a new humanism, she said, and he envisioned a process of "revolution in

permanence," or continuous revolution, to establish "totally new human relations where man-woman will be as important on a different level as the whole class struggle."

Marx believed women were important in all revolutions, not only as rimeograph machine operators, but as thinkers and decision makers, and he made them leaders in his organization, Ms. Dunayevskaya said.

Too many revolutionaries after him, however, were chauvinists, she said. They used their political efforts as a pretext for continuing to subordinate women, saying the social revolution must come first.

Ms. Dunayevskaya was born in 1910 in the Ukraine and grew up in a village torn between the White Army and the Bolsheviks. Her family emigrated to Chicago in 1924.

She became Leon Trotsky's secretary during his exile in Mexico in 1937 and 1938, but she broke with Trotsky when she developed the theory of state capitalism. She proceeded to work out the philosophy of Marxist humanism.

15638

...assistant secret... serving as Leo's secretary during his
exile in Mexico from 1937-38. She is now on a 30-city lecture
tour—Friday's lecture was sponsored by the Political Economy
Research Association.

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage Paid
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Salt Lake City, UT

Dunayevskaya said that aside from the importance of Marx's
theory on the fall of capitalism and the dominance of
communism, his ideas that human interaction must be cultivated

UNIV. OF UTAH

CHRONICLE

4-18-83



Raya Dunayevskaya spoke Friday about Marx's
promotion of human interaction and how his theories
could influence the contemporary women's movement.

15639

Marxist- talks of

By Nancy Hobbs
Tribune Lifestyle Writer

Raya Dunayevskaya was deeply
involved in feminist liberation long
before it became recognized as a
formal movement, she claims.

As the founder of "Marxist-Hu-
manism" in the United States, equal
relationships between men and
women have always been a funda-
mental principle of her philosophy.

Ms. Dunayevskaya, 72, has donat-
ed more than 40 years of her life



Raya Dunayevskaya, feminist, cauti-
come interested in the different soci

anist travels, philosophy

and lecturing Research Association and the Associated Students of the U. of U. It was one of 50 lectures she's given in 30 cities since February and the first part of May. She planned to be with her husband at their home in Detroit, Mich., to celebrate the centenary of Karl Marx's death on May 5.

Young Revolutionary
As a student in Chicago during the 1920s, Ms. Dunayevskaya's early revolutionary philosophies involved her in demonstrations for black freedom and labor rights. In 1937, she moved to Mexico to become the private secretary to Leon Trotsky, then exiled from Russia. She broke with him shortly thereafter and developed her own theory of state-capitalism.

From that point, Ms. Dunayevskaya said, she has spent much time applying her philosophy of Marxist-Humanism in the United States on labor, the black dimension and women's liberation.

Suggests Broadening Issue
As for the American movement for equality on the basis of sex, Ms. Dunayevskaya questions its scope.

As much as she supports equal rights as a Marxist fundamental, the philosopher believes that this country's movement has been divisive. She sees middle-class Anglo women working on a narrow path toward equal job opportunities and equal pay for equal work.

"What is important in the women's movement here (in the United States) is that the supporters haven't yet broken down the divisions between black and white. It's mainly a white, middle-class women's movement. It isn't that there aren't black feminists; it's that they don't know how to cross over."

"They (the supporters) are concentrating on the people who have jobs, and on those who have 'greater' jobs. Yes, if the men have the jobs, you can have them, too; but that's not what's really going to change the world. Then you do the same thing as has the man who was the boss," Ms. Dunayevskaya reasoned.

Marxist-Humanism, in contrast, concentrates more on Third World women, lower-class "working" women, and "thinkers" — those who

"do their own thinking" and support the philosophy of "the movement from practice."

The latter is not necessarily an exclusive group, she cautioned, adding that "thinkers" can be found among all classes, races and environments.

Learn From History
Besides suggesting that the scope of the American women's movement be broadened, Ms. Dunayevskaya also cautions that supporters should be well-versed in the history of women's movements, taking the opportunity to learn from their gains and losses.

One such example, she adds, is the subject of her latest work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

"Rosa was a Polish-German-International revolutionary. Besides being a feminist, she was a theoretician and an orator. She did not want to be aligned with just one subject. Like Rosa, women today have to learn about the philosophy of revolution, about the philosophy of all these movements. They shouldn't just work on a single issue."

Ms. Dunayevskaya researched this latest of several publications over the last 10 years, she said. She has published three major books since 1958 — *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution; Marxism and Freedom — From 1776 Until Today* and *Philosophy and Revolution*, in addition to *Rosa Luxemburg* and several widely-circulated pamphlets. Her writings have been translated into German, French, Italian, Japanese and Spanish, with some Chinese, Polish, Russian and Farsi translations circulated underground.

Writings In Archives
More than 7,000 pages of the philosopher's published writings, research notes and personal documents gathered over the last 40 years are preserved in the Wayne State University Labor Archives, Detroit, under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection — Marxist-Humanism in the United States, 1941 to Today*.

April 19, 1983

Dear Friends,

The Seattle stop of the national tour brought to a climax one chapter of "have thumb, will travel" for the West Coast which is sure to have ramifications for the future. Raya's talk on "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution" at the University of Washington on April 18 was attended by 70, fifteen of whom signed the mailing list for further contacting.

Those present included young feminists, students who had recently organized committees against the draft and intervention in El Salvador, and professors interested in Raya's works. Total lit sales for the meeting came to \$63.75--which included not only five copies of the books but also an array of much of our pamphlets, the 25 Year History and Luxemburg's Theory and Practice in particular. Clearly, Raya's tour excites interest and sales in the full body of our literature.

The lecture was preceded by several days of intensive work in Seattle. This included an interview with Raya on KRAB Radio, where Raya expanded (despite a hostile interviewer) on Luxemburg's break with Kautsky, the new contribution of today's WLM, and the relation of youth to revolution. Prior to Raya's arrival a number of subscribers to N&L were contacted, and while several who have known us for a while attended the lecture, there is no doubt that the hope of building a Marxist-Humanist presence in the city depends not so much on they as upon the new generation of students who attended the talk, and who were most excited about it afterwards.

Raya's talk presented the Marxian concept of "revolution in permanence" as the red thread unifying all parts of the book. Thus, the audience saw how Marx's labor of digging into new concepts of freedom connected with the actual emergence of new subjects of revolution (especially Women's Liberation and the Black Dimension), thereby illuminating the task that needs development today. Raya presented a new view of the inseparability of the new moments of Marx's last decade from those of his first through a look of his writings on the Black dimension, 1848-82. From that flowed as well some beautiful formulations on Marx's relationship to language, where we saw Marx as critical of all words unexpressive of human freedom just as words for him became windows of communication between the Idea of revolution and the Subject of revolution.

While follow-through is certainly a must for the Seattle area, we can be under no illusions that the kind of intensive 'have thumb' activities of the year past can become a permanent feature, when you consider the distance and expense involved. Rather than that limiting us, however, it demands that the West Coast (and indeed all locals that had talks in outlying areas) develop new relations through correspondence. Thus, within a month of the talk a letter will be sent to each new person met, asking them for response to the talk and lit bought and inviting them to extend their introduction to Marxist-Humanism by participating in the discussion around and/or attending our Constitutional Convention. Since the ideas they heard at the lecture will be "written into" the document of a revolutionary organ-

15641

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A Revolutionary
Marxist-Feminist—

LECTURE

U. of W. Hub Aud. April 18, 1983 7:30 PM

\$1.50 UW STUDENTS \$2.00 GENERAL

Taxation as theft?
—see page four

THE DAILY

Friday

April 15, 1983 Seattle, Washington v. 90,

Marxist humanist spreads news

by JULIE REIMER

The Moral Majority may have good cause to be wary. Raya Dunayevskaya doesn't just preach the "religion of secular humanism"—the revolutionary feminist takes it a step further with a body of ideas she calls "Marxist-humanism."

Her philosophy is based on what Marx called "a new humanism" founded on the society goal of "revolution in performance." Marx envisioned constant releases of human creativity caused by continual self-development.

Dunayevskaya is not only the major proponent of Marxist humanism in the United States; she is also the only woman to head the American Marxist organization. Dunayevskaya has fought sexism and elitism in the Left as well as society in general.

Dunayevskaya's latest book is the story of the overlooked feminist Rosa Luxemburg, a Marxist theoretician who took the German Social-Democratic Party by surprise with her entrance in 1898. Dunayevskaya will speak on Marxist humanism and her book *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* April 18 at 7:30 p.m. in the HUB Auditorium.

Since coming to the U.S. from Russia 60 years ago, Dunayevskaya participated in demonstrations, labor and Black freedom movements. Her other books include *Philosophy and Revolution* and *Marxism and Freedom*.

Rosa Luxemburg was prompted by three events: The first was the transcription of Marx's last work, *Ethnological Notebooks*, illuminating his first historic/philosophic concept of man/woman and

his concept of permanent revolution.

The second was "the transformation of the Women's Liberation as an idea whose time had come into a worldwide movement."

The third impetus was a "global climax" of crises making a "need for a totally new society based on truly human foundations."

Dunayevskaya first studied Marx to find a way out of a "state-capitalist" world, and her interpretations challenge post-Marxist thought.

The aim of revolution, she says, should be to restructure human relationships and lift work from the realm of drudgery to a rewarding creative process.

"Instead of grappling with the working out of a philosophy of liberty for our age, theoreticians look only for 'root causes' of oppression. This is good, but hardly good enough," she said in her *Rosa Luxemburg* introduction.

Luxemburg was an activist as revolutionary as Dunayevskaya herself. At 22 she was the editor of the *Workers' Cause*, Poland's underground Marxist newspaper. At 26 she joined the German Social Democratic Party, but faced double discrimination as a Polish woman. Less than a year later she published *Reform of Revolution* which, according to Dunayevskaya, became the "classic answer to revisionism."

The party tried to limit her to the "women's question," but Luxemburg wouldn't allow herself to be pigeonholed, declaring herself "a land of boundless possibilities."

Luxemburg believed she was the pupil of Marx who should carry on with work he had left unfinished. She considered volume two of *Capital* unfinished, because Marx had died before its publica-



Raya Dunayevskaya

tion. She felt Frederick Engels hadn't accurately transcribed Marx's last manuscript.

In 1913, she published *Accumulation of Capital, A Contribution to an Explanation of Imperialism*, a 450-page treatise. Luxemburg believed she was "treading new ground, where none, not even Marx, had ever been before."

Dunayevskaya's selection of Luxemburg as the subject of her newest book is no surprise—she, too, feels she is "treading new ground."

Dunayevskaya declares that it is necessary to uproot "this exploitative, sexist, racist society," and believes in the "creation of the new, not just the reorganization of the objective, material foundations but the release of subjective personal freedom, creativity, and talents."

15643

April 23, 1983

Dear Friends,

The lectures presented by Raya in the Bay Area, at "liberal" Cal Berkeley on April 20 and at "conservative" Stanford University on April 21, underlined the differences between what our expectations had been (facing budget cuts and the oft-repeated dictums about "quiescent" youth) and what proved to be true.

The audience at Berkeley numbered 150, primarily students--both new and older friends--as well as a significant off-campus attendance (including an old friend from '40s labor struggles here, and a long-time subscriber who had never come to any Marxist-Humanist event before, to name only two.) They heard a lecture in which Raya interwove Marx's revolution in permanence with Women's Liberation, the Black Dimension, and the Third World in such a remarkable way--including a new expression of Marx's concretization of Hegel's generalization of Spirit in Self-Estrangement confronting the inversion of thought and reality--that it was certainly new to Marxist-Humanists as well as to those who heard Raya for the first time. While the discussion period was quite limited, altogether some \$75 in literature was bought, including 4 copies of RLWLKM (and many who came had previously bought the book), and 15 new people signed a list for more discussion.

x Raya's afternoon lecture at Cal had been preceded by a noon meeting with a dozen people from the Slavic Studies Department who asked about Raya's interpretation of Luxemburg's feminist dimension, the situation in Poland today, and Raya's relationship and break with Trotsky. In answer to the latter, Raya gave a wide-ranging discussion of the break and the development of the trilogy of revolution. One student insisted that a seminar on comparative Communism, being conducted at the same time, definitely should have invited Raya to be their main speaker.

The difference between the two lecture audiences became immediately evident the next day in the excitement of the youth at Stanford. Raya began the afternoon there by speaking to a class of 75 first-year students in a program of "Structured Liberal Education" surveying "western" ideas. She broke down those 2 false concepts of "western" and "structure" by developing Marx's relationship to the Third World; the Black Dimension and America's First Unfinished Revolution; and dialectical structure which is informed by the movement from practice as elaborated in Capital and M&F. The questions from students and faculty ranged from whether Marx was a feminist or was that something Raya had "extrapolated," to whether a world revolution was necessary to realize Marx's principles in "pure" form. While many of the students were hearing ideas, and even historical events and names, for the first time, they hardly felt "overwhelmed", and in fact many came to have dinner with Raya and attended the evening lecture on "Women as Thinkers and Revolutionaries."

The excitement carried over to that lecture, with over 100 attentively following Raya's powerful talk. Of the \$115 in literature sales, \$85 represented sales of the trilogy and 16 signed a list for a campus discussion group. Raya's lecture and the excitement on the part of the Stanford youth in turn had an energizing impact on Marxist-Humanists, as we had underestimated the response at Stanford. We therefore want to project regular visits to Stanford beginning in May, as an extension of the perspective of expanding our activity beyond the immediate local area.

15644

Even though we had not scheduled a summation for Raya with the Bay Area local, due to joint participation at the May 1 summation in LA, Raya did want to have some discussion before then. At that meeting she brought up in particular that the Bay Area local is not only "California" but has its own individuality and needed development; and that since the focal point of all our activity is the constitutional convention, we need to not give first reactions but know its significance well ahead, through the most intense discussion period. While she did not go into the subject in depth, Raya did raise the convention in such a way that it was integral to, and transcended, the lecture tour. The full summation in LA, to which we will all be going, will therefore be crucial to beginning the discussion and all our activities here in May.

I will be leaving May 2 for 3 weeks, but I am sure all the new ideas, new friends, and new excitement created by Raya's tour here will mean new developments on the part of all Marxist-humanists in the Bay Area during the month of May.

Yours,

Mary

15645

April 25, 1983

APR 28 1983

Dear Friends,

During Raya's tour in the Bay Area as well as from the beginning and across the country, a very different response from women has been forthcoming. Here, I just want to refer to several questions which came up at Stanford, in particular, from a professor who teaches a course in "feminist theory". Her question concerned what was Marx's treatment of women's labor, and brought out the fact that in "academia" for certain Engels (and his current adherents) and not Marx is presented as "Marxist feminism".

Raya replied that Marx wrote on women's factory labor, and that today women's liberationists have to deal with the question on a much higher level instead of being pinned down to "wages for housework" or any other such subject. She continued that women's liberation is too bound to Engels Origin of the Family which (1) is not Marx's Ethnological Notebooks and (2) how revolutionary feminism arose within the left but didn't go on to develop a philosophy of revolution. She referred to how in previous lectures she "couldn't" talk on Luxemburg (ie, the women walked out) and how she had brought out Luxemburg's feminist dimension, a very difficult labor.

Raya confronted the professor with the fact that women's liberationist theorists have not gone into what Marx did write and act on women's liberation, developing 1844; Capital Vol. 1; and Dmitrieva, the Paris Commune and Vol. 3. It's true you have to interpret Marx for your age, and in that she referred to Ch. 12 of RLWLKM on post-Marx Marxists including Engels. If we don't get out of being stuck on "topics" like the family a la Engels, we'll never be able to get to anything else.

Raya suggested to the professor (after showing she was teaching Engels, not Marx) how she could instead bring in Marxist-Humanist writings on women's liberation, a bibliography of which I enclose. Since so many of Raya's lectures have intersected academia/women's studies, I hope you'll feel free to find a way to use this bibliography in whatever way we can intervene and present Marxist-Humanism (eg. the upcoming Women's Studies Conference).

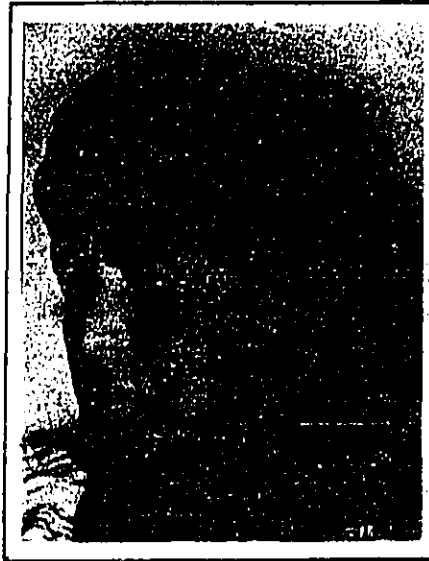
Yours,

Mary

15646

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the author of *Rosa Luxemburg*, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, a provocative, controversial and critically acclaimed work published simultaneously by Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Britain on the centenary of Karl Marx's death, for which the publishers also reprinted her two major earlier works, *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*.



Marx's Relevance to Women's Liberation, the Black Dimension, and the Third World Today

Co-sponsored by: Berkeley Feminist Alliance, Slavic Studies, Afro-American Studies, Women's Studies, Berkeley Journal of Sociology

145 DWINELLE
Wednesday, April 20

4 pm
UC Berkeley

Women as Thinkers and Revolutionaries: Rosa Luxemburg and Others

Sponsored by Structured Liberal Education

Thursday, April 21
Stanford University
The History Corner

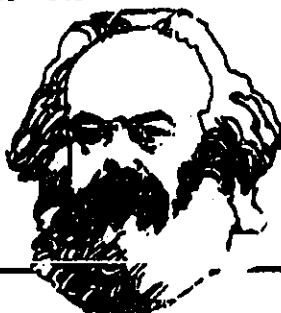
8 pm

Bldg 200, Room 2

For More Information Please Call (415) 658-1448.

on the occasion of

The Marx
1883



Centenary
1983

ASUC

Handwritten notes:
4 pm class
6:30 show
Shulman
BL
Hes. Sklar
Peter...
Mick...
Bury...
The...
Feminist...
PL

Handwritten note:
a land
of boundless
possibilities

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the author of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, a provocative, controversial and critically acclaimed work published simultaneously by Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Britain on the centenary of Karl Marx's death, for which the publishers also reprinted her two major earlier works, *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*.



Marx's Relevance to Women's Liberation, the Black Dimension, and the Third World Today

with Dr. Walter Dill Scott
Co-sponsored by: Berkeley Feminist Alliance, Slavic Studies, Afro-American Studies, Women's Studies, Berkeley Journal of Sociology

Wednesday, April 20
145 DWINNELLE

~~5:00 PM - 7:00 PM~~

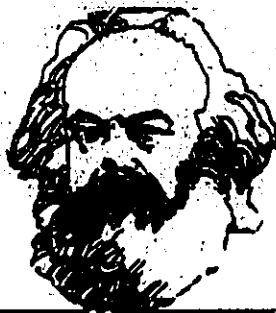
Car: after 7:00 pm
Apr 20 5:13
Women's Center
Reception

Richard Christian
Chlorine
Conner
UC Berkeley

For More Information Please Call (415) 658-1448.

on the occasion of

The Marx
1883



Centenary
1983

15648

ASUC

STANFORD

Campus Report

April 13, 1983



Raya Dunayevskaya

Rosa Luxemburg topic of lecture

Philosopher, feminist, and Marxist scholar Raya Dunayevskaya will lecture at 8 p.m. Thursday, April 21, in History Corner Room 2, on the occasion of the centenary of Karl Marx's death, and the publication of her latest book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (NJ: Humanities Press, 1982).

Her lecture on "Women as Thinkers and Revolutionaries: Rosa Luxemburg and Others," will explore the theories of Luxemburg, Sojourner Truth, as well as ideas emergent from historical events such as the 1929 Nigerian Igbo Women's War and the 1979 Iranian revolution.

Dunayevskaya, secretary to Leon Trotsky during his exile in Mexico, is the founder of Marxist-Humanist philosophy in the U.S. A microfilm edition of her Archives, "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection," is held in the Hoover Institution. She has spoken to audiences as diverse as West Virginian coal miners and the Hegel Society of America.

The lecture, sponsored by the Stanford Program in Structured Liberal Education, is open to the public. For further information, please call 497-4205.

15650

May 2, 1983

Dear Friends,

The Southern California leg of the National Tour by Raya produced an intensive series of lectures and interventions that prove without a doubt that Marxist-Humanists are the only ones concretizing the dialectics of liberation into actual ongoing organizational praxis.

Raya gave no less than five lectures in a tour that took her to Santa Barbara and San Diego in addition to Los Angeles. The highpoint as well as that which gave direction to the whole was the May 1 Bay Area/Los Angeles sum-up meeting, which was at one and the same time a projection ahead to the Constitutional Convention and pre-convention discussion period.

The lectures showed that "have thumb will travel", when climaxed by the founders presence, is truly an opening to create new organizational beginnings for Marxist-Humanism. The lecture at UC Santa Barbara entitled "On the Marx Centenary: Marx's Relevance to Women's Liberation and the Black Dimension" drew 80 (many from off-campus) where Raya presented a view of Marx's Marxism, Marx's roots in the Black dimension, and the significance as well as limitations of the women's liberation movement of Luxemburg's age, which today's WLM still needs to learn from. The audience heard how even when Luxemburg was "wrong" on the "woman question" it was always in relation to revolution, which directed Rosa's attention to the Black Dimension which in turn became a reason for her prescient break with Kautsky in 1910. The unfinished tasks of today's women's liberation movement then became a vantage point back to the Marxism of Marx, from his first break with bourgeoisie society in 1841 to the developments in his last decade on man/woman, fetishism, Third World, and Ethnological Notebooks. Over \$80 was sold in literature and 15 signed the mailing list. Organizational ramifications flowed directly from the meeting; one non-student in attendance traveled the 100 miles south to be with us at the May 1 meeting.

Raya spoke at UC San Diego later that week, giving a talk on the same topic--though there was certainly nothing "repetitive" in the talk. Raya deepened her development on Marx's sensitivity to language from her earlier talks to the point of showing how it represented Marx's method of discerning new theoretical departures in the movements from practice of his day. New material on the relation of philosophy to organization were heard, especially in relation to the Jogiches/Luxanburg relation, where the significance of their personal break-up was seen to lie in the different attitudes to the relation of spontaneity to organization their relation disclosed. Some 75 attended, many of them feminists and youth active in anti-militarist work, some of whom first met us from Michelle and Cyrus' intensive two day trip to San Diego prior to the lecture. Questions ranged from what is Raya's relation to anarchism, to relation of socialism to freedom, to what does Marx's Marxism say to today's anti-militarism. One woman asked what Marxist-Humanists had to say to the WLM of today; when Raya responded that philosophy and rootedness in working and Black woman as against any careerism was essential, the woman responded most favorably, indicating the new relations that can be forged when Part III of the new book is posed as essential for an understanding of Parts I and II. Over \$100 in lit was sold, 40 signed the mailing list, and two from the talk journeyed to Los Angeles for the May 1 meeting.

15651

The core of the So. California tour was, of course, Los Angeles. Raya's lecture at Cal State LA on "Marx and the Crisis in Human Freedom" was attended by 80 students; the talk focused primarily on Marx, stretching from his 1840's battles with censorship to the challenge to "short-mindedness" disclosed in Marx's extension of the dialectic of freedom to the Third World in his last decade. Raya in particular developed Marx's critique of religion, showing that his vigorous opposition to religion propelled him to search for its total opposite in the dialectics of liberation, thereby unfurling the banner of a New Humanism as against mere vulgar atheism. That talk was a magnificent follow-up to the work on campus which preceded it--specifically the small but successful study group on the new book there over the past three months. Follow-through for the talk now entails creating a new kind of young Marxist-Humanist on that campus, one for whom study of our ideas is inseparable from fully living them on campus and off. In response to a question from an Hegelian professor who asked whether the late Marx hadn't fallen into "scientism", Raya responded by first relating the new that Marx discovered in his 1841 Doctoral Thesis, which was deepened and concretized in his last decade's studies on the new science (not scientism) of anthropology. Some \$35 in literature was sold, including a copy of Marxismo & Libertad; 15 signed the mailing list.

The talk the next day at UCLA on "Marx's Relevance to Today" drew 70, many of them faculty and young feminists. Raya posed Marx's relation to today most comprehensively, bringing in the two way road between the U.S. and Africa both through Frantz Fanon as theoretician and the new Black Miners Union in South Africa as activity. She showed that no subject of revolution develops to fullness without revolution; and that revolution, in turn, creates ever-new compulsion to return on new ground to the philosophic method of Marx (especially seen after the 1905 revolution) which the revolutions of our age have demanded. While literature sales at the meeting were scant, 35 signed the mailing list, several expressing interest in helping to form a Marxist-Humanist youth group on the campus. The best question came from a woman who asked how does Marxist-Humanist ideas relate to campus struggles; Raya responded by relating our experience in the Free Speech Movement. This woman also attended the May 1 sum-up.

One thing particularly new in this tour was the new interest in Raya's work shown by Black intellectuals. A Black studies professor at Santa Barbara conducted a video-taped interview with Raya on her activity in the Black movement for use in classes and seminars. Raya developed on the full range of her work on the Black movement, from the 1920's work with the Negro Champion to her relation to DuBois and activity with and break from CLR James. The professor was particularly struck when Raya read from the Archives Guide to show she had written no less than five important analyses on the "Negro Question" before and after James' noted Resolution of the Minority on the Negro Question. Some of the history related there has never been recorded before, and all locals should make a point of showing the video-tape, copies of which are now being produced. In addition, a UCLA Professor spoke at length with Raya on her relation to the Black movement, especially Garvey. And a Black student at the same UCLA talk who read P&R a decade ago asked two important questions on the relation of feminism to Black liberation, coming to the lit table to buy ACOT after hearing Raya's answer. In all instances, the interest was to discover the roots and contribution of Marxist-Humanism as a tendency within the Black Dimension; it shows that further activity in the Black movement, when activity is strictly on Marxist-Humanist ground, can indeed catch more of this interest which represents what is coming from below.

15652

The climax as well as ground of the whole tour was the special Bay Area/LA joint sum-up meeting May 1, which was both a summation of the national tour and a projection ahead to the Constitutional Convention. This unpublicized meeting was attended by 50 invited friends and comrades, 18 of whom were non-members; in addition several from the periphery of E&A were present.

The attendance was significant not only as "forces" but as reason, insofar as many came on the basis of prior study of Marxist-Humanist philosophy. Thus, the visitor from Santa Barbara had read P&R several years ago after seeing a reference to the Sartre chapter in Fromm's work; a UCLA student had read P&R just two weeks before the lecture, and came because she wanted to know "what kind of activity the writer of chapter one engages in"; and an Iranian visitor from San Diego had been the first to publish the works of Sultan-Zade, the very revolutionist whose life and work was the centerpoint of discussion by two Marxist-Humanists at the CIRA Conference. In addition, three high school students were at the meeting. Their presence shows what can be new with this year's Constitutional Convention, for we are trying to bring a new generation of revolutionaries into our organization on the basis of the totality of Marxist-Humanism in a way so concrete as to never be 'over their heads'.

Whether those at May 1 were "old" or "young", committed revolutionists or those still considering "throwing their lives on the scales of destiny", the point is that all came, whether consciously or still instinctively, because our organization is the only one striving to positively respond to the challenge to all revolutionists issued by Marx in his Critique of the Gotha Program. That challenge to unite philosophy and organization may not have been followed by the post-Marx Marxists, but there is no doubt that in this centenary year of Marx's death we are facing up to that task, whether through the lecture tour, the pre-convention discussion period, or the Constitutional Convention itself.

Yours,

Peter

15653

Raya Dunayevskaya

SPEAKS ON

The Marx Centenary, 1983



RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

Marxist-Humanist Philosopher and author of
**ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND
MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION**

Tuesday, April 26, 12 noon

Marx and the Crisis in Human Freedom

Cal. State LA Union 318

Sponsored by: UPO; Philosophy Dept.
Sociology Dept.

Wednesday, April 27, 4:00 pm

Marx's Relevance to Women's Liberation and the Black Dimension

UCLA Haines 118

Sponsored by: Afro-American Studies; History;
Women's Studies; Philosophy; Political Science

Monday, April 25, 7:00 pm

The Revolutionary Consciousness of Minorities and Women

UC Santa Barbara Pavilion II

Sponsored by The Center for
Black Studies

Thursday, April 28, 7:00 pm

Marx's Relevance to Women & the Black Dimension

UC San Diego Undergrad. Science Bldg. 2722

Sponsored by Associated Students; Poli. Sci.

For More Information Call (213) 667-8716

15654

A.S. PROGRAM BOARD

Editor:
James Watts

This page provided and paid for by the A.S. Program Board

*Santa Barbara News & Review
Column of Events & Entertainment
April '83*

RAYA DUNAYESKA
will lecture on:
"The Centenary of Karl Marx:
The Revolutionary Consciousness of
Minorities and Women."
Monday April 25 • 7 P.M.
University Center Pavilion
—\$1 donation in support of culture events—
Sponsored by A.S. Program Board

LECTURE
The Centenary of
Karl Marx:
The Revolutionary
Consciousness of
Minorities & Women
Raya
Dunayevskaya
Author of *Women's Liberation & Marx's
Philosophy of Revolution*
APRIL 25 • 7:00 pm
UCan Pavilion II
\$1 Donation
SUPPORT A.S. CULTURAL EVENTS

The Centenary of Marx

"His name and his work will live through the ages," said Friedrich Engels at the grave of Karl Marx one hundred years ago. It was Karl Marx who originated and developed the social science of dialectical-historical materialism, contrary to the philosophical idealism of Hegel, yet still maintaining the "kernel" of Dialectics, and transcending further to include Ludwig Feuerbach's ideas of materialism.

In a rare UCSB visit, Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. will give a lecture on "The Centenary of Karl Marx: The Revolutionary consciousness of Minorities and Women" Monday, April 25, 7 p.m. A \$1 donation will be requested at the door.

Raya (one time secretary of Leon Trotsky during his exile in Mexico between 1937-39) is the author of numerous "provocative and critically acclaimed works," like "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution," "Marxism and Freedom,"

Her latest work, "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution," reveals the startling feminist dimension of the revolutionary theoretician Rosa Luxemburg and reveals new moments in the last decade of Marx's life. For decades Raya has persistently and consistently insisted on freedom for women. She believes the current Women's Liberation Movement has made significant gains and made unique contributions. She has been featured at a multitude of special women's programs — from Women's Week at UCLA to the Women's Festival of San Diego's Center for Women's Studies; from International Women's Day Celebration at Wayne State University to the Berkeley Women's Center.

As a teacher, she has presented a series of six seminars on "Women as Thinkers" and "Revolutionaries" for the University of Michigan-Wayne State University Courses in Adult Education. We encourage you to come.

For those who question the effectiveness of Marxist-Humanism in society this lecture can only imply inevitable controversy and question raising. Such a thing is what Raya Dunayevskaya encourages. We encourage you to come.

March 18, 1983

(Cox Cable Santa Barbara; Daily Nexus (Gary); Daily Chronicle, Santa Paula;
Santa Maria Times; Ventura County Star Free Press; Camarillo Daily News;
Lompoc Record; Simi Valley Enterprise Sun & News; News Chronicle, Thousand Oaks;
UCSB Public Information Office; KCSB; Santa Barbara News & Review; The Goleta Sun;
Santa Barbara News-Press; KGFT; KACY(Oxnard); KTYD; KMGQ; KXXN; KIST; KDB; KTMS;
KSBY; KCOY; KEYT)

Enclosed is information on an event which will take place on
April 25 at 7:00 p.m. at the UCen Pavilion II.

Please announce it during the dates: April 11-20th and on
April 22 and April 25.

Thank you very much.

(for) Marnyce McKell
Program Board
A. S. Cultural Events

CJR/aw

Enclosure

Santa Barbara

15656

LECTURE
**The Centenary of
Karl Marx:
The Revolutionary
Consciousness of
Minorities & Women**

**Raya
Dunayevskaya**

Author of Rosa Luxemburg,
Women's Liberation & Marx's
Philosophy of Revolution

APRIL 25 • 7:00 PM

UCen Pavilion II

\$1 Donation

SUPPORT A.S. CULTURAL EVENTS

CO-SPONSORED BY

A.S. CULTURAL EVENTS - A.S. STUDENT LOBBY - POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPT. - RELIGIOUS STUDIES

THE CENTER FOR BLACK STUDIES

15657

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

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Speaking on

Marx and the Crisis in Human Freedom

Tues., April 26

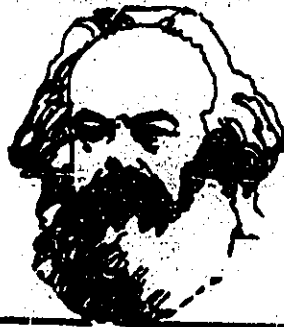
Noon

Union 318

Presented by UPO, Philosophy and Sociology departments, WRC, and News & Letters, CSU A

on the occasion of

The Marx
1883



Centenary
1983

15658

Spring 1983



Women's Resource Center

Sponsored by the Office of Student
Programs and Housing

A service of the Center for
Student Life

Lectures

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

Author of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation,* and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.*

Tuesday, April 26 — 12:00 p.m.-1:30 p.m.
University-Student Union, Rm. 318

All WRC activities are held in Bungalow C
unless otherwise stated.



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| | S | CAL. STATE L.A. | | | | |


"MARX AND THE CRISES IN HUMAN FREEDOM" BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

Tuesday, April 26, 12 noon Rm., 318, University-Student Union. Co-sponsored with the Philosophy Dept. and the Women's Resource Center.

Raya Dunayevskaya, author of the highly acclaimed *Marxism & Freedom, Philosophy & Revolution*, and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* will speak on the global impact of Karl Marx's Ideas, yesterday, today, and tomorrow. In addition, she will speak on the urgency and timelessness of a philosophy of liberation for addressing the realities of the nuclearly-armed age in which we live. It is her contention that this Centenary year of Marx's death provides new opportunity for re-examining the contribution of his ideas to history, unencumbered by the mis-interpretations of so many of his followers and detractors.

**RAYA
DUNAYEVSKY**

Author of *Rosa Luxemburg Women's Liberation*
and *Marx's Philosophy of Liberation*



Speaking on
**Marx's Relevance to Our Day;
Women's Liberation and the Black
Dimension**

Wed., April 27, 4 p.m. Haines 118

Co-sponsors: Department of History, Department of Philosophy, Department of Political Science, The Committee on Public Lectures, The Center for Afro-American Studies and The Women's Studies Program

UCLA WOMEN'S
PAPER


A Public Lecture by

**Raya
Dunayevskaya**

on the centenary of the death of

Karl Marx

Free Admission
Public Invited



**"Marx's Relevance to Our Day;
Women's Liberation and The Black Dimension**

Haines Hall Room 118

Wednesday, April 27, 1983

4-6 P.M.

Sponsored by the Department of History, Department of Philosophy, Department of Political Science,
Women's Studies Program, The Committee on Public Lectures, and The Center for Afro-American Studies.

15662

A Public Lecture by

**Raya
Dunayevskaya**
on the centenary of the death of
Karl Marx



Free Admission
Public Invited

**“Marx’s Relevance to Our Day;
Women’s Liberation and The
Black Dimension”**

Haines Hall Room 118
Wednesday, April 27, 1983
4-6 P.M.

Sponsored by the Department of History-W.H.G.(CPC), Department of Philosophy, Department of Political Science, Women's Studies Program, The Committee on Public Lectures, and The Center for Afro-American Studies.

10 news wednesday, april 27, 1983

UCLA daily Bruin

UCLA

Lecture:

Raya Dunayevskaya

followed by
Open Discussion



“On the Marx Centenary: Marx’s Relevance to Women’s Liberation and the Black Dimension”

Raya Dunayevskaya's talk will focus on the todayness of Marx's Marxism, especially as it relates to the women's liberation and Black liberation struggles. On this hundredth anniversary of Karl Marx's death, she will probe into the content, method and impact of Marx's thought, which she holds to be a New Humanism. Ms. Dunayevskaya is the author of the recently published *Rosa Luxemburg: Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. She is also the author of *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*.

Thursday, April 28th
UCSD USB 2722 7:00 p.m.

—Admission is Free—

sponsored by:

A.S. Programming Commission

co-sponsored by Department of Political Science
and Women's Resource Center

15664

new indicator

Volume 8, Number 14



U.C. San Diego

16th year of publication

April 19—May 2, 1983

Lecture:

**Raya
Dunayevskaya**

followed by
Open Discussion



**“On the Marx Centenary: Marx’s
Relevance to Women’s Liberation
and the Black Dimension”**

Raya Dunayevskaya’s talk will focus on the contemporary nature of Marx’s Marxism, especially as it relates to the women’s liberation and Black liberation struggles. On this hundredth anniversary of Karl Marx’s death, she will probe into the content, method and impact of Marx’s thought, which she holds to be a New Humanism. Ms. Dunayevskaya is the author of the recently published *Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution*. She is also the author of *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution*.

**Thursday, April 28th
USB 2722 7:00 p.m.**

—Admission is Free—

sponsored by: A.S. Programming Commission.
co-sponsored by Department of Political Science
and Women’s Resource Center

15665

FEMINIST CALENDAR

Raya Dunayevskaya, internationally known
Marxist-Humanist philosopher and feminist will
lecture at UCSD, 7 p.m. (213) 482-3787.

15668

MAY 23 1983

new indicator



May 3—May 16, 1983

16th year of publication

U.C. San Diego

Volume 8, Number 15

Raya Dunayevskaya Speaks at UCSD... Negating Negations, Marxism

Over 120 people from several San Diego universities and the community came out to hear Marxist-Humanist Raya Dunayevskaya speak on the relevance of Marx's Marxism to women's liberation and the Black Dimension.

In her UCSD talk, she stressed the efficacy of Marx's Marxism in terms of understanding the movement for women's liberation and the struggle of non-whites for liberation on a global basis.

She further emphasized the importance of the negation of negation, the creative process of bringing forth a positive alternative to the oppression of capitalism, racism, sexism, and totalitarianism. Central to this endeavor is the organizational question, grappled with by Luxemburg and currently confronting revolutionaries today as an issue of the utmost urgency and importance. She stressed the need for thorough, on-going self-criticism.

Perhaps, the most noteworthy achievement of Dunayevskaya's philosophical approach to Marx lies in

her success in restoring the dialectic, in all its organic complexity, to our understanding of Marx's thought—a dialectic glimpsed, but not completely grasped, by revolutionaries such as Rosa Luxemburg; and mutilated, misused or, at best, misunderstood by many subsequent "Marxists."

Despite some problems early on due to a room scheduling conflict that necessitated changing the location of the event, the overall tone was upbeat and stimulating. Following the official discussion period, many people remained to carry on discussions with Raya, members of the *News & Letters* Committee, and each other.

The event was sponsored by the A.S. Programing Commission and co-sponsored by the Department of Political Science and the Women's Resource Center.

Raya Dunayevskaya's latest book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, is available at Groundwork Books. She is also the author of *Philosophy and Freedom and Marxism and Freedom*.

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